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Of B'nai B'rith
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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MAY 28 1963

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SB for you

May, 1963

Dear Friend:

It is my pleasure to bring to your attention once again The Research Bulletin on Intergroup Relations. Annually, in cooperation with the Society for the Study of Social Problems and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, research projects in this field are abstracted and collated for your interest and information. The 1963 edition is 48 pages long, includes a variety of disciplines and is the most comprehensive such item yet issued. I shall be glad to fill your order and provide academic discount prices for quantity orders, as well.

We are most grateful to Dr. Peter I. Rose for his many contributions as Research Bulletin Editor, a post he has now relinquished. Dr. Leon Sinder of Long Island University is the new editor. Included herewith is the questionnaire soliciting reports of research for next year's edition. Please fill it out and return it to Dr. Sinder at your earliest convenience. If you are not conducting such research yourself, I would appreciate your passing this on to one of your interested colleagues.

Another recent research item which I have not yet brought to your attention was produced by a committee of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. It is entitled Human Relations in the Classroom: A Study of Problems and Situations Reported by 1075 Second Year Secondary School Teachers. It reports findings which indicate inadequate teacher training in human relations. This is a follow-up to Teacher Education for Human Relations in the Classroom, the previous NCA study of responses by 1108 college professors as to what is taking place in pre-service teacher education. Copies of either of these research reports may be ordered directly from the North Central Association at 5454 South Shore Drive, Chicago 15, Illinois. They sell for 25¢ each.

Sincerely yours,

Mort Sobel

Morton J. Sobel, Director
Department of Colleges & Universities

MJS/jk

Enc.

publications bulletin

From the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

New address after September 1, 1963: 315 Lexington Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

* 1963 RESEARCH BULLETIN ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS
Peter I. Rose, editor (48 pp. $1.50)

The current Bulletin, expanded to accommodate nearly 200 abstracts of projects in progress and completed studies awaiting publication, offers an extensive view of recent accomplishments and approaches in the human relations field. Once again, particular emphasis is placed on the problems of race relations and desegregation.

The 1963 edition includes sections on
The Dynamics of Prejudice, Racial and Ethnic Minorities, Community Patterns, Cross-Cultural Studies, Crime, Education, Employment, Housing and Changing Neighborhoods, Intermarriage, Legislation and Civil Rights, Religion and Religious Factors, Social Movement

Contributors are from the fields of sociology, psychology, education, political science, anthropology and civil rights. (Each researcher's affiliation and location are recorded so that further information on specific projects may be obtained.)

* Published in cooperation with The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI) and The Society for the Study of Social Issues (SSSP)

Other research aids:

* ~~1962 Research Bulletin on Intergroup Relations,~~
~~Peter I. Rose, ed.~~ ~~G 393 --- 30 pp., 50¢~~ , Cy

Segregation and Desegregation: A Digest of Recent Research, 1956-1959,
Melvin M. Tumin, ed. Contents include studies on Negro political behavior; factors affecting the desegregation process; theoretical issues concerning the analysis of prejudice and discrimination; residence and housing; desegregation and state and local politics. G 325a --- 32 pp., 60¢

Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions,
Edward A. Suchman, John P. Dean and Robin M. Williams, Jr.
A summary and evaluation of studies and hypotheses in intergroup relations. Various research approaches to desegregation are appraised, possible new ones suggested. G 347 --- 128 pp., $2.00 , Cy

An Inventory and Appraisal of Research on American Anti-Semitism,
Melvin M. Tumin. A compendium of research, theories and hypotheses since 1930 on anti-Semitism in America, with appraisals and an analysis of implications for our society. FB 3---192 pp., $4.00 - hard cover
$2.75 - soft cover

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RECEIVED
JUN 5 1963

June 4, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is in response to your letter of May 16.

We are entirely agreeable to having you use the summary in the press release on the Morland pamphlet, rather than as part of the pamphlet. Indeed, there is obviously no overriding necessity to make use of it even there, unless you think it appropriate.

We shall also want 5,000 copies of the Morland pamphlet. Production costs will then give us a unit cost of 20.65¢. If we add to this Ken Morland's remuneration and other incidentals, I think we come up with a list price of 50¢ and a "wholesale" price of 35¢. If you agree, we'd be willing to have the list price imprinted, perhaps on the back cover. I assume you will let us know in due course what the ADL owes you or anyone else for this pamphlet.

We are agreed in principle on Dr. Coles' study. Should it have an educator's foreword? And if so, by whom? Suggestions: Dean White or Prof. Glen Hass of the University of Florida at Gainesville, or Loula Brant, now retired, of New Orleans.

On "The High Cost of Conflict," we shall be sending you whatever we have or what material our Southern regional offices will contribute. On reflection, we would opt against including material on the more abstract "costs" of racial conflict, such as international prestige or "communication between the races." In part, because I would hate to see the grubbiest of all arguments spoiled by the intrusion of more respectable issues, in part because the aim of this publication is to appeal strictly to the narrowest of self-interests, in part because the problems you mention should be subject to more systematic and serious treatment in other contexts (see below).

Prof. Leon Cinder, the head of the Sociology Department at Long Island University, is doing a study for us of the international press reaction to the Meredith case. He is examining newspapers from about ten or twelve countries, the majority of them Far Eastern,

freely or the shape of the future but I mean to live and find joy. I want to go ahead in a new way — maybe not the way the whites have shown,"

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to gauge the (of course negative) impact on the image of the United States of that particular brouhaha. We have not been deflected in our concentration on the Meredith case by more recent events because one test-case is as good as another, and the whole point, of course, is the exemplary nature of this investigation. An outline of Cinder's study is not at hand at this moment, but I shall send it to you in a few days. You might consider whether the study might make a possible fourth in our joint series.

Forgive the delay with which this letter reaches you. It was begun last week, but a very long, five-day weekend intervened before it was completed.

Cordially,

Henry Schwarzschild
Director of Publications

HS:sk
cc: Oscar Cohen

truly desperate struggle - the beatings, the reprisals, the failings - was awarding them with the very identity and pride that Negroes in the United States have so long sought in vain. This is already their secret triumph.

Charles Sherrod: "... I want to launch out, I want to share emotion and adventure with my generation. Life should be open, open! I don't know the consequence of living

"The Young Negro Rebels"
Charlotte Devree, Harper's, Oct. 1961

"Even to try to understand the Negro student movement in the South ... one must cast aside all one's usual notions about 'political action' in colleges ... At a time when religious concern among most young people seems staid or perfunctory, many of the Negro students are Christian revolutionaries ... [They] do not indulge in the traditional group hysterias or casual hatreds of student movements — the shoving demonstrations and the jeering cries. Refusing to strike back at an adversary, insisting they do not hate, they bring an extraordinary restraint to the crisis they have created — as well as a passivity perhaps inherited from the acquiescent past ...

"But they were on fire with their purpose ... Making an end to segregation had obviously given their lives far more focus than the thin studies offered them possibly could. But, more important ... their →

June 27, 1963

Mr. Henry Schwarzchild
Director of Publications
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Henry:

I am enclosing a copy of the press release we have prepared to announce the publication of Ken Morland's study of tokenism.

As you will note, we have changed the title somewhat, partly as a result of the Supreme Court decision in the Memphis case last month and partly because it would seem that we may indeed be about to move beyond tokenism.

I talked to the printer this morning, and he informed me that we should have copies of the pamphlet early next week. ADL's 5,000 copies will be mailed directly to your offices in New York.

Les has gone on a well-earned vacation, but we discussed a possible release date before he left. We agreed that if we got the book next week, we would like to release it for Sunday, July 7. Will this date be suitable to you, assuming the printer stays on schedule?

If there are changes, additions, etc. you would like to make in this release, please let me know by next Tuesday, July 2, and if I haven't heard from you by that time, I'll assume the release and the release date are okay with you and Oscar.

The Coles pamphlet should be out in mid-July, and I'll let you know when to expect it as soon as the printer notifies me.

Ltr., Mr. H. Schwarzchild
New York 22, N. Y.
June 27, 1963

Incidentally, how are you coming on your "High Costs of Conflict" project?

Look forward to hearing from you next week.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

cc: Mr. Monroe Schlactus
Enclosure

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July 9, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

At the request of Monroe Schlactus I am sending you our version of the release on "Token Desegregation and Beyond." If acceptable to you, we will release this here for Sunday, July 14th, the same date that Monroe tells me you plan to release it from Atlanta.

Please do let Monroe know what you think.

Sincerely,

Morton Puner

Morton Puner

MP:lr
cc: Monroe Schlactus
encl.

July 20, 1963

Miss Frieda Baumwald
Secretary to Mr. Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Baumwald:

Mr. Dunbar has asked me to return the attached copy of America's Image Abroad.

We have read over Dr. Sander's analysis with great interest. But we do not feel that this study of foreign reaction to the Meredith incident will come as much of a surprise to most informed southerners and Americans. Lord knows, with all the domestic reporting about foreign reaction to recent events, it should be pretty obvious that bad race relations here can hardly improve U. S. foreign relations abroad.

Moreover, in view of all that is happened since the Oxford incident, we feel this study has been somewhat out-dated by the march of events.

We are grateful to you for allowing us to see the analysis, and will be interested to learn about its future developments.

Please give my regards to Cohen.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

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Rec'd 6/19/63

June 17, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar

As you may know, Mr. Cohen is attending a UNESCO conference in Munich, Germany and will not be returning to the office until July 1st.

At Mr. Cohen's request, I am enclosing herewith a copy of Dr. Leon Sinder's study.

Sincerely yours,

Frieda Baumwald
(Miss) Frieda Baumwald
Secretary to Oscar Cohen

/fb
Enclosure

Les,
I have about as much enthusiasm for this project as the Soviets do for the Chinese brand of communism.

July 24, 1963

Mr. Henry Schwarzchild
Director of Publications
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Henry:

Enclosed is a copy of a press release we have prepared for the publication of Bob Coles' study. As you know, we are planning a Sunday, August 4, release date for the pamphlet.

I was very impressed by the release your people prepared on the Morland pamphlet, and if they have any suggestions or would like to rewrite this release, please tell them to do so. I only ask that you all let me know what you think no later than next Wednesday, July 31.

I talked to the printer yesterday. He will be sending your office 5,000 copies by the end of the week, so they should arrive in New York early next week.

On another matter -- the cost of the Morland pamphlet. I am enclosing a copy of the bill we received last week from Higgins-McArthur Company, as well as a copy of the original estimate. As you will note, the estimate was somewhat less than the actual charge.'

I have enjoyed working with you on these pamphlets, and judging from the reaction we have already had about the Morland study, I'd say they are a worthwhile contribution to the growing literature about the American dilemma.

Looking forward to hearing from you shortly.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enc
P. S. I hope you have received the copy of the pamphlet we sent you last week.

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reasons overriding

Linda Quilal

22 —

— Spoke to Sellers (already has it)

July 29, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

I am attaching herewith copy of the news release on the Coles study. As I said to you over the telephone, if you have no corrections we will take it for granted that August 4th is the release date.

Thanks for your tip that Claude Sitton is in New York for the next two weeks. I will be in touch with him just as soon as we are ready to go with the release, which should be no later than Thursday.

Sincerely,

N. C. Belth

Nathan C. Belth

NCB:lr
Attach.

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

August 1, 1963

Mr. Henry Schwarzchild
Director of Publications
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Henry:

Enclosed is a copy of a pamphlet titled The Price is High. It was prepared by Randolph T. Blackwell of our Voter Education Project staff, for Andy Young of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. According to Blackwell, SCLC is planning a limited distribution of the pamphlet. This distribution, at the moment, will be limited to Gastonia, Alabama, and possibly Savannah.

I thought you might be interested in seeing the material he has assembled about the high cost of resistance. I might point out that much, if not most, of it came from our files and from the material assembled by Potomac, in its recent report on the same subject.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

August 2, 1963

Mr. Nathan C. Belth
Public Relations
Anti-Defamation League of
the B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Belth:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the press repease prepared for the Coles' pamphlet. I trust it is satisfactory.

As agreed, pamphlet will be released a week from Sunday, on August 11.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Rec'd 8/14/63

August 13, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

At long last, here is a revised copy of "The High Cost of Segregation." You will note that we have changed the title. This is a suggestion. I would not be unhappy if we retained the old title and sub-title.

I assume you will want to change the format to conform to the two publications in the series in which we are cooperating. I think it would be well to use the two cartoons in the old edition and possibly some others about which you may have some knowledge.

Let us hear from you. Stan Wexler and I are interchangeable on this. Henry Schwarzschild is away on vacation for two weeks.

With best regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen for

OC/fb
Enclosure
cc: Monroe Schlactus
Stan Wexler-Henry Schwarzschild

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Discuss possibility of informal bull session with sociologists at Nashville meeting

SD

what do you think?

August 15, 1963

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1963

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

Mr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga., 30303

Les:

You wanted some information from me regarding the possibility of a meeting of the Southern Sociological Association.

What I am proposing is to hold a special meeting of southern sociologists either a day prior to, or a day after their regular meeting. This is scheduled to be held in Nashville in April.

The purpose of the meeting will be to have southern sociologists get together and exchange views and opinions about the changes going on in the South as they effect the field of civil rights. It is anticipated that four or five sociologists would be invited to present papers at that meeting. Other sociologists would debate the papers, comment, etc.. These papers should deal with the changing South regarding such sociological phenomeon as urbanization, re-apportionment, desegregation of schools, etc.. All should be, in some way, directed toward pointing out the effects of these changes in the field of civil rights.

The cost of the conference would include honorariums to those delivering papers plus food and possibly lodging for all others who are invited to attend. I haven't made any kind of estimate as to what those costs would be. Obviously it would depend upon the number invited.

I hope you will give this some kind of consideration and let me know if you have any ideas concerning it.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Monroe

Monroe Schlactus
Regional Director

MS:mby

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

Joint Memorandum

Rec'd 9/11/63

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 EAST 56 STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SBV

SUBJECT: Bus Transportation for Parochial School Children in Oklahoma
Board of Education for Independent School District No. 52 v. Antone

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: Oklahoma Supreme Court rules that under the state constitution, no board of education of a public school district is authorized to permit school buses operated by them at public expense to provide transportation for pupils attending parochial school.

On July 8, 1963, in Board of Education v. Antone, the Supreme Court of Oklahoma affirmed a lower court decision granting a taxpayer, John L. Antone, an injunction against a local public school board to prevent them from permitting parochial school pupils to be transported to and from the parochial schools in public school buses. The plaintiff was a taxpayer residing in the school district. The local public school board followed the pattern of permitting public school buses to transport about 175 pupils of a parochial school between their homes and the parochial school in the public school buses.

The defendant school district argued that permitting children attending non-public, church-related schools to ride public school buses is for the public welfare. The defendants argued that the routes taken by the buses in question were not enlarged or altered in order to carry the parochial school children and, therefore, there was no additional or appreciable expense incurred by the public school district by reason of the practice.

The plaintiff relied on Article II, Section 5 of the Oklahoma State Constitution which provided that "no public money or property should ever be appropriated, applied, donated, or used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit, or support of any sect, church, denomination or system of religion, or for the use, benefit or support of any priest, preacher, minister, or other religious teacher or dignitary of sectarian instruction as such."

There had been a decision in 1939, Gurney v. Ferguson, in which the Oklahoma Supreme Court had struck down a statute authorizing transportation on public school buses of children attending parochial schools. The defendant school board here argued that the Supreme Court's decision in 1947 in Everson v. Board of Education, which upheld an analogous New Jersey statute, called for reconsideration by the Oklahoma Supreme Court of the decision in Gurney v. Ferguson.

The Oklahoma Supreme Court found that the Everson case had dealt solely with the federal question of whether a state statute authorizing bus transportation for parochial school children violated the First Amendment of the Constitution. It said that all Everson held was that transportation of parochial pupils is not

(over)

a federal question, at least, when tested by the First Amendment. The court said that the Everson decision does not change the effect of state constitutional provisions.

The court rejected the argument that providing bus transportation for children attending parochial schools was not an aid to any particular sectarian institution or religion, but rather funds expended for the "general welfare of the community."

The court concluded that, "If the cost of school buses and the maintenance and operation thereof is in aid of the public schools, then it would seem to necessarily follow that when pupils of parochial schools are transported by them, such service is in aid of that school." The court then stated that any such aid or benefit, either directly or indirectly, is expressly prohibited by Article II, Section 5, of the Oklahoma Constitution. It therefore affirmed the permanent injunction issued by the lower court.

SR:TL:ak
No. 393
8/14/63

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 EAST 56 STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Ruling Upholding Constitutionality of Toledo Fair Housing Ordinance

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: Judge Arthur D. Tudor of the Court of Common Pleas of Lucas County, Ohio, rules that the Toledo fair housing ordinance is a constitutional and valid exercise of the police power of the City Council of Toledo, dissolves a temporary injunction against its enforcement issued by the same court and dismisses the petition of the plaintiff taxpayer to have the ordinance declared unconstitutional.

On July 16, 1963, Judge Arthur D. Tudor of the Court of Common Pleas of Lucas County, Ohio, handed down his ruling in the case of Terry v. City of Toledo. The case was brought by a taxpayer, Earl F. Terry, who sought to enjoin proceedings under an ordinance adopted by the City Council of Toledo on September 25, 1961 prohibiting discrimination in the selling, renting and financing of real property. When the case was first brought, on October 19, 1961, Common Pleas Judge Straub granted a temporary injunction against the enforcement of the ordinance. He upheld plaintiff's contentions that its substantive provisions contravened the Ohio State Constitution's guarantees of private property, involved an unreasonable exercise of the police power of the municipality and were an unconstitutional delegation of judicial power to non-judicial bodies in violation of the State Constitution.

With the temporary injunction still in effect, the case came up for permanent injunction on the basis of submission by both sides of briefs and written stipulations.

Judge Tudor found that the constitutional guarantees of private property and freedom of contract do not preclude reasonable regulation thereof in connection with the valid exercise of the police power exerted in the general public interest and welfare. He said it is well established that reasonable legislative regulation of private property and contract choice under the exercise of the police power is proper, citing zoning ordinances as an example. He added, "The fact that instant regulation is somewhat more personal as to motivation, does not alter such underlying principle, if it otherwise services a general public interest within the well-defined and established purview of police power." He also said, "While right of private property and of contract is indispensable to our free society, it is not absolute as against reasonable governmental regulations thereof in the overall interest, otherwise ordered society is stymied and government sterile."

Noting that it was the function of the court to review the legislative conclusion that such an ordinance was necessary in the exercise of the police power, Judge Tudor concluded that the ordinance in question was designed to preserve and promote continued peaceful and harmonious relations in the ownership, use and enjoyment or real property in the city, by and between citizens therein of different race, religion and national origin, and that this purpose was clearly one of general and

(over)

public interest and bore a real and substantial relation to the general public welfare. He found also that the power exercised in the ordinance was neitherunreasonable, arbitrary nor capricious, and that the means provided in the ordinance to effectuate such purpose through the efforts of a Board of Conciliation was reasonably suited to accomplish the purpose of the ordinance "even in the foment of ever-changing present-day society."

The court also rejected the claim that the ordinance involved an unlawful delegation of judicial powers. It noted that the ordinance delegated administration to a Board of Community Relations appointed by the Mayor, the powers of which were limited to examining facts claimed to constitute a violation of the ordinance, and, if it found a violation, to attempting adjustment through concilation only.

The court therefore dissolved the temporary injunction, denied the permanent injunction requested, and dismissed the petition with prejudice. The Board of Community Relations, which was created in 1946, and was also empowered to deal with complaints of discrimination in employment, is, now, therefore free to exercise its powers of investigation and conciliation in housing and employment cases.

SR/TL:ec
No. 392
8/8/63

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 EAST 56 STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Claim of Isleen Goldberg for employment compensation benefits

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: Pennsylvania Unemployment Compensation Board of Review rules that a person of Jewish faith who was dismissed after failing to report for work on the high Jewish holidays is entitled to receive unemployment compensation benefits.

FACTS: Isleen Goldberg of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was employed by Doctors Hospital, Philadelphia as a medical technician for 2½ years. Prior to Rosh Hashanah in 1961 she requested permission to absent herself on the two days of that Jewish holiday. Her request was rejected, and she was told that she would be discharged if she was absent on these days. When she failed to report for work on those two days she was discharged.

Subsequently, she applied for unemployment compensation benefits under the Pennsylvania unemployment compensation law. Her claim was disallowed by a Referee on the ground that her refusal to report for work on the two days when she observed Rosh Hashanah was willful misconduct. From this decision she appealed to the Unemployment Compensation Board of Review.

DECISION OF THE UNEMPLOYMENT BOARD OF REVIEW: On July 10, 1963, the Board of Review reversed the Referee's decision. It held claimant entitled to the benefits on the following grounds:

> The claimant is of the Jewish faith and observes the orthodox tradition in the celebration of her religious holidays, viz., Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. We recognize these two holidays as being of the highest religious significance to the claimant and her coreligionists. To conclude that one may be discharged for willful misconduct because one is absent from work due to the observance of a religious holiday is repugnant to our basic concepts of freedom of religious practices. The Board on prior occasions has allowed benefits under circumstances similar to those in the instant case...Accordingly, we hold that the claimant is entitled to receive unemployment compensation benefits for the weeks in question.

PH/TL:ec
No. 393
8/14/63

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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165 EAST 56 STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

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PH/TL:ec
No. 393
8/14/63

October 1, 1963

Mr. Henry Schwarzschild
Director of Publications
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Schwarzschild:

Pursuant to your request of August 5, please be advised as to your indebtedness to the Council on the Morland pamphlet, and the Coles study, jointly published by ADL and SRC. The breakdown is as follows:

One-half of Morland's fee - - - - - - - - - -	$ 200.00
One-half of the Morland printing bill - - -	1,205.82
One-half of the Coles printing bill - - - -	1,137.56
Total amount due - -	$2,543.38

Rec'd 12-9-63 VGS/rha

Morland did not incur any expenses, nor were there charges for shipping to your New York office.

A copy of the Coles printing bill is attached for your information and records.

Thank you very much for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Organization and Planning

√ I K
SB
Leslie
discuss
~~asap~~ asap

August 5, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar and
Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie and Staige:

Everything now seems to be proceeding smoothly on the release of the Coles pamphlet on August 11. Nat Belth tells me that he is using your text as forwarded.

Now, on the cost of the Morland pamphlet. The letters in our file and the memorandum I wrote for this office after our Bethany Beach meeting indicate that the following arrangement was agreed upon: SRC would pay Morland $400 plus expenses, and we would "take this outlay into consideration" when time came to share costs of printing the pamphlet. Subject to correction by you, I should judge that we owe you:

One half of Morland's fee	$ 200.00
One half of Morland's expenses	?
One half the printing bill	1,205.82
Shipping cost of 5,000 copies to N.Y.	?
	$1,405.82 plus ?

I trust you will let us know what precisely our indebtedness to you is on the Morland Pamphlet, and then on the Coles study as well.

Let me say to Staige that I largely share his reaction to the study on "America's Image Abroad." The results can be no surprise -- but then one could say the same thing about "The High Cost of Conflict." The difference may be that people are most likely more concerned about their own finances than about so distant an abstraction as this country's reputation in the world. In any case, the study is proceeding; it may provide additional ammunition for Congressional types who are fighting the good fight.

We are grateful for your copy of that pamphlet on the cost of race conflict that you prepared for the SCLC. We have a first draft of the updated version of "High Cost" and shall use whatever material may be appropriate from your pamphlet. We are not familiar with the Potomac piece but have called Washington for a copy. Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I shall assume that you are still interested in a joint publication of the new version, and I shall send you a draft within a week or so.

Thank you for your good cooperation, and thank you, Les, for your personal counsel.

Cordially,

Henry

Henry Schwarzschild
Director of Publications

HS:fjg

December 3, ~~November 27~~, 1963

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Cohen:

Under separate cover, we are sending you as per your request by letter to Leslie Dunbar, 10 copies of Dr. Silver's report, which is the most we can spare at this time. The report is in great demand -- and we are kept very busy filling the many different requests.

We all wonder about Silver, now, and trust that all will be well.

Thank you for your order.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure -- Invoice

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO: Mr. Oscar Cohen
10 Copies --- Silver's Report
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016

Total ----- $5.00
****
Purchase Order #

Date Shipped 11-27-63

11-27-63

10 Copies ----Silver's Report .50@

Total amount ---------- $5.00

Thank you

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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President, B'nai B'rith
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VJ - pls handle
MV
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November 14, 1963

10 copies free
invoiced
N.M.

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

I was delighted with the manner in which the press treated Dr. Silver's paper. You saw The New York Times, of course. The Herald Tribune ran a story and also an editorial. The coverage was great and you deserve congratulations.

I assume that you sent me a copy of Dr. Silver's paper, which I appreciate. Could I secure additional copies? I could use as many as you can spare. Have our Southern directors received copies?

Now, I wonder what happens to Silver. Is there anything we can do to bolster his position?

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb
cc: Monroe Schlactus
Irwin Schulman

P.S. -- Please give my congratulations to Margaret Long for her very fine article in the Sunday, November 10 issue of The Sunday Times Magazine.

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

LES-FYI ✓

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Organization and Planning

February 28, 1964

Mr. Patrick Waters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat:

Good to see you in Atlanta. I look forward very much to working with you. You asked to have a set of our field reports, and these have been forwarded to you under separate cover.

I will also send you a copy of the outline on the projected field report on Dallas. I hope to be in Atlanta toward the middle of April and expect to see you then.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

✓ show Lou Mitchell

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

April 21, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Following is a quote from a speech by Mayor Robert Carr of Orlando. Mayor Carr made this speech to an ADL audience on April 12th. You might want to consider it for inclusion in "The Price We Pay for Defiance."

> ...I realize that discords experienced by Little Rock, Birmingham and other important Southern cities could come to our community. The economic losses, the harm resulting from suspicion, from misunderstandings, from unresolved or unrecognized human relations problems were costly to these fine cities. If there was any lesson to be learned, it was the importance of recognizing the coming problems of our day, to learn and plan in advance how to handle these problems, and to strive to resolve them in a manner which extends our Democracy equally and fairly to all citizens. It means educating ourselves as individuals, local business, governmental, and civic groups. It meant building and maintaining lines of communications between all citizens. You cannot make stresses disappear by pretending that they don't exist.

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

In 1961, under the title "The High Cost of Conflict," we published a roundup of opinion from the Southrn business community of the economic consequences of school closings and violence.

In the short time since then, the weight of opinion and the force of events have made even stronger and clearer the simple fact that racial conflict is costly. And in that short time, the cost has spread to virtually all elements of the economies of cities, states and the Southern region, and ultimately of the nation.

School closings and violence, most notably in Alabama and at the University of Mississippi, have again ~~continue to~~ weighed schools, communities and states with heavy, needless burdens of loss-- immediate and long-range. Strife that occurred five and six years ago still continues a deleterious economic effect on the locales involved.

Increasingly, also, Southern public opinion is aware of another way that school segregation has been a needless burden on an economy that, especially in the past, had no money to spare. This is in the waste of duplication of buildings and faculties to maintain separate school systems, and in the more serious waste of human resources among persons of both races who were thereby deprived of adequate education. From the illiterate to the half-educated, this is a legacy of deprivation that will last at least a generation.

The direct action movement, by which Negro Southerners since 1960 have demanded their simple right to citizenship and have asserted positive leadership of a region, has spread the cost of segregation and conflict over the whole range of the Southern economy and society.

Some of this, like sit-ins and boycotts, has been aimed directly at economic targets. When direct action erupts into violence, either from

street corner confrontations or by way of police tactics, the same staggering economic results known during school violence crises is felt.

The moral imperatives involved in the change underway in Southern society provide the most important reasons that this change shcould be completed and as soon and as painlessly as possible. This should never be lost sight of. But in another American tradition, segregation and resistance to ending it can be viewed in the old-fashioned and highly convincing terms of dollars and cents.

In an age when money (and the resources it represents) are so desperately needed for solving economic, educational, social and national security problems of America, needless waste of it in any situation has its own moral meanings.

So, once more, from the pages of Southern newspapers, and out of the vision and insights of Southerners, we present some of the price-tag facts and figures about the conflict over segregation during the past few years. There is no way to assess the total cost. Here are only hints and typical examples. But the story they tell is as clear and uncompromising as any balance sheet.

##

watters

suggestions for handling high cost of conflict

It is worth doing. People understand this like they understand nothing else. Money talks, etc. Handy quotes, handy figures for newspapermen, writers to use are needed; Little Rock is wearing thin.

I agree with the others who have said this ADL stuff is hopeless. It adds little new (I've plucked out and attached what little it does add), and its old information is obsolete. If the old stuff is to be used, I suggest just leaving it in abbreviated form by itself as a section of past history in the back of the pamphlet. I have indicated appropriate cuts in the attached. Then, as Staige, suggested, the emphasis could be on costs of the more recent aspects of racial discord. Rather than state by state rundowns, I would suggest quick summaries and quotes and figures by subject matter. Barbara's file rundown suggests this: arrest costs; disruption of retail business; conventions lost; international aspects (?); migration; effects on investments, bonds; effects on sports; effects on attracting industry; effects on tourism... The ADL rundown on effect on college teacher recruitment is usable... The loss to gross national product... A summary of Staige's findings on private school costs, waste... Figures on duplication costs of segregated schools... and happy stories of losses avoided, as ADL claims in attached for Greensboro... and whatever else...

The introduction would make it clear that these are just random examples of the many different ways racial conflicts cost communities, states, the nation a lot of cold cash. With perhaps a word on the absurdity of this when such money could go into needed programs like education, job training, slum clearance, etc.

The pitch would be of course that by avoiding racial conflict, communities can avoid wasting all this money. This would require some spoken or implicit approval of agitation lest the figures be used against demonstrations...

May 7, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Cohen:

Enclosed is a corrected manuscript of The Price We Pay. I think it's in reasonably good shape for publication. We will confer today with a representative of the printers on typography and format.

Would it be possible to get your return reaction in time to send the manuscript to the printers May 14? I realize this would be rushing it. But the material is of such immediate value, the sooner we get it out, the better. also, can you give an estimate of the number of copies you will want?

It's been good working with you on this. I am excited about the publication. The work of Barbara Patterson and others is thorough; I think the impact will be great.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

Enclosure

May 18, 1964

Mr. Stanley Waxler
Program Department
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Stanley:

This is in the way of being a progress report. Type is being set on The Price We Pay. I will make the corrections we discussed in the first galley proofs and send you a copy. We are finding a better item to end it on. We are also re-working the cover, a copy of which I will also send.

For distribution, the suggestion from those here who are more experienced with this sort of thing is that we develop our own distribution plan and forward it to you in order to avoid duplications. As soon as this is done and we know how many copies we will need, I can get an accurate figure from the printer on the cost for whatever number of copies you will require.

I will be in touch with you as these things are completed. I enjoyed meeting you the other day. I feel like we got some crucial wrinkles ironed out.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

July 21, 1964

Mr. Ted Freedman
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
1513 Melrose Building
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Freedman:

I am enclosing, at the request of Mr. Dunbar, one copy of our distribution list for the pamphlet The Price We Pay.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

/nm
Enclosure
(As stated above)

Sam Ray Co
5 F Forsyth
Jan 2 - 8 1964

For Release to All Newspapers
Sunday, July 19, 1964

Some of the vast cost of defying U.S. Constitutional rights in racial matters borne by the South is sampled in a publication issued today by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The publication, "The Price We Pay," itemizes large and small expenses during the past year of resistance. It was issued as the South confronted a new opportunity with federal civil rights legislation to be law-abiding, to avoid such costs in the future, and to develop more fully its own great natural and human resources.

"The Price We Pay" contains 44 pages of reports selected from a large range of periodicals + other sources. They tell their own story of an individual waste of resources and accumulative needless expense that is staggering.

Items range from the $17 billion loss in gross national product estimated as the cost of discrimination against Negroes, to the $138,429.75 spent for police overtime and equipment alone in Jackson, Miss., from late May through August, 1963, to combat demonstrations.

The saga of Greenville, S.C.'s sea lions is included-- expenses borne to convert a swimming pool into a "marineland" for six sea lions rather than desegregate it. The sea lion pool sprang a leak, two of the sea lions died, and there wasn't any money left to feed the zoo's camels and yaks.

Items are arranged to show the price we pay in the economy of communities; in employment; in legal costs; in education; in culture, entertainment, and sports; in tourism and conventions; and in foreign relations.

"Not all of the waste here documented has a price tag," says a brief introduction. "Can the people of Mississippi, for example, afford the cost to the human spirit that comes from being cut off from a culture's highest artistic achievement? Is there enough money in the world to cover the cost to the American nation in international good will lost by unacceptable race relations?"

The introduction points out the "elementary arithmetic" which refutes the argument that the expenses are to be blamed on victims of discrimination rather t an discrimination itself. "The estimated cost of implementing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for five years-- $100 million-- would be only .6 per cent of the Gross National Product increase-- $17 billion-- which could be realized for one year with full and free use of our human resources."

"If all expenditures and loss could be added up, the sum would be shocking," the introduction says. "The shock is even greater if, in reading each item, one keeps in mind the many and drastic needs in the South for wise use of its public monies and resources to improve society and the lot of its individuals...

"Will southern states, which can least afford it, which so need to develop the potential of their people to the highest degrees of human dignity, continue in the ways documented here to waste the substance of their people?"

The publication ~~was prepared by Barbara Patterson and other staff members of the two organizations. It~~ is available ~~for 75 cents per copy~~ from ~~the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, NW, Atlanta, Georgia, and~~ the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y., & the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St, NW, Atlanta, Ga.

##

Lynn-Lanniello Cat Nobby Yoder.
11 a.m.

NEWS RELEASE FOR RELEASE: ALL NEWSPAPERS
SUNDAY, JULY 19, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone 522-8764

Federal ~~xxxxxxxx~~ civil ~~x~~ rights legislation ~~xxxxxxx~~ gives Southern states a chance to avoid the ruinous costs that defiance has cost in the past, according to a report, "The Price We Pay~~... For Discrimination,~~" published today.

The report, prepared by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, documents the vast cost incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. It itemizes the price for discrimination in the economy of Southern communities, employment, legal procedures, education, culture, and tourism. Expenses range from the $17 billion loss in gross national product estimated as the cost of discrimination against Negroes, to the $138,429 spent for police overtime and equipment in Jackson, Miss., from late May through August 1963, to combat demonstrations.

Telling its story through news items and editorials selected from a large range of publications, the report includes the following as reasons why the South can no longer afford discrimination:

-- A failure, in recent years, ~~for~~ in some sections of the South, to attract any ~~significant~~ large amount of new industry.

-- Young, educated Southerners leaving the area rather than "put up with all this racial strife."

-- The "staggering" cost to cities, counties, and states for policing "emergency" situations and for litigation.

-- A loss of, and inability to attract, faculty and students to southern universities.

-- A growing movement on the part of entertainers, cultural exhibitors, and sports promoters to boycott racially segregated audiences.

-- A loss of convention and tourist business.

According to the report, not all of the waste documented has a price tag. It asks if "the people of Mississippi, for example, can afford the cost to the human spirit that comes from being cut off from a culture's highest artistic achievement? Is there enough money in the world to cover the cost to the American nation in international good will lost by unacceptable race relations?"

The introduction points out the "elementary arithmetic" which refutes arguments that the expenses are to be blamed on victims of discrimination rather than discrimination itself. It asserts that the estimated cost of implementing the Civil Rights Act for five years -- $100 million -- "would be only 0.6 percent of the Gross National Product increase -- $17 billion -- which could be realized for one year with full and free use of our human resources."

It goes on to say that if all expenditures and loss could be added up, "the sum would be shocking." According to the report, "the shock is even greater if, in reading each item, one keeps in mind the many and drastic needs in the South for wise use of its public monies and resources to improve society and the lot of its individuals."

"Will southern states, which can least afford it, which so need to develop the potential of their people to the highest degree of human dignity, continue to waste the substance of their people?" the report asks.

The League ~~and the Southern Regional Council~~ Southern Regional Council and the said the report was issued to underscore new opportunities afforded the South through ~~abidance~~ compliance with the Civil Rights Act "to be law abiding, to avoid such costs in the future, and to develop more fully its own great natural and human resources."

"The Price We Pay" is available from the Anti-Defamation League, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, and the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

# # # #

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

JULY 14, 1964

MEMO TO: The Rev. Brinson (CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT) -- SRC
FROM : VEJ
RE : Distribution of THE PRICE WE PAY

CATEGORIES:

1; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9-1; 10; 13; 17; 18;

FCR; VIP; CCR; CRC;

Committee on Community Relations - U. S. Conf of Mayors

Mayors in sou. cities (eleven) over 100,000

All Southern Governors & Attorney Generals

Community Relations Service - U. S. Civil Rights Com.

Department of Commerce - - Mr. Hodges

MUrray Hill 9-7400

File

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

Here is the release. I look forward to your call.

-Lynne Ianniello

Rec'd 10/8/64 MA-tzi VJ-pls see me

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE/ANNUAL MATERIALS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE

May we invite you to join the ADL ANNUAL MATERIALS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE. This Service, which costs only $5.00 a year, entitles you to receive selected ADL publications issued during the coming year. The Service will help you keep abreast of current studies and publications in the field of intergroup relations at a considerable saving of time, effort and money.

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More Information:

Finally, and most important, participants in the ADL Annual Materials Subscription Service have at hand much of the new and relevant material on intergroup relations. For example, had you subscribed last year you would have automatically received "Human Rights and the International Community" by Egon Schwelb; "Out of Many: A Study Guide to Cultural Pluralism" by Oscar Handlin; "Epitaph for Jim Crow" by Thomas F. Pettigrew; "The Price We Pay"; "Memo and Date Book"; "Anti-Semitism: A Case Study in Prejudice and Discrim-

ination" by J. Milton Yinger; "A Short History of Communism" by Martin Greenberg; "Social Change and the Negro Problem" by Arnold Rose; "Patterns of Minority Relations" by Raymond W. Mack and Troy S. Duster; "Not Like Other Children" by Bernard Asbell; "Dixie Teachers Report Their Pupils Learn Well in Mixed-Race Schools" by James C. Tanner; "Give Slum Children A Chance -- A Radical Proposal" by Charles Silberman.

Our list for the coming year gives every indication of including important contributions in the areas of race relations, civil rights, the study of prejudice and discrimination, etc.

May we suggest that you fill out the attached coupon now. (If you have already subscribed, please pass this announcement on to a friend.)

BONUS OFFERING TO NEW SUBSCRIBERS:

> Some of My Best Friends, a fascinating study on how discrimination operates in the fields of housing, education, employment, etc., by Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster. This important volume, which sells for $4.50, will be sent free of charge to all new subscribers.

ORDER COUPON

Anti-Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016

Please add my name to your Annual Materials Subscription Service. I am enclosing $5.00 which will cover the subscription fee from January 1965, through December 1965, for Anti-Defamation League publications.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

ADDENDUM:

PUBLICATIONS CATALOG '63-'64

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

FOR CHILDREN

C 500/LITTLE STORIES. Gladys Baker Bond. Illustrated by Maurice Sendak. Seven illustrated short stories about children who learn and practice brotherhood in everyday situations. Can easily be read and understood by children from the fourth grade up. Excellent discussion starters. Teacher guide. 80 pp. 75¢. (In one volume)

C 501/THE RABBIT BROTHERS. Robert Kraus. A humorous cartoon booklet about twin rabbits: Joe—who dislikes all rabbits different from himself and is miserable, and George—who tries to find some good in all rabbits and is much happier. Includes discussion guide for teachers and parents. 34 pp. 25¢. (New price)

TOTALITARIANISM AND EXTREMISM

B 12/DANGER ON THE RIGHT. Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster. An in-depth study of the Radical Right in the America of the 1960's and of their more important extreme conservative allies by the authors of "The Troublemakers" and "Cross-Currents." Examines the facts, the figures and the leading personalities whose activity and support has made the Right Wing a noticeable force on the American political scene. Published by Random House. $4.95. B 12S—soft cover edition: $2.95.

G 414/FREEDOM VS. COMMUNISM. Emerson Chapin. A concise comparison of democratic ideas and reality with the cold facts of communist totalitarianism. In various aspects of society—justice, labor, religion, government, civil liberties, etc.—the failure of the communist system to provide dignity and freedom for its people is contrasted with a democratic society. 48 pp. 50¢.

FB 4/A SHORT HISTORY OF COMMUNISM. Martin Greenberg. A clearly written account of the evolution of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the development of Soviet Russia. The author discusses the growth of parliamentary government in the West, by way of contrast to his examination of the authoritarian controls exerted by communist regimes. 80 pp. 95¢.

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GENERAL

G 443/HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. Egon Schwelb. The author, a lecturer and Senior Fellow at Yale University Law School and former Deputy Director of the United Nations Division on Human Rights, probes the roots of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and systematically analyzes its development from 1948 to the present. Published by Quadrangle Press. 96 pp. $3.50. G 443S—soft cover edition: $1.45.

G 386/MEMO AND DATE BOOK. Compact, week-at-a-glance desk calendar and appointment book follows the school year from September to September. Includes a complete listing, with background information, of patriotic and religious holidays and events, as well as a valuable bibliography of human relations publications and audio-visual aids. Each page carries quotations and proverbs culled from poets, philosophers and statesmen of many nations. 35¢. (New price)

G 423S/RESCUE IN DENMARK. Harold Flender. Tells how courage and determination enabled the Danes to rescue their Jewish fellow-citizens from the Nazi terror. An entire nation mobilized to save endangered friends and neighbors by helping them escape to neutral territory. Published by Macfadden-Bartell. 224 pp. 60¢. (Now in soft cover)

G 450/RESEARCH BULLETIN ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS: 1963-64. Prepared in cooperation with the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI), the Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP) and Phi Delta Kappa—the Professional Society for Men in Education. Abstracts of sociological and psychological research studies completed, currently under way or being planned. 48 pp. $1.50.

PREJUDICE

F 118/PREJUDICE AND POLITICS. Charles P. Taft and Bruce L. Felknor. Revised edition. Traces the role religion and race have played in American elections, and describes how suffrage was gradually extended to all religions and races. Discusses such examples of prejudice as the 1928 election campaign, and concludes with a Code of Fair Campaign Practices. (Co-authors Taft and Felknor are executives of the National Council of Churches, and are chairman and executive director, respectively, of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee.) 56 pp. 50¢.

B 15/PREJUDICE AND YOUR CHILD. 2nd edition, enlarged. Kenneth B. Clark. A study of the origin of hate and fear and how prejudice is communicated from adults to children. Suggestions are given for combatting prejudice by teachers, parents and social workers. New material on the school desegregation cases is included. Published by Beacon Paperbacks. 247 pp. $1.75.

JF 100/PREJUDICED—HOW DO PEOPLE GET THAT WAY? William Van Til. A cogent explanation of how people become prejudiced and how prejudice can be prevented. Amply and humorously illustrated, this pamphlet discusses "prejudice chromosomes," the theory of "superior" and "inferior" races, and other fallacious beliefs. The author writes from extensive experience in the field of education. Teacher guide. 32 pp. 35¢. (Revised)

RACE RELATIONS

B 14/AMERICAN RACE RELATIONS TODAY. Earl Raab, editor. While desegregation provides equal opportunity to participate, integration is the **achievement** of equal group participation. This collection of essays deals with "post-bigotry" problems, that is, factors other than discrimination which seriously deter integration at all levels of American life, such as attitudes toward desegregation, urbanization and minority ghettos, quotas, Northern schools, Black Muslims. Published by Anchor Books. 195 pp. 95¢.

R 162/THE BUSINESSMAN AND THE NEGRO. Charles E. Silberman. The author explains why the businessman must modify job specifications, subsidize training programs for the unskilled, and utilize the talents of the educated Negro. (From **Fortune.**) 8 pp. 25¢.

R 166/THE CITY AND THE NEGRO. Charles E. Silberman. The author makes a detailed analysis of the American city, its population and problems, and concludes that the city can only be saved if it faces up to the fact that the "urban problem" is, in large measure, a Negro problem. (From **Fortune.**) 10 pp. 25¢.

B 17/CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE. Charles E. Silberman. The author states that though an end to discrimination is a prerequisite to solution of the race problem in America, this alone will not solve the problem. He discusses the damage done to the Negro's personality and self-esteem by discrimination and prejudice and concludes that changes are necessary in the psyches of Negroes as well as whites if genuine, lasting, positive change is to take place. Published by Random House. 370 pp. $5.95.

G 415/EPITAPH FOR JIM CROW. Thomas F. Pettigrew. The author examines the historical, sociological, psychological and political forces which shape intergroup relations in the United States, and traces the development of race relations from the nineteenth century to the present. 59 pp. 75¢.

B 18/FOR HUMAN BEINGS ONLY. Sarah Patton Boyle. Designed to show how we can learn to communicate with people who are alienated from us, and thus lay the foundation in our personal lives, within our families, and in our day-to-day contacts, for deeper inter-racial fellowship in everyday living. Published by Seabury Press. 124 pp. $1.25.

G 449/GUIDELINES: A MANUAL FOR BI-RACIAL COMMITTEES. George Schermer. A valuable handbook for existing bi-racial committees and those interested in forming such organizations. The author discusses purpose, program, and organization; provides model ordinance and committee structure; supplies a directory of federal, state, local and private human rights agencies; and gives an annotated bibliography. Preface by Adlai E. Stevenson. 96 pp. $1.50.

G 442/LETTER FROM BIRMINGHAM CITY JAIL. Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr. King sets forth the causes which impel the Negro community to take action against oppression and demand a minimal measure of justice **now.** Printed by the American Friends Service Committee. 15 pp. 15¢.

B 7/MENTAL HEALTH AND SEGREGATION. Martin B. Grossack, editor. The first collection of significant papers that look at the psychic consequences of segregation from experimental, sociological, clinical, dynamic, and statistical points of view. Documents the ill effects of segregation on the emotional well-being of Negroes in the South and North. Published by Springer Publishing Co. 256 pp. $4.00.

B 8/THE NEGRO PERSONALITY. Bertram P. Karon. A rigorous investigation of the effects of culture on the Negro personality. The research data prove consistently that the social pressures of the caste sanctions are destructive and that the destructiveness varies with the severity of the sanctions. Published by Springer Publishing Co. 192 pp. $4.00.

B 13/THE NEGRO POTENTIAL. Eli Ginzberg. Based on the Conservation of Human Resources Project, Columbia University. Factual account of gains made by Negroes since 1940 in employment, Armed Services and education. Emphasizes what the Negro and white communities must still do to develop fuller integration and wider use of Negro potentialities. Published by Columbia University Press. 144 pp. $1.45.

B 11/THE NEGRO REVOLUTION IN AMERICA. William Brink and Louis Harris. Based on a nationwide, in-depth survey of the American Negro community. Over 1,000 Negroes, from both the rank and file and the leadership, were asked carefully prepared questions by interviewers, most of whom were also Negroes. The result is an honest self-portrait of an entire race plus the separately polled opinions of whites on the subject of Negroes. Published by Simon and Schuster. 249 pp. $4.50. B 11s—soft cover edition: $1.45.

R 154/THE ORDEAL OF AMERICAN NEGROES. Dore Schary. Analyzes the discontent with gradualism that has led the Negro community to disenchantment with white liberals in general and Jews in particular. (From **ADL Bulletin.**) 2 pp. 5¢.

G 451/THE PRICE WE PAY. A roundup of opinion from the Southern business community and others on the economic consequences of resistance to desegregation in the South. Reports on "the price we pay" for discrimination in employment, in legal costs, in education, in culture, entertainment and sports, in tourism and conventions, on a national scale and in foreign relations. Published by ADL and the Southern Regional Council. 48 pp. 75¢.

B 10/A PROFILE OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN. Thomas F. Pettigrew. Presents a many-sided, social psychological view of the Negro American—his personality, his genetic composition, his mental and physical health, his crime rate, and his current protest. Documented with references to 565 books, articles and studies. Published by D. Van Nostrand Co. 235 pp. $5.95.

G 416/RACE AWARENESS IN YOUNG CHILDREN. Revised edition. Mary Ellen Goodman. An anthropologist writes with clarity and warmth about the child's initial innocence of race. Using case studies, Dr. Goodman investigates the complex processes underlying the culturally predominant pattern of "white over brown" that persists in our society. Contains a summary of relevant research since 1950. Introduction by Kenneth B. Clark. Published by Collier Books. 352 pp. $1.50.

G 434/RACE AND INTELLIGENCE. Melvin M. Tumin, editor. Four distinguished social scientists examine in detail the charge that Negroes have a lower native intelligence than whites. They are in agreement that scientific evidence tends to indicate that race has no significant relationship to intelligence. 56 pp. $2.00. G 434s—soft cover edition: 75¢.

F 121/SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM. Arnold Rose. An analysis of the dynamic forces that have determined the changes in the Negro problem over the past fifteen years. The author gives greatest emphasis to forces involving social power, economic and political; smaller stress to changes in public ideologies; and least weight to factors usually singled out as "psychological." Originally appeared as the introduction to the Torchbook Edition of "The Negro in America." 24 pp. 50¢.

G 427/THEY AND WE. Peter I. Rose. A synopsis of some of the principal aspects of racial and ethnic relations in the United States. Examines the nature of prejudice, the causes and consequences of intergroup conflict, and the

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reactions of minorities to discriminatory treatment. Random House. 109 pp. $1.95.

G 336/TIME TO ACT. John F. Kennedy. A transcript of President Kennedy's dramatic speech calling for a national response to the moral demands of the race relations problem. Delivered to the nation on June 11, 1963. 7 pp. 10¢.

JF 101/WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT "RACE". Ashley Montagu. With the help of humorous cartoon illustrations, the author examines the beginnings of man, his adaptive traits, environment and intelligence, and points out that scientists have not yet reached a single acceptable definition of "race." One Nation Library. Teacher guide. 40 pp. 50¢. (Revised)

G 363/WITH JUSTICE FOR ALL: A Guide for Law Enforcement Officers. Foreword by U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. A straightforward booklet on the necessity for fair play in handling conflicts involving different racial and religious groups. Co-published by ADL and the Int'l Assoc. of Chiefs of Police. Endorsed by Southern Police Institute. 36 pp. 35¢. (New foreword)

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

(See **Education and Human Relations** for related material.)

G 435/THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: A Psychiatric Study. Dr. Robert Coles. An intensive study showing that white and Negro children in desegregated schools suffer "no medical or psychiatric damage" and "no breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends." Based on intensive psychological interviews with elementary school students in New Orleans and high school students in Atlanta, it is the first psychiatric report on the effect of desegregation on white and Negro students in the South. 25 pp. 50¢.

R 168/ DIXIE TEACHERS REPORT THEIR PUPILS LEARN WELL IN MIXED-RACE SCHOOLS. James C. Tanner. Reports from teachers in recently integrated Southern schools demonstrating that desegregation lowers neither academic nor moral standards of either Negro or white children. (From **Wall Street Journal.**) 4 pp. 5¢.

B 6/EDUCATION IN DEPRESSED AREAS. A. Harry Passow, editor. Consists of fifteen papers written by such experts in the field of education as Kenneth B. Clark, Martin Deutsch, John H. Fisher, Robert G. Havighurst and Carl L. Marburger. Papers deal with the unique characteristics and roles of the urban school; the nature of existing and required instructional procedures; characteristics of personnel and material resources; problems facing schools in depressed areas. Published by Teachers College, Columbia University. 359 pp. $4.75.

R 172/GIVE SLUM CHILDREN A CHANCE—A RADICAL PROPOSAL. Charles E. Silberman. States that genuine integration is not possible until the schools in white and Negro slum areas are brought up to the level of the very best in the city. (From **Harper's Magazine.**) 6 pp. 10¢.

G 440/INTEGRATING THE URBAN SCHOOL. Gordon J. Klopf and Israel A. Laster, editors. Contains the proceedings of the Conference on Integration in the New York City Public Schools held in 1963 at Columbia University with twenty human rights and education organizations participating. Includes six papers by such authorities as Martin Deutsch, Melvin Tumin and Dan Thompson; also 30 recommendations. Published by Teachers College, Columbia University. 126 pp. $1.95.

R 163/THE NORTH AND WEST HAVE PROBLEMS, TOO. G. W. Foster, Jr. Deals with school segregation arising from residential patterns, the concept of the neighborhood school, and the problem of the slum school. (From **Saturday Review.**) 5 pp. 10¢.

G 418/SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: TOKEN DESEGREGATION AND BEYOND. Kenneth Morland. The first thorough analysis of the methods and effects of the schemes used in some Southern states to evade the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. Dr. Morland is chairman of the sociology department at Randolph-Macon College, Virginia. 27 pp. 50¢. (Formerly listed as **Tokenism.**)

ANTI-SEMITISM

FB 5/ANTI-SEMITISM: A CASE STUDY IN PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION. J. Milton Yinger. An analysis of the history of anti-Semitism from its inception to the present, by the well-known sociologist and author of "Racial and Cultural Minorities in the United States." In his concise and lucid manner, Professor Yinger analyzes the psychological, political and sociological meanings of prejudice in general and of anti-Semitism in particular. 80 pp. $1.25.

G 439/CURRENT PROBLEMS OF ANTI-SEMITISM: Proceedings of a Conference. A summary of the presentations and discussion which took place at the Consultation on Jewish-Christian Relations sponsored by ADL and the National Council of Churches to discuss the facts, issues and implications of anti-Semitism, social discrimination, and the "extreme right." 19 pp. 35¢.

R 169/ON OBLITERATING THE SOVIET JEWS. Arthur Miller. Reproductions of the anti-Semitic hate cartoons from "Judaism Without Embellishment," a popular Soviet "sociological study" issued by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Arthur Miller's eloquent essay on Soviet anti-Semitism and the **New Leader** editorial on "Judaism Without Embellishment" are included. (From **The New Leader.**) 8 pp. 15¢.

B 9/THE TEACHING OF CONTEMPT: Christian Roots of Anti-Semitism. Jules Isaac. The scholarly French-Jewish historian's final effort to bring Christians to a deeper examination of the roots of ancient prejudice. Concludes that an important cause of anti-Semitism can be found in certain elements of the doctrines of Christianity which derogate Judaism and portray the Jewish people negatively. Published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 154 pp. $4.00.

JEWS AND JUDAISM

G 424C/GREAT JEWISH IDEAS. Abraham Ezra Millgram, editor. What makes Judaism different? What are its key ideas? Answers to these and related subjects can be found in this volume which deals with the uniqueness of Judaism and the specific ideas that differentiate it from other religious faiths. Fifth in the series of B'nai B'rith Great Books. 352 pp. $3.95.

G 438/A GUIDE TO BOOKS ON THE JEWISH TRADITION AND DEMOCRACY. A list of books and pamphlets currently in print and available from publishers which shed light on the extraordinary influence of Judaism on democracy and American society. 6 pp. Free.

R 155/POPE JOHN AND THE JEWS. Joseph L. Lichten. Movingly retells the active concern shown by Angelo Roncalli, Pope John XXIII, for the Jewish people in their time of greatest need. (From **Jubilee.**) 3 pp. 10¢.

N 527/THE SABBATH. Rabbi David Greenberg. A discussion of the meaning of the Sabbath in the Jewish faith, with excerpts from the Bible, the Talmud and Judeo-Hellenistic as well as medieval literature. Included is a model Sabbath eve service with full explanations. 15 pp. 20¢.

N 523/YOUR NEIGHBOR CELEBRATES. Revised edition. Rabbi Arthur Gilbert and Oscar Tarcov. A clear, concise explanation of the major Jewish holidays—their historical origins, ceremonies and their significance for the Jewish people. 39 pp. 35¢.

ETHNIC AND RACIAL MINORITIES

RU 6/OUT OF MANY: A Study Guide to Cultural Pluralism in the United States. Oscar Handlin. A brief account of the pluralistic nature of American democrary, by the eminent

Harvard historian. Professor Handlin maintains that by retaining their tradition of pluralism Americans express their desire to remain a free people. 32 pp. 35¢.

F 120/PATTERNS OF MINORITY RELATIONS. Raymond W. Mack and Troy S. Duster. A systematic examination of minority group interaction in American society. Analyzes the changing roles of American minority groups; caste systems, old and new; group boundaries; dangers of prejudice and stereotypes; and the weaknesses of ethnic, racial and religious classifications. 61 pp. 65¢.

B 19/STRANGERS NEXT DOOR. Robin M. Williams, Jr. Ethnic relations in American communities today. The result of eight years research on behavior and attitudes in relations among racial, ethnic and religious groupings in the United States. This book is based on the widely respected Cornell Studies in Intergroup Relations. Published by Prentice-Hall Inc. 395 pp. List price $12.00.

CIVIL RIGHTS

G 300/CIVIL RIGHTS AND MINORITIES. Paul Hartman. Answers such questions as "How thoroughly are members of America's minority groups protected by present civil rights legislation?" "What barriers to civil rights have been imposed by the states in order to conform to regional prejudices and patterns?" A concise and up-to-date guide to the legal status of civil rights in the U.S. Includes four page **Addendum** (G 300A) which brings this work up to date as of April 30, 1964. 32 pp. 50¢.

G 433/QUEST FOR THE DREAM. John P. Roche. The American ideal of equal rights for all citizens began to come really true only in the past half century, according to Dr. Roche who is chairman of the Department of Politics at Brandeis University. The author has written a 50-year history of American human rights under a grant from ADL. Published by Macmillan. 269 pp. Publisher's price: $5.95. Special discount price: $1.95.

R 159/THE RIGHT TO EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AS A PERSONAL AND PRESENT RIGHT. Paul Hartman. Investigates the extent to which the U.S. Supreme Court has de-emphasized the traditional interpretation of freedom from discrimination as a "personal" and "present" right guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment. (From **Wayne Law Review.**) 20 pp. 25¢.

G 446/SOME LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN RELATIONS DURING 1963. Sol Rabkin, Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes. A concise summary of legal developments in civil rights and human relations in 1963 in such fields as employment, public accommodations, education and housing. 4 pp. 10¢.

G 437/TEACHING THE BILL OF RIGHTS. William J. Brennan, Jr. The Supreme Court Justice discusses with deep awareness the problems of individual civil liberties within the framework of the Constitution. He presents teaching methods helpful in explaining the interdependence of our legal and educational systems. 23 pp. 25¢.

EDUCATION AND HUMAN RELATIONS

(See **School Desegregation** for related material.)

R 174/GUIDELINES FOR TESTING MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN. Explains the conditions which prevent lower class children, most of whom are minority group members, from demonstrating their mental potentialities in school-administered I.Q. tests. (From **Journal of Social Issues.**) 18 pp. 25¢.

G 445/HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE CLASSROOM: A CHALLENGE TO TEACHER EDUCATION. A further report by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools on the human relations problems confronting secondary school teachers and how they can be trained to cope with them. Third in the series that includes **Teacher Education for Human Relations in the Classroom** and **Human Relations in the Classroom.** 16 pp. 25¢.

R 158/IMPROVING THE CLIMATE FOR POSITIVE HUMAN RELATIONS ON THE COLLEGE CAMPUS. Morton J. Sobel. Discusses the need for consistency of practice with theory in the teaching of human values and emphasizes the futility of teaching civil rights when the ideal is contradicted by the educational milieu. (From **Journal of Human Relations.**) 11 pp. 50¢.

R 167/NOT LIKE OTHER CHILDREN. Bernard Asbell. The author writes about his discovery that often poorly trained, hostile teachers judge the potential of slum children by rigid middle class standards and IQ's, thus relegating the "culturally deprived" child to a limbo of unteachability. (From **Redbook.**) 6 pp. 10¢.

RU 2/RESOURCE UNIT ON PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION. Subject outline, learning activities, list of audio-visual materials and an extensive bibliography. For first through twelfth grade teachers. 32 pp. 25¢.

F 105/SHALL CHILDREN, TOO, BE FREE? Howard A. Lane. A discussion of the stages of human development and the nine major "vitamins of personality," outlining the premise that "personality, too, can be malnourished." Dr. Lane, professor of education at San Francisco State College and former psychologist for the Detroit Police Department, is a specialist in the social and educational background of delinquent youth. An especially important book for parents and teachers. 33 pp. 50¢. (Revised)

R 156/THEORY INTO PRACTICE. Howard J. Ehrlich, editor. Special edition of the journal published by Ohio State University devoted entirely to Intergroup Relations Education. Three of eight papers on discrimination, stereotypes, and related problems are written by Morton J. Sobel, J. Kenneth Morland, and Judah J. Harris, respectively. 65 pp. $1.00.

G 407/TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC CAMPUS. Robert Terte. A handbook for student leaders concerning human relations activities on and off campus. The aspirations and activities of the "concerned" American student of today are summarized; program and project ideas are outlined. Mr. Terte is with the education department of **The New York Times.** Published by the U. S. National Student Association in cooperation with ADL. 32 pp. 50¢.

CHURCH AND STATE

R 160/A CHRISTIAN VIEW: BEHIND THE FIGHT AGAINST SCHOOL PRAYER. H. B. Sissel. The secretary for National Affairs of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. writes about why true religion has nothing to fear from the strict enforcement of separation of church and state. (From **Look.**) 5 pp. 10¢.

R 170/COMMENTS OF RELIGIOUS SPOKESMEN. A Compilation of comments by Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious spokesmen upholding the Supreme Court prayer decisions and opposing efforts to amend the U. S. Constitution to negate those decisions. (From **Congressional Record.**) 4 pp. 5¢.

R 171/MONDAY MORNING. Eugene Carson Blake and William A. Morrison. A special communication to Presbyterian pastors pleading for a thoughtful response in support of the Supreme Court's decision against Bible-reading in Public Schools. 5¢.

R 173/SHARED-TIME PROGRAMS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY. An examination of the schools, pupils and subjects offered in shared-time arrangements. Analyzes the advantages and disadvantages of shared time, gives descriptions of selected shared-time programs and discusses the concepts, background and legal implications of such practices. Published by the National Education Association. 24 pp. 75¢.

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Benjamin R. Epstein is national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and has studied and written extensively on problems of prejudice in this country and abroad.
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August 13, 1964

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
Southeast Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Charles:

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mp

Rec'd 8/20/64

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August 19, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Quadrangle Books queried me about "Report on Southern Cities." Is there anything new on this material?

Regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

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June 19, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Quadrangle Books is quite interested in publishing a book on your reports of four cities. They would like to see the additional studies and I will send them to my friends there, after which they will probably be in touch with you directly.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

September 2, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Cohen:

Leslie asked me to reply to your query about the Southern cities reports.

As you know, we've done the first three. I'm enclosing fresh copies. Brunswick is, I think, about ready for the printers. Between the time of my research and completing a first draft, so much had happened (civil rights law, Goldwater, etc.), I went back down there and added a final section on the changes. I hope it will be out this month, and will of course send you a copy as soon as it is.

Baton Rouge is still a possibility for the last in the series. I want to study it from afar a bit to see if it is any longer feasible.

Meanwhile, I am enclosing a report I did on Jacksonville, and will send as soon as it is out a New South report I did on St. Augustine. It is at the printers, and will be this month's New South. Although these aren't in the series, they are similar enough to the other reports perhaps to be included with them in book form.

We would be interested in hearing from Quadrangle about the thing.

I've been very interested in the reception of The Price We Pay, and pleased.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

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September 9, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat:

It was good to hear from you about the Southern cities reports. I'm glad to hear that Brunswick is now done, for I think it will make an important addition. I'll ask the Quadrangle people to consider the four major reports together with Jacksonville and St. Augustine. Perhaps this would be enough, for Baton Rouge may or may not become available. You'll hear from me further on this.

I, too, have been delighted with what is happening re "The Price We Pay." It is a very successful project and I think you and your colleagues deserve unbounded appreciation.

Could you send me several additional copies of the Jacksonville report.

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb
cc: Stan Wexler
Monroe Schlactus

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

September 10, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Cohen:

It was good to hear from you. Here are the Jacksonville reports. I will send St. Augustine and Brunswick as soon as they are printed.

Regards.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

Enclosures - 5

September 25, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Cohen:

We are enclosing herewith the Higgins-McArthur Company Invoice showing the printing cost of The Price We Pay, sponsored jointly the the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council.

Our agreement was to divide the cost equally. The total bill is $5,305.04. We would appreciate the Anti-Defamation League's share of $2,652.52 at your earliest possible convenience.

Thank you kindly.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

October 29 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

At long last here are St Augustine and Brunswick I'm right proud of St. Augustine

If you need any of the other city reports, including Jacksonville, that we discussed for showing to Quadrangle, let me know.

Hope all is well with you.

Yours truly

Pat Watters
Director of Information

P
W
/
m
p

Enclosures - 4

November 11, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Cohen:

Thanks for your letter and the kind comments. I'm enclosing two sets of all the reports.

We'll be happy to see you while you are here. Our annual meeting is the 20th and 21st, with Leroy Collins speaking the night of the 20th. Any chance of your getting in early for it?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PWmmp

LES ✓

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File

November 4, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Pat:

Thank you very much for your reports on St. Augustine and Brunswick. I can understand why you are so happy with the St. Augustine report. It is excellent. Brunswick is very good also, but I think you really put your heart into the St. Augustine document.

I have sent the material to Quadrangle Books and I should hear from them soon. I imagine they will have some suggestions. I think that a wrap-up chapter, which would include the implications of the reports, would be required. Let us wait until we hear from Quadrangle.

I will be in Atlanta on the 23rd and 24th and hope to see you then.

Can we have an extra copy of the reports.

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb
cc: Stan Wexler

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File

December 10, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

The Spock pamphlet is our guide for style rather than size. There is no reason the Collins piece cannot be considerably longer. Certainly, some cutting is called for, but I do not think it need be extensive.

I look forward to seeing the edited piece.

Sincerely,

Judith Herschlag

Judith Herschlag
Assistant Director of
Publications

JH/glb

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

January 4, 1965

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

I'm sending on to you a rough draft of what I have done with the Collins interview. I am sorry to be so long in this; interruptions have been frequent.

As you can see I have broken the material into three sections of three, eight and eleven pages in that order, and tacked on an introduction. The second and the third sections might seem too long to you. Breaking them up further, perhaps with subtitles would be a simple matter. On the other hand, the way I have them now is structurally logical, and could be presented painlessly through good layout and typography.

On that score, I don't see how you could improve much on the basic appearance of the Dr. Spock interview.

I'm also enclosing the cut-up and pasted up version of the original interview so that you can see what liberties I took with Governor Collins's answers, and what cuts I made. Both were few, but you may want to clear them with him.

One further question is whether more cuts are needed. Some of the answers might be trimmed but it would be at the expense of

the Governor falvorful way with words --- which to me is the chief charm you have here.

I will be waiting to hear from you about it and what more I might do.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mp

Enclosures - 2

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File

January 7, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat:

Your article in The New York Times was magnificent. Congratulations!

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

February 5, 1965

Mr. Monroe Schlactus
Executive Director
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Monroe:

Thanks again for the attached and all your other help on the hate call story. I got word last week, it will appear in Atlantic, April issue.

Come to see us. Best regards.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
P

Enclosures

March 8, 1965

Mr. Stanley Waxler
Program Department
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Stan:

Les Dunbar asked me to check with you about the suggested reprint of The Price We Pay. We have some 1800 copies of it here, and would be willing to share up to 1300 of them with you. Do you want to see whether that many would hold you for awhile, or maybe even avoid the necessity for a re-run? Let me know.

What progress with the Collins thing?

Regards.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:p

January 15, 1965

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

Thanks for your kind words about the Ruleville piece.

Did you get all of the material I sent on the Collins interview?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
P

July 27, 1965

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
316 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

Thank you for your good letter. As you say our differences are probably quantitative. The nub of it would be the question of whether the approaches and accomplishments of the New Deal or the Great Society, in its manifestations so far, are enough. I can't agree that they are. I do agree that the one may destroy the radicalism, the good along with the bad, just as thoroughly as the other destroyed the Socialist party, the good along with the bad, of the 1930's. But as I read Harrington (for one) about the New Deal and look about the South today, I am not prepared to celebrate either demise.

I wrote about individuals for whom I have the deepest respect, many of whom I have known over some rough years. I wasn't being charitable toward them; I don't have the right to be. Nor do I think I am taken in. They are among the incredibly small number of people who, against every obstacle, led this nation to its present degree of confrontation with the evil of racism. This can't be taken away from them. If they are in trouble now--of whatever kind---they are due the effort of being understood, and if possible, helped. And if they say or do things with which I disagree, it is only the better part of humility and respect for truth to remember that once before, they were right when nearly everyone else said they were wrong. This doesn't make them right again of course; it does obligate me to examine their positions with more than normal care.

That's all, really, of the most I was trying to say.

I respect on exactly the same rationale your judgements, and appreciate your taking the time and care of your letter. There is much to be gained in knowing how each of us feels, and why.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mpa

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Organization and Planning

File

August 23, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I regret that I haven't responded to your letter, but I have been away on vacation.

Your letter is written with such logic, humanity and eloquence. What can I say?

I think, however, that we may not quite understand each other. The nub of the question is not whether we have made enough social and economic progress so far. Of course, we haven't. The question is whether or not these people are in favor of any society in which you and I can believe. I happen to think they are not. There is a degree of irrationality in their behavior which is disturbing. There is a depth of hatred among many of them which is dangerous. I grant you their courage, sincerity and belief in their ideals whatever they may be. But their objectives frequently do not seem compatible with the kind of democratic and egalitarian society in which we believe. I object to their tolerance of extremists. In short, at this point, I would consider that by and large they are a menace to the civil rights movement. I assume you may ask me to define "they." I think we both know.

The next time I am in Atlanta or when you are in New York, this is a subject for discussion. I would look forward to this very much.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/ng

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

July 28, 1965

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

Thank you for your good letter. As you say, our differences are probably quantitative. The nub of it would be the question of whether the approaches and accomplishments of the New Deal or the Great Society, in its manifestations so far, are enough. I can't agree that they are. I do agree that the one may destroy the new radicalism, the good along with the bad, just as thoroughly as the other destroyed the Socialist party, the good along with the bad, of the 1930's. But as I read Harrington (for one) about the New Deal and look about the South today, I am not prepared to celebrate either demise.

I wrote about individuals for whom I have the deepest respect, many of whom I have known over some rough years. I wasn't being charitable toward them; I don't have the right to be. Nor do I think I am taken in. They are among the incredibly small number of people who, against every obstacle, led this nation to its present degree of confrontation with the evil of racism. This can't be taken away from them. If they are in trouble now -- of whatever kind -- they are due the effort of being understood, and if possible, helped. And if they say or do things with which I disagree, it is only the better part of humility and respect for truth to remember that once before, they were right when nearly everyone else said they were wrong. This doesn't make them right again of course; it does obligate me to examine their positions with more than normal care.

That's all, really, of the most that I was trying to say.

I respect on exactly the same rationale your judgments, and appreciate the time and care of your letter. There is much to be gained in knowing how each of us feels, and why.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mm

File
For Your Information
Theodore Freedman

FACTS

DOMESTIC REPORT

AUGUST 1965—VOL. 16, No. 5—PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

'Let Freedom Ring'

Let Freedom Ring, a new voice of the Radical Right in America, whispers—in an area where so many shout raucously. It is a quiet recorded voice on the telephone, the constantly changing and always anonymous voice of a man or a woman with a 90-second sermon of fear called a "patriotic message." It can be dialed at any hour of the day or night in some thirty or more cities. For extremists it is a most promising device in their growing store of propaganda techniques.

On April 6, 1965, after the Selma to Montgomery civil rights march, a man in Baltimore, promised a revealing message, dialed a much-publicized number to hear:

> "The carnival in Alabama is over and the result is increased hatred between the races, two dead, and a Constitution that is about to be ripped to shreds by a panicky Congress bowing to mob rule and White House tyranny."

A New Yorker dialing a Yukon exchange number heard a similar report. Another man in Chicago, or still another in Miami or in Southern Pines, North Carolina, could hear much the same thing. In each city the listener was alone and attentive, the speaker nameless but of seeming authority, the message provocative and extremist.

Let Freedom Ring, with national headquarters at P.O. Box 1775 in Sarasota, Florida, is the creation of William Campbell Douglass, M.D., a Sarasota physician who is a member of the John Birch Society. Douglass explains his operation in a mimeographed prospectus:

> "*Let Freedom Ring* is a non-profit corporation established to disseminate anti-Communist, anti-Socialist, pro-American broadcasts via a telephone tape recording. Your 'customer' dials a number (just like time and weather) and gets two minutes of anti-Communist dynamite. . . .
>
> "Let Freedom Ring brings to your area a hard-hitting, often shocking program that is 'on the air' twenty-four hours a day. . . . You will be amazed at the frantic reaction that you will get from your enemies—they will hate it!"

The Fright Network

By the summer of 1965, after less than three years in business, Dr. Douglass's network of telephone "stations" had spread to many of the major cities across the nation. *Let Freedom Ring* message stations now operate in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit (which boasts ten tape machines with ten telephone numbers), Baltimore, Miami, Dallas, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Wichita, Sacramento, and in several cities in the Los Angeles area. In addition, there are stations in Decatur, Bedford, and Calumet City, Illinois; Jacksonville, Sarasota, and Clearwater, Florida; Knoxville, Tennessee; Boulder, Colorado; Port Arthur, Texas; Long Beach, California; Brockton, Massachusetts; Summit, New Jersey; Nashua, New Hampshire, and Southern Pines, North Carolina. Even as this list is compiled, a dozen additional franchise applications are pending.

Each week, each of these outlets presents a new "patriotic message" to callers in its area—each spoken calmly but so worded as to arouse suspicion, fear and anger, or the urge to enlist in organized Radical Right activity.

Each message continues for a minute-and-a-half, or sometimes two minutes. It is recorded on tape and played automatically to anyone who dials an advertised phone number. This is done by using the Bell Telephone System's Automatic Announcement Service equipment, an apparatus incorporating recorder, playback, and telephone connections in a single unit. This equipment can be rented from local telephone companies at costs varying from $20 to $45 monthly (multiple numbers and other optional devices being available). All such arrangements are made and paid for by the local *Let Freedom Ring* subscriber.

Radical Rightist Scripts

The automatic phone-tape service is available to anyone, is easily installed, and is cheap enough to make it an economical medium for propaganda. The scripts are supplied by Dr. Douglass—his single responsibility under the franchise agreement—and they cost the subscriber $24 the first year, $12 a year thereafter. The local outlet agrees to use at least 40 of the 52 scripts supplied each year. This leaves "an average of one broadcast per month for the subscriber to air local issues in his immediate area."

LFR scripts, like most of the output of the Radical Right, are lurid visions of a "Communist conspiracy" lurking behind Civil Rights, the UN, the Supreme Court, the last three U.S. Presidents, the State Department, the press, the National Council of Churches, the ACLU, the ADL, and on and on. Early in *LFR's* history—at the time of the Cuban crisis in 1962—the telephone messages from Sarasota asked:

> "How long will the American people put up with treason right in the White House itself? How long before the American people demand the impeachment of John F. Kennedy?"

And more recently (January 26, 1965):

> "America will soon be in a position of hopeless military inferiority to the beasts of Russia because of deliberate disarmament by traitors in the Johnson Administration."

From such "scripts" it is easily understandable that *Let Freedom Ring* has been recommended by Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, as a worthwhile interest for his members. Dr. Douglass writes the *LFR* scripts, compiling his data from "intelligence reports" and other esoteric-sounding sources which he says are "not generally available." The usual Birch line is discernible in much of the material although *Let Freedom Ring* has on occasions unearthed a "conspiracy" the nature of which suggests that at least some of the Doctor's

"intelligence" has been derived from the more excited bulletins and tracts of the far-out fringe.

In his script for the week of April 28, 1964, for example, Dr. Douglass stirred some of his callers' deeper fears (emphasis retained from the original script):

> "The *pro-Communist* toadies within the Johnson Administration must at all costs keep the truth from the American electorate. If they win the election, they will no longer care what you think, for by 1966 America will have ceased to exist . . . There are only three possible answers to Lyndon Johnson's *criminal neglect* of these problems that bear so heavily on our very survival:
>
> "One: *Ignorance*. . . . With our multi-million dollar intelligence establishment this would seem hardly possible.
>
> "Two: *Cowardice* on the part of the President and his State Department pink ladies in striped trousers.
>
> "Three: *Treason*, with the President being a captive or willing tool of the Communist Conspiracy.
>
> "Americans can no longer trust the Executive Branch of our Government."

Seeds of Distrust

Such seeds of distrust have been spread by the recorded telephone voices through ever-widening circles. During the week of May 12, 1964, the unseen patriotic "experts" parroted the following dire warning of Dr. Douglass (emphasis again retained from the original):

> "Another fact ignored by the Press is that the Communist-lining National Council of Churches is openly promoting *bloodshed through armed revolution* by Negroes. There is documented proof that Negroes are being armed for open revolution this summer.
>
> "The Communists, working through their errand boys in Congress and the White House, are working feverishly to have passed a bill that will outlaw the ownership of guns by private citizens while at the same time they are urging *armed rebellion* by Negroes. These carefully coordinated drives are aimed at simultaneously disarming the American people and overwhelming them through Communist-controlled revolts . . . and we also urge our listeners to purchase a rifle or a pistol for home defense. We are *not*—we repeat—we are *not* promoting insurrection as does the National Council of Churches. We are merely urging you to exercise your constitutional and God-given right to protect yourself . . ."

The incitement to "anti-Communist" arms-gathering had been buttressed by tales of a weird government plot against such "God-given" rights (*LFR* broadcast in February, 1964):

> "At the University of Michigan a plan is being developed for the systematic house-to-house search of the entire United States for arms of any kind. The search is to be made by the U.S. Army by blocking off five states at a time, beginning in the western part of the country. The entire civilian population is to be disarmed by the end of 1965."

That horror story so incensed Senator Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.) that he queried officials of the Defense Department to establish the truth as a matter of public record. The Senator inserted the following official Department reply in the *Congressional Record* of October 2, 1964:

> "This charge is absurd, completely false, and reflects the hallucinations of an aberrated mind."

Javits added an interesting note: the story appeared to have been taken bodily from the October, 1963, issue of "On Target," official publication of the para-military "Minute-men" organization.

William Campbell Douglass, M.D., conceived of recorded telephone messages as an "unstoppable" anti-Communist weapon during a long tour of active duty as a U.S. Navy doctor (1957-62). The Navy years did not dull his ideological zeal and soon after leaving the service he set up the first station of *Let Freedom Ring* in Sarasota. Apparently failing to establish his organization as a common-law trust, he finally incorporated *LFR* in the state of Florida as an "educational" organization on July 20, 1964.

Douglass was born in Port Deposit, Maryland, on June 2, 1926. He graduated from Sarasota Senior High School, where he was an average student, in 1944. After years spent at many jobs in many states, Douglass entered the University of Miami Medical School, graduating in 1957. After his five-year Navy tour he settled at 6916 Point of Rocks Road in Sarasota, where he now lives with his wife and two children.

In the reception room of Douglass's professional offices at 1812 Hillview Street, there are stacks of Right Wing propaganda materials which make possible, for each patient, an "educational" hour of waiting. These include the latest issues of the Birchite *American Opinion* magazine and the *Dan Smoot Report*, and flyers advertising the Christian Crusade radio program of Dr. Billy James Hargis.

At one time Douglass was warned to end his practice of distributing such Radical Rightist material to patients at the local hospital—not merely to his own patients—and he stopped doing so. He continues, however, to supply local news vendors in Sarasota with books such as John Stormer's *None Dare Call it Treason* and *The Strange Death of Marilyn Monroe* by Frank A. Capell.

Douglass is a political activist. In addition to his Birch Society membership, he is a member of the advisory board of the Conservative Society of America, the Radical Right political crusade headed by Kent and Phoebe Courtney of New Orleans. The Courtneys have for some years sought formation of a Far Right third political party, which Douglass himself sees as the ultimate answer to the crowding Red "conspiracy."

Third Party Advocate

When, on the last weekend of April, 1965, the Courtneys rallied a "Congress of Conservatives" in Chicago to lay the foundation for a national Right Wing party, Dr. Douglass was listed as one of their featured speakers, along with Birch Society Founder Robert Welch, former Major General Edwin A. Walker, and Medford Evans of the White Citizens' Councils. Home from Chicago, Douglass began drawing plans for a third political party in

FACTS

is a periodic report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Ave., New York 16, N.Y.

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Domestic Report issues of FACTS are edited by Jerome Bakst, director of the Research and Evaluation Dept.

his own state, which he hoped would offer a slate of candidates in the 1966 state elections and become the Florida unit of an eventual national third party. Late in May he held a meeting with about 300 supporters and announced formation of the Constitution Party of Florida, designed to "resurrect the hopes of anti-Communists throughout this state and the world."

To the founder of *Let Freedom Ring,* the greatest cause for terror in this country has been the recent chain of developments in the Civil Rights struggle. He has met the challenge with near-hysteria. To the picture of civil anarchy etched in gunsmoke, Douglass has added the cold, contradictory vision of the air-tight police state; in February, 1964, his local outlets were urged to "broadcast" to their callers the following alarm:

> "The 'Civil Rights Act' now before the United States Senate, will, if passed . . . turn America into a *Fascist state* practically overnight. . . . No business; no church; no club, public or private, would be free of the evil smell of Bobby Kennedy's marshals and spies."

At another time *LFR's* voices suggested to callers that "It's likely that those three civil rights workers in Mississippi were kidnapped and murdered by their own kind to drum up sympathy for their cause."

While thus stimulating baseless suspicions in propaganda for political goals, Dr. Douglass sets a lofty image for his telephone network, particularly in statements to the press. In January, 1965, he said of *Let Freedom Ring*: "We want to keep it on a high level—out of the hands of racists, for example." Yet in his script of May 12, 1964, in describing a supposed "secret Negro army," the Doctor had cited, as a reference, *The Councilor,* an openly racist weekly published in Shreveport by the Citizens' Council of Louisiana, Inc.

Like many of the Radical Right's propagandists, Douglass has often been wildly inconsistent in his assaults. In a press release issued in August, 1963, for example, he argued that "the Communist Party is tickled to death with our playboy President"—and then, barely four months later, he could find reason to pin that same President's murder on "the internal Communist Conspiracy." The effects of a telephone message are often lasting, its "facts" easily forgotten.

The Birch Links

The slant, the novelty, and the unique possibilities of *Let Freedom Ring* have had a natural appeal for people in the John Birch Society as a tool for "education" and recruitment. The operations of the two organizations have been connected at many stations along Douglass' network, and the alliance has been advantageous to them and to him.

LFR scripts have recommended Robert Welch's *American Opinion* magazine as well as his book, *The Politician* ("to fully understand the perfidy and deceit of Dwight Eisenhower"). In the Birch Society's *Bulletin* of March, 1965, Welch wrote that *Let Freedom Ring* "has been catching on quite well, spreading gradually, and transmitting some very worthwhile messages"—and he added that Dr. Douglass "will welcome your inquiry."

The Decatur, Illinois, *LFR* station is sponsored by "Freedom House," a Right Wing bookstore run by members of the Birch Society.

In Philadelphia, callers are told to send money to a certain Post Office box for printed copies of the weekly messages. The Philadelphia *Inquirer* of August 15, 1964, reported that Paul Corbett, a Birch Society "section leader," had rented the box in question. A check mailed to this outlet as a contribution was endorsed by the local American Opinion bookstore.

In the Los Angeles area, a saleslady at an American Opinion Library, which sponsors one of the local *Let Freedom Ring* outlets, told reporter Paul Coates of the Los Angeles *Times* that funds for the phone operation had been "donated by a John Birch chapter in North Hollywood."

The box number of *LFR's* Miami station (Box 21, Miami Shores) was formerly listed under the name of the John Birch Society.

The Summit, New Jersey, *LFR* address (P.O. Box 715) is that of an American Opinion Library there. Summit's telephone equipment stands in the 40-foot finished basement in the home of Dr. Forster G. Ruhl, an active local John Bircher. Next to Ruhl's *Let Freedom Ring* phone equipment stands an almost duplicate set of equipment which, using a different phone number, sends John Birch Society recruiting messages to its callers.

When telephone use of an *LFR* tape was halted by officials of the Pacific Telephone Company in Canoga Park, California, after many serious complaints, the American Opinion Bookshop (which ran Canoga Park's *LFR* operation) was represented in conversations with the telephone company by John Rousselot, national relations director of the John Birch Society.

When Dr. William C. Douglass himself was asked in a letter (quoted in *LFR's* script for December 17, 1963) about the best source of anti-communist information, Douglass replied: "We suggest . . . 'A World Gone Crazy' which can be obtained for $1.00 from American Opinion, Belmont, that's B-E-L-M-O-N-T, Belmont 78, Mass."

Evaluation

Let Freedom Ring services the Radical Right, from its isolated axe-grinders to its largest national membership organization, with a weekly propaganda scare available around the clock. This, as Dr. Douglass has pointed out, makes the *LFR* message a broadcast scheduled at the caller's convenience—and it is one with a personal and therefore more persuasive touch. Moreover, the telephone message is a quick exhortation which is just as quickly finished, affording the caller no chance for re-reading or analysis. This allows the use of some of the bluntest of propaganda tricks. On May 23, 1965, for example, Dr. Douglass' script read, in part:

> "Under the provisions of the Civil Rights Act, a convicted rapist applying for a job in a girls' school could file suit against the school if they requested a picture with his application. . . . Does this sound crazy?"

Crazy, no—but clever, perhaps, in that the caller has no time to evaluate the words spoken to him so quickly and in so sincere a voice. He hangs up—the *LFR* equipment has an automatic cut-off, anyway—and all that remains is the image of a rapist roaming the corridors of a girls' school, plus the seeds of confusion and hate.

A further element of *LFR's* appeal lies in the fact that the subscriber's name and address can often remain a secret, buried in the telephone company's files. His number, though widely publicized, is technically an unlisted

one, its holder therefore a legitimate albeit hypocritical claimant to anonymity. Such anonymity—and the ironic "privacy" of telephone messages—insulates the local *LFR* sponsor against personal responsibility. (Contrast this to the identification and responsibility demanded of publishers and broadcasters.) *Let Freedom Ring's* nameless voices change from week to week, spreading messages of fright and suspicion that no individual person need answer for.

The question of responsibility nettles many who are concerned about the use of a public communications medium for the spreading of hate. Can nothing be done? The telephone companies, passive but unquestionably unwilling partners in Dr. Douglass' operation, have pointed to the dilemma posed by the question of civil liberties. Their position has been succinctly stated by the Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania in a letter to the City of Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations:

> "1. It is the duty of the Telephone Company to furnish services and facilities to anyone who will use the service in a lawful manner. . . . The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has made it clear that public utilities are not censors. . . ."
>
> "2. Automatic Announcement Service is a regular telephone service which is available to any customer. . . . A user of Automatic Announcement Service determines for himself the content of the messages handled by the service."
>
> "3. Regardless of its views on the contents of recorded messages, the Telephone Company is prohibited from interfering with the lawful exercise of a customer's right of free speech."

Bell System officials have pointed out that public utilities are prohibited under federal statutes from discriminating—i.e., in offering preferential service or in withholding services at will—and further, that they are forbidden to censor or even to monitor private calls. True, the telephone company may intervene in the case of messages which violate criminal laws (e.g., bookmaking operations or obscene calls) when requested to do so by police agencies. Various courts have held, moreover, that the company may act when it has reasonable cause to believe that the telephone is being used for illegal purposes, even without a specific police request. The crucial difficulty is in proving an "illegal" purpose.

In the present case, this would necessitate a reasonable cause for belief that the material of *Let Freedom Ring's* tapes constitutes criminal libel. Telephone officials are hesitant to admit that such reasonable cause exists. Mindful that evidence of criminal libel must usually show a tendency to create a breach of the peace, and fully aware that the courts extend the broadest protection to freedom of speech, these company officials say that they would take action only if advised by law enforcement agencies of the existence of criminal libel in specific cases.

One remedial suggestion that has been offered is to extend to this type of telephonic public announcements the Federal Communications Commission's regulations which are applicable to radio and television broadcasting. Such controls, thoroughly tested and upheld in the courts, provide for a certain degree of Federal control under license requirements to maintain "standards of public convenience, interest, and necessity." Is there not, in the telephone company's Automatic Announcement Service, a potential that is profoundly similar to that of a radio station—in that such service provides for the increasingly public use of a public communications medium? The promoter so believes since he speaks of "broadcasts via a telephone tape recording" and of a "program that is 'on the air' twenty-four hours a day."

The telephone company's answer is that phone messages reach only those persons who wish to hear them, thus limiting the 'broadcast' nature of Dr. Douglass' programs and negating any tendency on the part of those broadcasts to create a general breach of the peace. (But no one is forced to listen to radio or TV broadcasts either.)

Such arguments, of course, would not invalidate suggestions of the possible need for new Federal legislation—or for a whole new approach, considering the expanding electronic possibilities in the area of telephone communications. For such arguments do not answer the possibility that wide publicity and advertising of the appropriate phone numbers have given *Let Freedom Ring's* anonymous broadcasters a greater daily audience in some cities than many a radio news broadcast. Here, the case for "privacy" may indeed be a shaky one.

Dr. Douglass feels confident, from seeing the recent impact of his operation in various key cities, that *LFR* "cannot be stopped" and that it will become one of the major Right Wing influences within the next two years.

"You will be amazed at the influence that you have on public opinion almost immediately," he states in his prospectus. "Last year, for instance, we were given credit for having killed the UNICEF Christmas Card drive locally—an accomplishment of which we are very proud."

Against the Doctor's pride stands a growing indignation among persons and organizations who recognize the perils inherent in the *LFR* technique, which Senator Javits has called a "pushbutton approach to mass libel."

Javits warned in the Senate on October 2, 1964, that the Douglass network was "a nationwide organization not run by professionals but by enthusiastic amateurs and apparently inaugurated and dedicated to bringing hate and fear within the reach of all."

The usually conservative California Federation of Republican Women, on May 13, 1965, adopted a resolution calling *Let Freedom Ring's* messages "false and treacherous propaganda" and asked the FBI to look into the "origin, sponsorship, and objectives of this vicious activity." (The Federation had been particularly angered by an *LFR* script labeling General Eisenhower "pro-Communist" and accusing the former President of having attended a meeting at which he supposedly had joined in a discussion on "the best way to surrender you and your family to the Reds.")

The question of free speech is bound to arise in any discussion of *LFR's* gross misuse of public utilities. It is noteworthy, then, that a strong statement on the issue of Dr. Douglass' operation has been broadcast by a leading radio station, for broadcasters certainly have a special interest in the preservation of freedom in communications. WCAU, an important radio voice in Philadelphia, has stated:

> "WCAU believes that such hate messages . . . are feeding the fires of race hatred and possible violence. And we call upon all decent people to renounce such tactics . . ."

Upon all decent people. Here is where the matter most obviously will rest, as so often it does in a free society—a society whose concept of liberty is broad enough to allow for its own abuse.

Orig: Anti-Def. Lg.

September 10, 1965

Mr. Henry Swartzschild
Anti Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Henry:

As I indicated on the phone the other day, I would be interested in writing the report on your end of the summer meeting. It would be valuable in our own work to improve law enforcement in civil rights and race matters in the South. And, as I said, my commitments here will mean that the bulk of the work involved will have to be on my own time.

I haven't yet been successful in assessing any kind of price tag for this commodity. The temptation is to say you decide what it is worth, but let me suggest the following as a basis: My wife has been wanting to share with me the joys of such junkets for some time, and I would like to spend an extra day in New York City talking to various people in person that I know now only as phone voices. If you could stand the expenses for both of us, and for the Monday following the meeting, I think it would be equitable and enhancing of domestic felicity.

Let me know your thoughts. In the meantime, I will see you at the ACLU thing in New Orleans. You said you would bring background materials that would be useful for the report. Also, please bring copies of the kind of thing you have previously done.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

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SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'nai B'rith
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E., TELEPHONE 523-3391
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

October 25, 1965

Dear Friend:

During the past week, Fulton Criminal Court Judge Dan Duke, and a former assistant Attorney General for the State of Georgia, called upon Governor Sanders, to take state action to revoke the charters of the five Ku Klux Klan groups operating in the state.

Judge Duke charged that Klansmen take secret oaths to protect fellow Klansmen on trial and such vows take precedence over "the oath of truth and the oaths as a juror" when Klan members serve on juries and as witnesses. He further pointed out that Georgia must act at the state level to assert its power and its responsibility to validate the majesty of its laws if the right of trial by jury in state court is to be preserved and if our state judicial stystem and legal institutions are to retain their validity and power to maintain a system of justice.

Judge Duke indicated that Governor Sanders could initiate charter revocation proceedings and cited successful action by former Governor Ellis Arnall who in 1946 directed the attorney general to move to revoke the charter of the one Klan operating in Georgia at that time.

Subsequent reports indicate that Governor Sanders has requested Attorney General Arthur K. Bolton to investigate the possibilities of such action.

It is our opinion that such action coming at this time would remove any vestigia of respectability normally granted incorporated organizations in our state, and at the same time express the public sentiment of abhorrance toward the Klan as a symbol of corruption, brutality, illegality and bigotry.

You can be of immeasurable assistance in this effort by writing Governor Sanders indicating your support and encouragement for the prompt and forthright action undertaken by him. Your efforts along with those of your friends and interested church and civic organizations will demonstrate the broad based community support which stands forthrightly behind the Governor on this important matter.

Cordially,

Theodore Freedman

Theodore Freedman

~~EIFI~~

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

October 1965

Dear Friend:

In May of this year you received a copy of the 1965-66 questionnaire on research and activities in the field of intergroup relations. This questionnaire is part of the annual census jointly sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League and several learned professional societies. We would appreciate it if you would fill out the form and return it to us in the enclosed envelope.

If you feel that someone else on your staff is better qualified to answer the questions, please pass it along. Since our use of the term "intergroup relations" may not be adequately descriptive, let us explain that we are arbitrarily limiting our bulletin to reports of research on relations between groups that are ethnic, racial, religious, or national in character. Caste and class, while not our primary emphasis, will be included where related to these factors.

Enclosed for your information is a flier describing the 1964-65 Research Bulletin which is now ready for distribution. The results of the current study will be published in 1966.

not attached when sent to O.S.

Thank you for your help on this meaningful project.

Very truly yours,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen
National Director
Program Division

OC:eng
Enc.

filled out
Bulletin pet'd to Milton M. Gordon, Ed. of Research Bulletin, Dept of Sociology and Anthropology, Dearborn Hall, Princeton U., Princeton, N. J.

December 7, 1965

Miss Judith Herschlag
Assistant Director of Publications
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Miss Herschlag:

Thanks for sending the Collins script and Dr. Spock booklet. I am starting in on the script today.

I can't recall in the conversation with Mr. Cohen whether we agreed on any specific length. I wonder if your thinking there is that this one should be about the same as the Spock one. This will require a good bit of cutting--too much. But I assume you do want <u>some</u> cutting.

Please let me know.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

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File

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Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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November 27, 1964

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Waters:

As per Oscar Cohen's request I am sending you a copy of the transcript - Conversation with Leroy Collins.

I am also enclosing a copy of our pamphlet, Conversation with Dr. Spock. It is our feeling that the format should follow the same style.

Sincerely,

Judith Herschlag

Judith Herschlag Asst. Dir. Publications

JH:jdc
Encl.

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

December 1, 1964

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Waters:

I am sure you recognize that much liberty must be taken with the transcript of the Collins tape. Changing the sequence of material and the interjecting of additional questions to suit the answers may very well be called for.

You realize that the taping was spontaneous and unrehearsed.

Sincerely,

Judith Herschlag

Judith Herschlag
Assistant Director of Publications

JH:bbc

December 16, 1965

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

I am sorry I missed seeing you, too. I am very much interested in the matters you and Paul discussed.

It doesn't appear now that I will be in New York before February, if then. Perhaps a phone call is the best idea. Why don't we think about the week after Christmas? I think its safe to say that I will be available about any time that week you want to call, or the week after, for that matter.

I would like to see the book on housing for possible New South use, and anything else that occurs to you.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

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Of B'nai B'rith

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

Rec'd 12/17/65

December 14, 1965

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat:

Harry Lewis told me of his conversation with you and by this time I assume that Paul Anthony has told you about our discussions in Atlanta. I am indeed sorry that you were not there.

We are very much interested in your new quarterly and would like to help you in any way we can. I am sure we can on the question of promotion and subscriptions.

With regard to the new materials which we are producing which will be of interest to you, I am not sure what you have in mind. If we have materials for review, we will communicate with you. You might consider reprinting segments of our publications. One such publication is a book on housing by George and Eunice Grier which I think is excellent. Parts of it might be very suitable for publication.

The best way to handle this, however, would be to discuss these matters with you. Are you going to be in New York in the near future? If not perhaps we could have a long telephone conversation because I do not think I will be getting down South for the next two months.

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen fb

OC/fb
cc: Stan Wexler
Harry Lewis

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

December 16, 1965

Mr. Stanley Wexler
Program Department
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Stanley:

I have ordered the 5,000 additional copies of, "The Desegregation of Southern Schools" by Bob Coles. They will be shipped to you and we will send the bill. The price will be roughly the same as in the attached, which is for the last batch.

Best regards.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosures - 2.

ADL SPECIAL REPORT

Southern Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Ga.
Telephone: 523-3391

Rec'd 3/9/66

LEGISLATIVE DIGEST - MARCH, 1966

1 - TEXAS: A brief, special session of the Texas Legislature was convened and passed a state-wide system of voter registration, without payment, following a declaration that the Texas poll tax was unconstitutional by a federal district court. In addition to the annual registration system beginning in 1967, the law also sets up a one-shot, 15-day free registration period to begin 7 days after it is signed by the governor. This period will allow registration by eligible persons who fail to do so under the old poll tax system before the January 31st deadline. Those who paid this year's poll tax before the deadline are automatically registered under the new system. If the Supreme Court takes action to uphold the earlier court decision, these additionally registered persons will be allowed to vote in any subsequent 1966 elections. Under the new law, registration will be from October 1st to January 31st and will be conducted by deputy registrars operating in fixed locations during prescribed hours. The bill now permits unlimited mail registration, requiring only that mail registration applications inform the person registering that to register falsely is a felony. Even though the legislature has passed the state-wide voter registration bill, the state is pursuing its appeal to the United States Supreme Court on the question of the validity of the poll tax.

2 - GEORGIA:

A) Continuing in the matter of the refusal of the Georgia House to swear in and seat Representative elect Julian Bond, of the 136th District - Atlanta, the three-judge Federal Court voted two-to-one to uphold the Georgia House of Representatives in its refusal to seat Julian Bond. Judges Griffin, Bell, and Lewis Morgan stated that it was not the Court's business to say whether the House's action was "the wisest course". Chief Judge Elbert Tuttle's dissent was simple: he held that the Georgia Constitution specifically states and limits the basic qualifications for the Georgia House, that Bond meets these qualifications, and that beyond this, the Georgia Constitution expressly gives to the people the right to choose their representatives. This dissent was not

(Continued)

based upon a judgement of the wisdom, or lack of wisdom, of the House's action, or upon the contents of Bond's statements on Viet Nam. An appeal to the United States Supreme Court has been filed. The special election that was called to fill the vacant seat for District No. 136 was won by Julian Bond again, as the only candidate from that district. Georgia House Representative W. Jones Lane, of District No. 64, following the special election of Julian Bond, introduced into the Georgia Legislature some suggested changes for the Rules Committee, which, in effect, makes it easier for the Rules Committee to refuse to seat Representative Bond in the Georgia Legislature. The question is tentatively moot at this time, since the 1966 session of the Georgia Legislature closed on February 18th.

B) Georgia House Resolution No. 118 - 218, which sought to create "a Committee of the House and Senate on Un-American Activities, and for other purposes, for the State of Georgia", died in the Rules Committee. It is believed that the marshalling of public opinion, by responsible groups within the State of Georgia, was mainly responsible for this bill never leaving the Rules Committee.

C) Senate Bill No. 230, by Senators Downing of the 1st District, Miller of the 43rd (author of the bill), and Minish of the 48th (and others) - "An act to provide that all colleges and universities which receive state funds shall prohibit any person from using the facilities of such colleges and universities for speaking purposes, entertainment purposes, or any purposes whatsoever when such person is known to be a member of the Communist Party or is known to advocate the overthrow of the Constitution of the United States or of the State of Georgia, or who has pleaded the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States before any duly constituted legislative committee of the United States or any state thereof regarding Communist or subversive connections or activities, or connection with any secret organization on the United States Attorney General's list of subversive organizations." The bill, which had first been committed to the Education Committee, was recommitted to that committee by the full Senate, from which it did not have time to emerge to pass before both Houses of the Legislature adjourned. Senator Frank Miller, of DeKalb County, author of the bill, stated that the bill, however, had served its purpose and that he he had been given assurances that university system officials had "gotten the message".

D) Georgia Senate Bill No. 38, introduced by Senator Webb, of the 11th - "a bill to provide procedures for searches and

(Continued)

seizures for the suppression of evidence illegally seized" - has been passed by the Georgia Legislature. The bill provides that a peace officer may search a person without a warrant, for the purpose of:

Protecting an officer from attack
Preventing the person from escaping
Discovering or seizing the fruits of a crime for which a person has been arrested
Discovering or seizing any articles used in the commission of the crime for which the person has been arrested

A search warrant may be issued, under the bill, by "any judicial officer authorized to hold a court of inquiry to examine into an arrest of an offender against the penial laws".

E) Georgia Senate Bill No. 130, by Senators Johnson of the 38th, Westberry of the 37th, Ward of the 39th, Thompson of the 34th, MacIntyre of the 40th, and Salome of the 36th, which is - "A bill relating to the compilation of tax returns and the preparation of tax digests by the tax receivers so as to delete therefrom the requirement that the names of colored taxpayers be compiled separately on the tax digest and that a report be submitted to the State Revenue Commissioner of the amount of taxes returned by colored taxpayers." This bill was passed by the Georgia Legislature and removes the necessity of keeping separate pink cards for Negro and white cards for White taxpayers. The effective date of the bill is January, 1967.

F) Georgia House Bill No. 338, by Etheridge of the 123rd, Overby of the 16th, Tucker of the 36th, Grahl of the 52nd, Vaughn of the 117th, McCracken of the 49th, and Daugherty of the 134th, which was a bill - "to provide for the defense of indigents; to provide to the appointment of counsel; to authorize the establishment of the Office of Public Defender; to provide for compensation and expenses; to provide for matters relative to representation of indigents; to provide for a determination of indigency; to specify persons who may represent indigents; to provide for the substitution of public attorneys; to provide for personnel, facilities, and expenses for the Office of Public Defender; to provide for records and reports; to provide for penalties; to provide for appropriations and funds; to provide for other matters relating to the foregoing; to provide for severability" - did not pass the Georgia House.

(Continued)

G) Georgia Senate Bill No. 241, introduced by Senator Johnson of the 38th District, which was entitled - "A bill to amend and act relating to education so as to provide the inclusion of courses encompassing the history of the Negro Race in curriculums of Georgia capitol schools; to provide the procedure connected therewith, etc." - did not pass the Georgia Senate.

May 22, 1967

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

It is always good to hear from you, even when you do not agree with all that I have written. Seriously, thanks.

I hope you will be down this way soon. It would be good to get your views on things in general.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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National Campaign Director

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

May 19, 1967

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I enjoyed your article on Mississippi in Dissent even if I do not agree with all of it. I was deeply moved. It is the best thing on the CDGM I have read. Congratulations.

The tragedy of Head Start is that as an educational measure it is largely without value, partly because it is an isolated device which should be integrated into a larger process. But the health and welfare aspects - well, that is something else. It has meant much in this respect. I hope to talk to you about this when I am next in Atlanta.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC/mj

Oscar Cohen

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

June 10, 1968

CROSS REFERENCE:

FOR CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PAT WATTERS AND OSCAR COHEN RE BOOK ON THE SOUTH, SEE:

<u>ANDRE SCHIFFRIN</u> FILE IN PW'S PERSONAL FILE DRAWER

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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Organization and Planning

Rec'd 1-9-69

File

January 8, 1969

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Thank you very much for your good wishes and, incidentally, your expense account. We will try to process this as soon as possible.

I wish I could share your optimism about the forthcoming year, but maybe you will be right. From my point of view, almost anything that's good will come as a surprise.

Warmest regards,

Oscar Cohen

OC/mj

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

December 30, 1968

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

You are probably going to be as mad with me as our treasurer is for putting off until the last minute my expense accounting. But anyhow, attached are the bills for my trip to Philadelphia in November for the Race and the News Media panel. My incidental expenses were $34.75, making a total of $149.59. Please make check payable to Southern Regional Council.

It was good seeing you and Mrs. Cohen. All the best for the coming year -- and surely it will be a better one in general than this one has.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters, Director
Information

PW/km

Enclosure

PA
VJ
SB

my own infiltration
into the ADL brought
me there. I think it
will interest you in
a couple counts

To..... _____ Anti-Defamation League
New York 22, New York

_____

Dear ADL Commissioner:

A few days ago I received the enclosed letter from a man who heads a pseudo-political society which preaches hatred, pronounces false words as truth and remains, no matter what else he pretends to be, a spider on the body of American conscience.

This letter addressed to me in somewhat complimentary terms as "Head Jew" speaks of the eventual triumph of the "white race" over the Jews and the Negroes. It promises that "the Vikings" will fall upon us with a "vengeance."

He of course accuses us of being leaders in the Battle for the protection of communists and talks angrily of our "money and power." He claims he doesn't "hate " us. He is impersonal. He is "simply determined to exterminate" us.

His target date for the beginning of his crusade is August 28th. The place Washington. His vow is to break the "Jew terror" and "black army." All in all a pleasant letter full of the old hatreds, the insane complexes of thought, and the familiar threats.

I share this with all of you as a ghastly reminder that the alarums of the winter ring into the summer; that the ghosts of the past materialize into something less phantom-like in the present.

The letter serves to tell us again that the lunatics still range the moors of hatred and prejudice, and that the constables have to remain on duty.

Sincerely,

Dore Schary
National Chairman.

To..... _____ Anti-Defamation League
New York 22, New York

_____

Head Jew
Anti-Defamation League,
New York City,
New York

5 July, 1963

Dear Jew:

Until yesterday, I myself could not be sure of our victory. My calculations might have been awry, and the White Race more cowardly than I reckoned. But I know now that when you Jews have pushed them FAR enough, they are the same deadly race of conquerors which has been teaching you Hebrews the lesson of life for more than 4,000 years. You will never learn. You will keep pushing and maddening the Viking you think you have chained up until, in a burst of miraculous strength which you never can understand, he bursts your chains of gold and falls upon you with a vengeance.

Our smashing success in Richmond in spite of your press blackout should be something for you to think about. If I could do it now, with all the lies and hate you have spread about us, and against all your machinery of public information, - wait until you see what can be done after two MONTHS of hard work in just this area! I will soon astound you and the world with our WHITE mass in Washington on August 28, regardless of what your black troops do. Can you have any doubt that I will get the signatures I need to run for Governor in 64? ---or that I will WIN, -inspite of your damnable lies and terrorism?

Keep listening to your Gentile "friends", Jews, that everybody loves you. It causes you to keep miscalculating, as you have been doing. A lot of people are AFRAID of you, but after watching us survive all your lies, your jails, insane-asylums and the rest for five long years, and then seeing us CHEERED in Richmond, they are getting over their fears.

It is YOUR turn to be afraid. I will not make the stupid mistake of getting overconfident or lawless, as you always imagine, and as so many other would-be Jew-fighters have done. Little by little I will banish the fear of you Jews from the hearts of our people, and organize them into a machine for legal power which all your lies and terrorism can't stop. We've taken the worst you had and grown stronger all the time.

Now you can reassure each other that I am just boasting and acting the fool, but in your hearts, you know better. I write this to help weaken you, to make you realize how useless have been all your efforts to PUSH Gentile officials, to force race-mixing for the benefit of Jews, to terrorize, every day, another thousand or so Americans. Every one who is terrorized, and is forced into smiling at you and telling you he loves you and hates us, --is burning with desire for revenge inside of his. There are more and more every day, and you are making them yourselves. Every time you go to a Chief of Police and FORCE

To..... _____ Anti-Defamation League
New York 22, New York

him to your will, he may do as you demand, but he HATES you for it. Every time you get a prosecutor to falsely prosecute us, he may do it, but he learns just what you are, and he hates you for it. Every time you force American newsmen to betray their trust and lie, or to distort or suppress legitimate news, they may do it, but they, too, build up a little dynamo of hatred for such Jewish tryanny.

Especially you are in trouble for leading the battle for the "rights" of Communist traitors and race-mixers, while you preach ruthless suppression of American "extremists" as you call them. YOU are the extremists, and you have FORCED decent Americans to be "extremists" in self-defense.

I truly feel sorry for you gentlement up there in your air-conditioned offices with all your money and power. We are poor, hungry, few and weak. But we have self-respect. We know we are HONEST and FEARLESS. And we are as sure to win now, as winter will follow this summer. You are living on a volcanoe which you keep reassuring each other has been "capped". Well maybe it IS capped, Jews, but the fire and the pressure grows every day. Our people are ready to FIGHT Communism and race-mixing, and I need not tell you that that means they will wind up fight YOU, although most of them still do not know it yet.

Now you can run to Bobby, whom I have no doubt privately hates you and your p pressure tactics as much as any American, and maybe he will finally grab us. It will make no difference. I have been preparing for this battle for ten years, and will give a good account of ourselves. As usual, you are always off timing. If you had done it four years ago, I could not have survived. And if you had blasted us allout even three years ago, itowould probably have blown us away just by the pressure generated. Now it is too late, Jews. No matter WHAT you do, it will "back-fire".

I know you probably sincerely believe I a full of "hate". Strangely enough, even after all you have done to me I am not. I have become quite detached and professional about it. I am sure a man who runs a louse exterminating firm has no passionate hatred for lice. I have no hatred for Communist traitors, race-mixers, etc, such as so many Jews are. I am simply determined to exterminate such inhuman vermin as betray our Race and Republic like the Rosenbergs were exterminated for such treason.

When I was able to gather almost a thousand young Americans in Richmond, and get them CHEERING IN THE STREETS for a NAZI, --after all your outrageous movies, magazines, TV shows and other efforts to picture us as immoral murderers, I knew we were over the top. If you couldn't stop us before, you will NEVER stop us now.

If you continue to imagine this is idle boasting, observe what happens August 28th, Jews. We will break no laws to deliver ourselves up into your hands, but we will break your JEW TERROR and your BLACK ARMY once and for all.

August 28th, Jews!

Adios!

Lincoln Rockwell,
Your Master.

ADL
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
MUrray Hill 9-7400
Press Representative
N. C. Roth

File

Mr. Pat Waters

FILE Newspapers
CIR. ~~T. F. S. H. B. R. R. G. J. W.~~

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, OCTOBER 24

More than twenty top-ranking journalists will analyze the impact of news reporting on the racial revolution and the attitudes of the American public at a unique three-day conference for newsmen from across the nation to be held at the University of Missouri.

The conference, "The Racial Crisis and the News Media," is co-sponsored by the Freedom of Information Center at the University's School of Journalism and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. It will be held November 14-16.

George P. Hunt, managing editor of Life magazine is keynote speaker. Participants and their topics are as follows:

-- Reporting the Racial Crisis in the North: Martin Hayden, editor-in-chief, Detroit News; James Bassett, editorial page editor, Los Angeles Times; Benjamin Holman, assistant director for media relations, U.S. Community Relations Service.

-- Reporting the Racial Crisis in the South: Buford Boone, publisher, Tuscaloosa News; Hodding Carter 111, managing editor, Delta, Miss. Democrat-Times; Hugh Boyd, publisher, New Brunswick, N.J. News.

-- The Changing Content of Racial News Reporting: Arthur Bertelson, managing editor, St. Louis Post-Dispatch; Ted Poston, reporter, N.Y. Post; William C. Baggs, editor, Miami News; Claude Sitton, national news director, N.Y. Times.

-- Broadcasting's Role in the Racial Crisis: William Monroe, chief, Washington News Bureau, NBC; Joseph Brechner, president, WFTV, Orlando, Fla.: Jack Kuney, executive producer, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company.

-- Social Persuaders and Editorial Judgment: Lawrence S. Fanning, executive editor, Chicago Daily News; Samuel Dalsimer, vice president, Grey Advertising Company; Jack Craemer, editor, San Rafael, Calif. Independent-Journal.

-- Role of the Negro Press in the Civil Rights Struggle: Thomas Young, editor, Norfolk, Va. Journal and Guide: Henry Lee Moon, press secretary, N.A.A.C.P.; Robert Finkelstein, member of advisory committee of the Freedom of Information Center.

-- Round Table Discussions: William Peters, producer, NBC Reports; Louis Martin, vice president, Michigan Chronicle.

Benjamin R. Epstein, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, said the conference had been called to give newsmen a "much needed opportunity to sit down together, exchange techniques and experiences, and establish guidelines for reporting the many delicate situations connected with race relations."

The League, a 52-year old human relations organization, has a vast educational program to improve intergroup relations and promote "justice and fair treatment for all citizens."

According to Dr. Earl F. English, dean of the University's School of Journalism, some sixty newspaper, radio and television editors and reporters are expected to attend. In addition, the conference proceedings will be published "to provide a working document for news media and schools of journalism."

The conference will probe problems in gathering and reporting racial news, the effect of racial tension situations on the free flow of news, and the role news reporting plays in the racial crisis itself and intergroup attitudes

Dr. Paul L. Fisher is director of the Freedom of Information Center, founded in 1958 as a research source for background material and current events relating to news access.

CONFERENCE ON THE RACIAL CRISIS AND THE NEWS MEDIA

Sunday, November 14, 1965, 8:00 P.M.

Greetings: President, University of Missouri or Dean of School of Journalism.

Cross Memorial Lecture: "The Racial Crisis and the News Media -- an Overview."

Speaker: George Hunt, Managing Editor, Life

Introduction:

Monday, November 15, 1965, 8:40-9:30 A.M.

"Reporting the Racial Crisis in the North"

Speakers: Martin S. Hayden, Editor, Detroit News.
J James Bassett, Director, Editorial Page, Los Angeles Times

Chairman: Benjamin Holman, Assistant Director for Media Relations, U. S. Community Relation Service.

9:40-10:30 A.M.

Round Table

Chairman and Discussion Leader: William Peters, Producer, C.B.S. Reports

10:40-11:30 A.M.

"Reporting the Racial Crisis in the South"

Speaker: Buford Boone, Publisher, Tuscaloosa News.

Critique: Hodding Carter III, Managing Editor, Delta Democrat-Times

Chairman:

LUNCH

2:40-4:30 P.M.

"The Changing Content of Racial News Reporting"

Speakers: Arthur R. Bartelson, Managing Editor, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.
Ted Poston, New York Post
William C. Baggs, Editor, Miami News.

Chairman and Moderator: Claude Sitton, National News Director, New York Times.

COCKTAIL AND DINNER

8:15-9:30 P.M.

"An Evaluation of Broadcasting's Role in the Racial Crisis"

Speakers: William Monroe, Director, Washington News Bureau, N.B.C.
Joseph L. Brechner, President, WFTV, Orlando, Florida.

Chairman and Moderator: Jack Kuney, Executive Producer, Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.

Tuesday, November 16, 1965, 8:40-9:30 A.M.

"Social Persuaders and Editorial Judgement"

Speakers: Lawrence S. Fanning, Executive Editor, Chicago News.
Samuel Dalsimer, Vice President, Grey Advertising Co.

Chairman:

9:40-10:30 A.M.

Coffee and Round Table Discussion.

Chairman and Discussion Leader: Louis Martin, Vice President, Michigan Chronicle.

10:40-12:30 A.M.

"The Role of the Negro Press in the Civil Rights Struggle"

Speakers: Thomas Young, Editor, Norfolk Journal and Guide.
Henry Lee Moon, Press Secretary, N.A.A.C.P.

Chairman:

Summary

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: ~~KKMX~~ LWD From: SDB

Subject: The High Cost of Conflict

Basically, I think ADL's idea of up-dating this pamphlet is a good one. But I think the stress should be placed on the recent examples of such costs, not those of several years ago. We should, I feel, concentrate on business losses incurred from boycotts, demonstrations, and community tension; we should attempt to show too the cost to the taxpayer of physically enforcing segregation, (e. g., costs of special police forces, housing and feeding of arrested demonstrators). Further, I think we might include some examples of "positive" self-interest data (e.g., Commerce Department figures on Negro spending and Negro buying power).

Rather than opening the pamphlet with the same quotes used in the earlier publication, I would suggest that we might open with this excerpt from the Henderson pamphlet:

> "Fifty per cent of the nation's Negroes are concentrated in the South, and the South receives approximately 20% of the nation's total income. A conservative estimate is that the South loses from $5 to $6 billion annually because of racial discrimination."

And we might also have an excerpt from Jim Montgomery's August 29 story, headed "Racial Bias Takes Big Price in South."

These statements could be the pamphlet's "violin piece," the piece that sets forth the theme of our discussion. In an introductory section I would begin by referring to the so-called "critical summer" or the "summer of discontent," emphasizing that the epidemic of demonstrations around the South this summer was costly both to the taxpayer and the businessman. For example, it cost Alabama taxpayers more than $200,000 to send special state riot-control forces to Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, and Gadsden, while 37 days of militia law in Cambridge, Md., cost the state at least $176,000. A prominent retail

merchant in Charleston made this statement in late July: "Since this [the Negro demonstrations] started in early June, business along the street is off anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent, depending on who you talk to."

The opening section could be titled "The General Situation." Besides pointing to the negative, it could also accentuate the positive by noting that, in ADL's words, "some Southern communities are meeting their responsibilities constructively and, as a result, have improved their economic situations."

I have no objection to doing a state-by-state breakdown of high cost examples. But I would do it somewhat differently than ADL has done in its draft. For example, take Alabama. I would open with a brief general statement, noting all the ruckus there in recent months. Then, following Potomac's format in "The Economic Impact of Racial Unrest" or something similar to our civil rights synopses, I would have a city-by-city rundown of cost examples and examples of positive action, with excerpts from news stories and statements made by local businessmen. We might have a final short graf headed "The Outlook for Alabama" in which we sum up the problems and economic prospects for the state in the future. Or we could follow the state-by-state section with a concluding section similar to ADL's "Toward the Future" (see 51, ADL draft).

The emphasis should be, I feel, on short, snappy excerpts rather than on a rambling discussion. Rather than an interpretative "think piece," I would present the kind of information that speaks for itself and needs no interpretation. What we need, in my opinion, are shorter, more dramatic "$ & ¢" stories. I think we've got some good ones in our high cost file.

Style note: (parenthesis) is in the cited text

/ brackets / are SRC's

except in the introduction where italics and parentheses are ours
italics in cited texts are not SRC's

DOLLARS FOR DEFIANCE

The Price We Pay

DOLLARS FOR DEFIANCE

The Price We Pay

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DOLLARS FOR DEFIANCE

The Price We Pay

-Introduction-

The debate of our decade -- over whether the United States shall legislate to procure, to protect, and to prosecute for, full citizenship for Negro United States citizens -- has captured the front pages of our newspapers. And while the heavy artillery of morality, legality, tradition, and to a softer degree, political practicality, has boomed through the presses and across the speakers' rostrums, the cost of racial discrimination has not fully been discussed as a basic issue. Southern editors, national press services and newspapers, and civic leaders from Washington office buildings to Mississippi Lions Club luncheons know and have said they know that systematized prejudice pinches the municipal, county, state, and national purse. Often they have said exactly how much it costs.

Dollars for Defiance samples the thinking and reporting of these money-minded. In the subsequent examples they write and speak, not as their brother's keeper, but as the fiduciary of all their brothers' funds. This collection is directed at the pocketbook of the taxpayer first, and at his conscience secondarily.

While the left hand of a reader flips the pages, the right can punch an adding machine and tally up the price we are all paying for segregated housing, education, voting, employment, and places of public accommodation. Another column of figures can subtract from the local or national budget the funds spent to preserve an unequal system and the resources deployed from a

small school's music department, for example, to a riot-control tank. The dollars and cents speak for themselves.

Not all of the waste here documented has a price tag. There is probably not enough money in the world, for example, to cover the cost to the American nation in international goodwill lost by unacceptable race relations. Can any people afford the ultimate cost to the human spirit that comes from cutting itself off from a culture's highest artistic achievements, as has much of the South through segregation?

The figures quoted, in sum, indicate how very much the South has spent for the simple and base purpose of depriving Negro Americans of their constitutional rights. There are probably those who would try to use the figures to blame not themselves for being so easily parted from their money, but to blame the Americans who by demanding constitutional rights for all have forced the expenditures. If so, they belabor the point we make by continuing to throw good money after bad. And any such rationale in support of continued spending founders on an elementary exercise in percentage; the estimated cost of implementing H.R. 7152 (see page 46) for five years -- $100 million -- is .6 per cent of the Gross National Product increase --$17 billion-- which would be realized for one year (see page 42) with full and free use of our human resources.

For our purpose is not so much to ask has it been worth it in the past, but to raise the question for the future of whether a people will continue to tolerate such a waste of hard-earned money. The table of contents of this financial report follows generally the outlines of the federal legislation on civil rights and public accommodations. Every community in the South faces in

this legislation a decision as to whether it will be law-abiding or law-defying.

Only the partial dollar cost of a decade of defiance is documented here.

Will the South, which can least afford it, which so needs to develop the potential of its people to the highest degrees of human dignity, continue to pour its money down a rat's hole?

***

IN EDUCATION

The Price We Pay in

in loss of, and inability to attract
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In Education
The Price We Pay
In Loss of and Inability to Attract Faculty.....

"The racial situation has kept some people from joining our faculty, even though we offer them a greater opportunity than anyone else," says Dr. S. Richardson Hill, dean of the University of Alabama Medical Center here [Birmingham]. "One doctor had already decided this was the best place for him. But after he talked it over with his family he decided against it."

.....Wall Street Journal, Sept. 19, 1963

Oxford, Miss., May 16 (AP) - Chancellor J. D. Williams said today 16 professors have resigned from the University of Mississippi faculty. That's four more than the average year-end turnover, Williams said.

A survey by the Associated Press indicates, however, that a total of 35 professors either have quit or have their resignations pending.

Southern newspaper

.....New York Times, May 17, 1963

...in Little Rock, although racial unrest was sparked by school desegregation, protests over segregated public accommodations further inflamed the environment. Under these conditions, recruitment of technical people became extremely difficult. According to the provost for medical affairs of the University of Arkansas ... the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. "So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community."

.....from testimony by Undersecretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., before the Senate Committee on Commerce, July 23, 1963

Said Dr. Willis Tate (testifying), president of Southern Methodist University in Dallas: "One of the first questions asked by a talented professor who is invited to teach at a Southern university is: 'Is your university fully integrated?' This question today has become very important to an educator, more so than it has ever been. It has become part of his moral code, the fiber of his integrity.

.....Business Week, February 29, 1964

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Loss of and Inability to Attract Students

Oxford, Miss. - Although two Negro students were registered quietly at the University of Mississippi this week, the aftermath of last fall's rioting still plagues the school.

The number of new students who applied by June 1 for the fall term total 884, 30 per cent below last year's total of 1,264, according to figures compiled by the registrar's office.

The biggest decrease has been in the number of out-of-state students ...

.....New York Times, June 9, 1963

Oxford, Miss. (AP) - Four dormitories at the University of Mississippi are being closed for lack of students, university authorities announced yesterday.

.....Nashville Tennessean, Sept. 27, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Loss of and Inability to Attract Research Grants

On the Other Hand...

A Houston jury in a state civil court last week O.K.'d a move by the trustees of Rice University to break away from two stipulations of the institution's founder [not to charge tuition and not to admit Negroes].

In Rice's case, more than 88% of the school's $5.9-million worth of research contracts are government supported.... Whether or not Congress adopts a strong civil rights law, it is clear that federal agencies are under pressure to put their money, where possible, in integrated colleges ...

In the light of such statistics, Rice trustees could see no future for their university, regardless of its recognized scientific stature in Texas, unless a court would allow them to bypass the two conditions of the University's charter.

Particularly, they [the trustees] said, continued exclusion of Negroes would cripple Rice's ability to attract a top-grade faculty as well as carry forward its research effort.

.....Business Week, Feb. 29, 1964

The crisis is, Dr. [William] Willard [vice president of the Medical Center, University of Kentucky] finds, clearly delineated. There is a sharp decline in the number and quality of applicants to medical schools. Dr. Willard names no institutions. But the schools described in Group One, where research and experiments are conducted, are, the report says, "not handicapped by sponsorship which restricts admission of students by race, creed or color as in some Group Two schools." The marginal schools, and those most burdened, are, therefore, in the South ...

In 1960-61 the ten schools in Group One averaged $11.3 million [in expenditures] per school. Group Two averaged $1.7 million. Federal grants for research naturally -- and properly -- went largely to the Group One institutions.

July 27, 1963

.....Ralph McGill column, Atlanta Constitution,

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Wasted Resources of Graduates

Several witnesses at a civil rights hearing here [New Orleans] today testified that industry in the South was penalizing itself when it discriminated against Negroes.

Because of this discrimination, they said, the brighter and better educated young Negroes migrate to the North and never return.

About 750 of the brighter boys of New Orleans go to school at St. Augustine's. Father Messina [Rev. Joseph Messina, counselor at the school] said 60 per cent of the school's graduates go North to complete their education and only 10 per cent of them return. These are largely in the educational field.

.....New York Times, July 10, 1963

In brief, we conclude that the City of New Orleans is sustaining an annual economic loss of over 4-8 million dollars as the result of the migration of its college-educated Negroes.

.....A Study of the Economic Loss to New Orleans Caused by Migration of the College Educated Negroes by T. Earl Sullenger, Ph.D.

THE PRICE WE PAY
In Illiteracy

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has opened an intensive, five-year "catch-up" program of basic education for about 1,500 Negro children in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

The National Institute of Mental Health, one of the department's research agencies, will approve a $2,500,000 grant this week to a private specialist in theories of rapid training.

SV6

The grant [is] for the education of children deprived of schooling because of rsistance to Federal court integration orders.

.....New York Times, June 6, 1963

[Subsequently, the grant was not applied; private funds were used and a study of the situation has entailed federal expenditure.]

Commissioner [of Education Francis] Keppel ... wanted [the House Subcommittee on Education] to approve $5 million for the next fiscal year for grants to the states to carry out, under state approval, programs in reading and writing for those who cannot read or write English or have less than an eighth grade education ...

Of the white population 25 years and older 6.7 per cent have

completed less than five years of school. The percentage for the Negro population is 23.5. This is one measure of separate but unequal as it has prevailed in many parts of the country.

In Mississippi and Georgia nearly 40 per cent of the Negro population has had less than five years of school. For Texas, the figure is 23.6. In Missouri, it is 17.2. Illinois is 13.8 and New York 11.8 ...

.....Marquis Childs' column, Washington Post, May 28, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Capital Investment

Millsaps College reaffirmed its segregation policy in a statement in the current edition of the Methodist Advocate.

"This is evidenced by the fact that the board has determined to privately finance the building of badly needed additional dormitory space on the campus," said the statement, "rather than by the acceptance of a one-million dollar loan from the housing and home finance agency."

.....Jackson Daily News, Feb. 27, 1964

Jackson, Miss. (AP) - The State Building Commission is studying a recommendation by the State College Board that $3 million in state bonds be issued to finance dormitory construction at six institutions of higher learning.

The recommendation made by the board falls under a new program designed to circumvent racial discrimination rulings imposed by federal agencies.

In the past the state has borrowed federal money to finance such construction.

.....Baton Rouge State Times, June 12, 1963

Richmond (AP) - The Virginia Public School Authority accepted Tuesday a long interest bid of 2.9346 per cent for its initial issue of $15 million in bonds to aid local school construction.

Dave Ellenwood, a Moody's Investors Service representative serving as authority adviser, said the low bid was "not quite as favorable as hoped for" but still "a very fair value."

Ellenwood said recent news of racial disturbances "from the southern part of the country had tended to upset some buyers in the market for southern bonds."

.....Roanoke Times, June 19, 1963

Several municipal bond dealers, particularly those in the secondary market, have said that they are "not going out of our way to stock bonds issued by communities that are in the headlines."

.....New York Times, June 20, 1963

The university's [of Mississippi] plight has been underscored in another area. In recent years, the university has financed new dormitory buildings costing $8,000,000 with funds from the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.

When President John Kennedy last November signed an Executive Order forbidding discrimination in Federally assisted housing, the Mississippi Legislature ordered an end to future agreements between the agency and the university.

University officials say they will now have to seek state bond issues for dormitory construction. Because the lending rates will not be as favorable as the Federal rate has been, an increase in room rent is expected.

.....New York Times, June 9, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Fighting Integration --Through Litigation

The Powhatan county school board has been ordered [by Federal District Judge John D. Butzner, Jr.] to pay $2,100 in fees to the two Negro attorneys who successfully opposed the county's segregated school policy.

.....Richmond News Leader, Oct. 29, 1963

T he Little Rock School District, for example, had desegregation litigation from 1956 through 1962 resulting in at least 23 reported decisions by courts of record. During that period, legal fees paid by the district totaled $95,796, of which an estimated 75 percent is attributable to the legal position of the school board in opposition to desegregation.

.....A Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

A single trial in a district court - with normal attendant motions, discovery procedures, and so forth - with one appeal to the circuit court and an application for certiorari to the Supreme Court, costs from $15,000 to $18,000. I refer to a letter from Gordon Tiffany, staff director, Commission on Civil Rights, dated January 29, 1960, and published at 106 Congressional Record 3663-3364.

?Mene

.....remarks of Senator Paul H. Douglas in the Congressional Record, April 3, 1964, p.6397.

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Fighting Integration --Through School Closings, Boycotts, and Tuition Grants

New president of the statewide organization of civic and professional leadership Mississippi Economic Council is Jack Reed, merchant of Tupelo who during the midst of Negro James Meredith-Ole Miss desegregation crisis said Mississippi would suffer economic catastrophe if schools were closed in the face of desegregation effort.

.....Atlanta Journal-Constitution, April 14, 1963

...Tuskegee High School was closed last Friday on orders from the State Board of Education, of which Gov. George Wallace is ex-officio chairman.

School authorities in Tuskegee said it was costing about $450 a month for each pupil to keep Tuskegee High open; compared with a statewide average of less than $300 a pupil per year.

.....Montgomery Advertiser, Feb. 4, 1964

Notasulga, Ala. (UPI) - Gov. George C. Wallace called for state-wide financial contributions Monday to support white students boycotting integrated schools in Macon County.

another?

.....Atlanta Daily World, Feb. 11, 1964

Some 432 pupils walked out of high schools at Tuskegee, Notasulga and Shorter, refusing to attend class with Negroes. That will leave a big dent in the county's school budget because the state's money is allocated according to the student population.

...in September, the county [Macon] will receive something like $74,000 less than it did this school year. Actually, the cutback will be somewhat greater when the loss in transportation money is figured.

The loss of the state funds won't necessarily mean the Macon County board must close any schools. It could cut out some of the services countywide instead.

Or it could make up the difference from local sources of revenue. But in a small rural county like Macon, that's difficult.

.....Birmingham News, February 23, 1964

If Macon County chooses to take the private school route, it would probably be too much to hope that the county officialdom would call on Little Rock for some expert testimony on the miserable, costly experience that would lie ahead.

.....Arkansas Gazette, editorial, Feb. 7, 1964

THE PRICE WE PAY *** FOR SEGREGATED EDUCATION

Through Tuition Grants

Several southern states have attempted through various schemes to avoid or mitigate desegregation of schools by providing grants from state funds to white students for tuition at private segregated schools. Following arex some of the costs and other results:

--Through Tuition Grants

Explain wh they are

In Virginia.....

The amount of the scholarship, if provided, shall be at least that amount which ... would equal two hundred and fifty dollars if the child attends an elementary school, or two hundred seventy-five dollars if the child attends a high school, or the amount equal to the actual cost of tuition at the school attended by such child, or the total cost of operation, excluding debt service and capital outlay, per pupil in average daily attendance in the public schools of the county, city, or town providing such scholarships, as determined by the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the school year in which public schools were last operated in such locality, whichever of such three sums is the lowest.

include $

.....Section 22-115.32 of Virginia School Laws, Chapter 7.3, Grants for Educational Purposes

Roanoke, Va. Nov. 12 (AP) - Roanoke School Superintendent E. W. Rushton attacked the tuition grant program last night in some of the strongest terms yet from an educator.

The cost rise is "alarming" ... said Rushton.

He said money has been laid out for the grants year after year while spending has been cut for teacher salaries, school plant operation and maintenance.

For every child who gets a grant, the city loses more money - an average of $100 in the State support allocated on the basis of children in average daily attendance.

School Board Business Manager A. F. Fisher estimated today that the total cost of the program to date thus exceeds $225,000, or about the cost of a new eight-room elementary school.

Virginia taxpayers spent $2,252,995 for 9489 grants in 1962-63.

.....Washington Post, Nov. 13, 1963

For the biennium of 1964-66, the sum of $1,200,000 is set aside for paying the state's share of grants ...

.....Roanoke Times editorial, Jan. 22, 1964

IN South Carolina.....

In South Carolina the legislature included a provision in this year's general appropriations bill for $250,000 that will finance private education for pupils in Charleston who are dissatisfied with integrated schools.

.....Montgomery Advertiser, March 22, 1964

But if federal court orders on integration of schools begin ranging more widely than just in the Charleston area, $250,000 would be only a drop in the bucket.

.....Charleston News and Courier editorial, Jan. 11, 1964

In Louisiana..... the bill of.....

In the current school term, 10,136 children have been approved to receive grants that will total $3.6 million.

consists of.....

The $360 grant paid by the state to a child attending a private school is considerably more than the average amount of state money spent on each child attending public elementary and secondary schools in fiscal 1962-63.

and is paid by.....

In the second extra session of 1961, the legislature transferred $2.5 million from the public welfare fund to a new fund, the education expense grant fund, in order to carry out the grant-in-aid program. It further provided that $200,000 per month was to be paid into the new fund out of the first money collected from the state's sales tax. ... The 1962 legislature then transferred $4 million out of the fund to assist in meeting the state's deficit .... The $200,000 sales tax dedication was continued; however, in the 1963 fiscal session of the legislature this sum was raised to $300,000 per month by Act 27.

.....PAR Analysis, Nov. 113, Oct. 1963, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc.

The citizens of Louisiana were also ultimately charged with the costs of the extraordinary sessions of the legislature called to enact the tuition grant program...

The state of Louisiana held five "Extraordinary Sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000.

.....from tabulations by William C. Havard, Chairman of the Department of Government, Louisiana State University

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Loss of a College to a Community

Annapolis, Sept.17 (AP) - Gov. Tawes said today Cambridge must settle its racial problems if it is to have any chance as a site for a proposed Eastern Shore branch of the University of Maryland ...

"With the continuance of conditions that exist in Cambridge, I would have no great desire to agree to establishment of a [university] branch there," he told a news conference. "It would be unwise."

...He noted that the bill authorizing $100,000 for planning a university branch or branches does not become effective until June.

.....Washington Post, September 18, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Duplication of Resources

New York (AP) - Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, said Thursday night that the young white southerner is just beginning to realize that he, too, "has been discriminated against by segregated practices."

Instead of one good school system in Southern cities, two poor ones were established, McGill ~~told the annual Lincoln Day Dinner of the New York Civil Liberties Union.~~

.....Atlanta Constitution, Feb. 14, 1964

For almost 20 years, Alabama has provided out-of-state aid for college students seeking instruction not available to them in this state.

Many Negroes have taken advantage of the program to get specialized instruction when they were barred from Alabama's white colleges and universities.

Under the program started in 1945, Alabama pays the difference in tuition plus transportation and up to $110 a month for living expenses.

.....Montgomery Advertiser (AP), Feb. 19, 1964

Fort Rucker, Ala. - When school bells ring this morning, some 1,200 white and Negro children will file into a spanking new $1,038,000 school house built on the base here by Uncle Sam this summer for the sake of integration.

Meanwhile, a few hundred yards away from the camp gates, a segregated public school, also costing $1 million and financed with Federal funds, will remain two-thirds empty. Most of its white students have been transferred to the Army school, in company with a handful of Negro military dependents that previously attended a local all-colored school. At most, it's estimated only 30 Negro pupils at Fort Rucker will be enrolled in the new integrated school on post.

.....Wall Street Journal, Sept. 3, 1963

The varied costs of maintaining segregated schools are large and growing larger; the heaviest burden rests on Negro children, but the drain on the monetary resources of the entire community is increasingly severe....

Handicapped by lower income and a higher educational load than the rest of the United States, Arkansas, in common with the rest of the South, has gained little in relation to national educational standards. In 1961, Arkansas spent $57.48 per capita on its public schools, $3.29 below Mississippi, and last in the Nation.

.....Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

Atlanta School Board Member Mrs. Ray Mitchell has accused the city of "spending millions of dollars unnecessarily to keep schools segregated when segregation, by law, may be past history at any time."

"...Empty seats" at predominantly white schools could help further to relieve crowded conditions in Negro schools, she continued.

Mrs. Mitchell also argued unsuccessfully against a board plan to build an entirely new school to lighten the load at crowded Negro Howard High. She said she could "not go along" with an expenditure of about $2 million on a new building when existing space in other schools is already available.

.....Atlanta Journal, July 9, 1963

On the Other Hand...

For six months before the high school integrated in 1961, a biracial committee prepared an acceptable climate of public opinion.

Not the least effective argument was the hard fact that maintaining two systems was a needless waste costing $33,000 a year.

.....report on Paris, Ky., in Louisville Courier-Journal, Sept. 22, 1963

While on the Other Hand.....

The cost of interdistrict transportation of Negro children to servicing schools clearly exceeds what the cost of educating such children in desegregated resident districts would be.

...state-wide per pupil cost averages from $149 to $225 per year. In a segregated district in western Arkansas, $4500 is spent annually for sending 14 Negro high school students to another district, a per pupil average of $321.64. In one district, 15 students in both elementary and secondary schools had been sent to another district at an annual cost of $6000, or $400 per pupil.

This latter district has desegregated, and it is a source of some public pride that the savings are being put into a public school music department that the district long lacked.

.....Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

Applauding the School Board's decision /to close the all-Negro high school/ Chairman Thomas W. Richards said yesterday:

"The Board is pleased that, for the first time, all Negro senior high school children in Arlington will have an equal educational opportunity and that this will be accomplished at a great savings to the taxpayer."

.....Washington Post, Nov. 25, 1963

IN VOTING

THE PRICE WE PAY

To Hang On To The Poll Tax.....

When This Is Done.....

Jackson, Miss. (AP) - Mississippi Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson says he expects the legislature now in session will consider the new anti-poll tax amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The new amendment, said Patterson, "won't pose as big a problem for Mississippi as some states, as Mississippi does not elect any state officials at the time it elects senators, congressmen and presidential electors."

Patterson said he thought the ban on poll taxes would affect only those offices filled at the same time voters ballot on candidates for federal office.

.....Baton Rouge State Times, Jan. 24, 1964

.....It Costs

With the ratification of the anti-poll tax amendment by South Dakota the poll tax, as pertains to federal elections in this state, has just about two years to go before it becomes obsolete. Between now and that time, we hope that our legislators in Montgomery will eliminate the poll tax from state law. Otherwise, it will cost the state a tremendous amount of money for holding separate elections when federal and state candidates are placed on the same ballot.

.....editorial in Birmingham News, Jan. 25, 1964

IN THE ECONOMY OF COMMUNITIES

The price we pay in

The consumer market 13
Failure to attract industry 17
Police and jail costs 20
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Resources depleted and deflected fighting
for segregation 24
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IN THE ECONOMY OF COMMUNITIES

THE PRICE WE PAY

IN the Consumer Market

William Capitman, president of the Center for Research in Marketing, Inc., at Peekskill, N.Y., said Negro purchasing behavior represents both the greatest danger and the greatest potential in the American marketplace.

He said Negroes, with an annual income of $20 billion, have a sales potential as great as the entire population of Canada.

At the moment, Capitman said, 30 to 40 per cent of the Negro population is engaged in unorganized economic boycotts, refusing to buy from producers or sellers considered to be unfriendly to Negroes.

Eighty-nine per cent of 1,164 Negroes interviewed in the third survey told the Negro interviewers they would take part in any boycott called by their leaders. Capitman called this one of the most significant phenomena in marketing history....

.....Norfolk Virginian-Pilot (by the Herald Tribune News Service), Sept. 26, 1963

According to John Johnson, of Johnson Publishing Company (Ebony, Jet and other magazines), in at least 14 cities including Atlanta, New Orleans, Memphis, Birmingham and Houston, no consumer product can hit the top spot in sales without Negro support.

.....Business Week, February 27, 1960

.....in Birmingham

In Birmingham, retailers have averaged a $750,000 weekly loss, some because Negro trade boycotted stores, some because whites did not venture downtown for fear of possible violence.

.....Time, June 7, 1963

Federal Reserve Board figures show that retail sales in Birmingham dropped sharply in May - a time of sit-ins, mass demonstrations and occasional violence in that racially troubled city.

For the week which ended May 25, retail sales were off 11 per cent compared to the corresponding week of 1962. For the preceding three weeks the figures were also minus: 17, 19 and 14 per cent.

.....Washington Post (by the AP), June 5, 1963

Long-suffering downtown merchants have watched their sales run some 20% under last year's, and lag behind those of most other Southern cities.

"People put off shopping trips," says one store owner. "It goes deeper than just downtown Birmingham. It affects every phase of business, social and civic life in this community."

Adds another merchant: "A solution must be found immediately or Birmingham will be killed as a prosperous city."

.....Business Week, September 28, 1963

A restaurant owner comments: "We're hurt and hurt bad because our business community refused to exercise leadership when it could have saved the situation."

The restaurant owner says his business has fallen 25% since the latest outbreak of racial strife began April 3.

.....Wall Street Journal, May 16, 1963

An executive of a big department store said ... "It is difficult to appraise the business conditions. But business is off drastically since last week. We don't know specifically whether to attribute this to the boycotting or to the general atmosphere of the city."

.....Washington Post (by the AP), May 16, 1963

.....and elsewhere

The basic story in this city now isn't on the street where Negroes demonstrate...

It involves the dollars and cents that pump the life blood into the heart of Charleston through its long business artery, King Street.

"Since this started in early June, business along the street is off anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent depending on who you talk to," one prominent retail merchant confided.

"Some of them are literally worried sick," the News and Courier [Charleston newspaper] said at one point in an editorial July 18.

.....The State (Columbia, S.C.), July 21, 1963

Canton, Miss. - The Negroes opened a boycott against 19 white merchants last January that now threatens some of them with financial ruin. The objectives are "more courteous treatment" for Negro customers, and, Mr. Hollander conceded, pressure by the white merchants on county officials to accept Negro voter applicants.

who he?

.....New York Times, March 2, 1964

The boycott of the game [Prairie View A & M College versus Bishop College of Dallas] and other homecoming activities had been called by leaders of Students for Equality, Liberty and Freedom (SELF) in support of their efforts to desegregate nearby Hempstead...

A businessman in the community of Prairie View waved his hand in his empty store and said:

"There was no business. You can see the effect this has had on us."

.....Houston Post, November 10, 1963

Jacksonville - Newsboys sold only half as many papers as usual in the downtown shopping area. Parking lots, ordinarily overflowing, were checkered with vacancies. Clerks and elevator operators reported that customers who normally crowd the stores in the week before school opens were staying home.

Last night was the first since Saturday to be undistrubed by home-made fire bombs, shootings or beatings ...

The Governor blamed the people and elected officials of Jacksonville for the breakdown of law and order.

.....New York Times, September 2, 1960

All of Georgia's larger counties showed gains in retail and other taxable sales during the first quarter of 1963 except Dougherty, where racial demonstrations and Negro boycotts have hit the county seat, Albany.

.....Atlanta Journal, June 6, 1963

Jackson, Miss. - To what extent business downtown was hurt by the five weeks of picketing, boycotts nad marches and sit-ins has been carefully concealed by spokesmen for Capitol St., the main business section.

But the chain stores, which were the targets of pickets and sit-ins, one trade association spokesman admitted, found business off as much as 40 to 60 per cent during the peak of the demonstrations.

.....New Orleans Times-Picayune, July 7, 1963

Point-La-Hache, La. (AP) - Leander H. Perez Sr., arch segregationist and political leader, continued his "war" with the Federal Government today.

Under his prodding, the Plaquemines Parish (County) Council approved an ordinance forbidding bars to admit uniformed military personnel [from naval air station at nearby Belle Chasse] or sell them beverages.

.....New York Times, August 30, 1963

Jackson, Miss. - Capitol Street, this town's business center, is showing the effects of the selective buying campaign which the local NAACP initiated over a year ago.

Windows of five stores are plastered with "Going Out of Business" signs. Informants say two others will soon announce they too are closing up for good.

The two white-owned food markets in colored neighborhoods, which refused to hire colored employees and to cease selling products of companies that also discriminate, have already gone out of business.

.....Baltimore Afro-American, March 7, 1964

In the light of some of the above-cited hardships experienced by retailers, it is of interest to examine how the National Education Association rates some of the states involved in per-capita retail sales;

Use their source

Mississippi.....	50th
South Carolina....	49th
Alabama.....	45th
Louisiana.....	44th
Georgia.....	40th

.....Rankings of the States, 1963

All of the 11 southern states, except Florida, are below the national average.

And then, on the other hand .....

Baltimore (AP) - An owner of Gwynn Oak Amusement Park - scene of mass racial demonstrations and arrests earlier this summer - has called the park's new policy of racial integration an economic success.

He said the park has more reservations for next season than it had in the late summer of any other year.

.....Washington Post, September 14, 1963

...Among those restaurants, hotels, theaters and other places of public accommodation in the South that have begun serving or hiring Negroes, only a few report suffering any lasting consequences. A sizable number, in fact, declare that business has been better than ever.

Mr. Rather [Dallas hotel man] says a recent check of the city's 35 largest hostelries failed to turn up a single instance of lost business because of desegregation.

.....Wall Street Journal, July 15, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Industries Missed or Lost

Gov. George Wallace's war against "the central government" could be far more costly to the people of Alabama if the federal government ever decides to fight back.

Moreover, the Defense Department is now cutting down on the number of military and naval bases and installations over the country. And, when all other considerations are close to even, defense advisers may decide that it would be wise to close an installation in a state that persists in fighting the federal government rather than a similar installation in another state that is more cooperative.

Rep. Kenneth Roberts got some figures together recently showing that in the fiscal year than ended last June 30, the Defense Department alone spent in Alabama more than $700 million in payrolls, upkeep, contracts, and the like.

There is no doubt whatever that Alabama gets considerably more than its proportionate share of federal tax dollars, considering its population and the amount of federal taxes its citizens pay.

.....Birmingham News Washington correspondent James Free, February 2, 1964

John E. Horne, administrator of the Small Business Administration, speaking before the annual banquet of the Junior Cahmber of Commerce at the Montgomery Country Club, identified himself as a Southerner and then told his audience:

In 1962 ... Alabama received $132 million in Defense Department contracts; $95 million comes under the control of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; $35 million from the Department of Agriculture; and other federal grants and loans totaling more than $650 million.

"For a state which bears less than 1 per cent of the tax burden, that's a pretty good record by any calculation," Horne said.

.....Montgomery Advertiser, June 8, 1963

Humans, resources, technology, management and education are the five major areas necessary for development if Mississippi is to make economic progress, C. E. Kirk told the noon Lions Club [of Greenville, Miss.] at its weekly meeting Wednesday.

Kirk, who is plant manager for the Ludlow Manufacturing Co. in Indianola, spoke as a guest of the local Lions Club on the subject, "Blueprint for Mississippi's Economic Progress."

Kirk is also a representative for the Mississippi Economic Council and brought along charts and statistics which were gathered largely through the council.

"Where we are losing out," he said, "is in the new, highly skilled industries like the chemicals, electronics and pharmaceutical companies."

insert on page 18

City Council President Paul R. Screvane proposed yesterday that the city refuse to invest any of its $3,400,000,000 pension funds in the securities of companies practicing racial discrimination.

.....New York Times, June 30, 1963

delete or interpret
Cat Pneeky + Cath-actions

"The problem is many of our working age people (20 to 40) are leaving and those who stay don't have enough education to attract the newer breed of industries into the state," Kirk said.

As a result, Mississippi's per capita income doubled from 1939 to 1945, but it stayed the same in relation to the nation's average.+

.....Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville, Miss.), January 30, 1964

[+Mississippi ranks 50th among the states in per-capita personal income, according to Rankings of the States, 1963, published by the Research Division of the National Education Association. National average: $2,263. Mississippi: $1,229.]

A report circulated by S. D. Wolfe, temporary chairman of the Lafayette County Rural Development Committee, says Oxford [Miss.] has lost two new industries because of the crisis.

.....Jackson Daily News, January 27, 1963

* insert p. 17A

However, while the state's over-all business advance continued, economists in other Southeastern states remained convinced that Mississippi would suffer in later years because of the racial outbreaks.

They cited Little Rock, Ark., as evidence, noting that the industry stopped locating there for two years after the racial troubles in 1957.

A leading economist said he expected the number of new industries in Mississippi "to start declining by the middle of 1963, and to continue shrinking for a long time to come until and unless, the state shows that it is willing to rejoin the Union."

.....New York Times, April 15, 1963

Downtown demonstrations last spring by Negroes seeking a change to integrated facilities in restaurants had an adverse effect in attracting new industry, Chamber of Commerce officials told the Greensboro Human Relations Committee yesterday.

.....Greensboro Daily News, September 6, 1963

Industrial development people admit that the turmoil is frightening away prospective new industry. Sidney M. Smyer, a prominent real estate man who has been active in business groups talking with Negroes, says: "This situation is going to have definite effects on locating further business here [Birmingham]. People aren't going to come where there is trouble - it's hard enough

to get them when you have a favorable climate." W. Cooper Green, executive vice-president of Alabama Power Co., sums it up: "Violence hurts - labor violence, criminal violence, racial violence. You have to live it down."

.....Business Week, September 28, 1963

Birmingham (AP) - At a Chamber of Commerce meeting, Chairman Caldwell Marks of an industry-hunting committee disclosed receipt of insulting letters from prospective industries and cancellation of plans for firms to locate here.

.....Atlanta Constitution, May 24, 1963

...The severe economic damage caused by racial unrest has forced the city's business community into action....Birmingham is endowed with a rich supply of raw materials and with ample resources of labor. But the flow of new industries into the area was halted by the onset of racial violence....As one businessman puts it: "We have become the world's headquarters for racial violence, and nothing worse could happen to a city."

.....The Financial Times (London) Sept. 23, 1963

And then, on the other hand.....

Huntsville, once a sleepy, dusty town of textile mills, stately mansions of excellent architecture, and mill-town slum housing, now is an exciting, dynamic city of confidence in its future and poise in its present. It eschewed violence or incident in the desegregation of its schools. It is, next to Mobile, the oldest municipality in the state, and yet no city in the South has so freed itself from the dead hand of the past.

The four-lane Parkway Drive, lined with new retail businesses and handsome motels, also runs through old cotton fields. In the 1930's, the land, worn out with cotton growing, was selling for about $4.00 an acre. Today, the asking price is $3,000 per acre.

.....Ralph McGill column, Atlanta Constitution, November 14, 1963

For Police and Jail Costs

This section and the following one on court costs document ~~the~~ public outlays which for the most part result from demonstrations and other actions instigated by Negroes. The plaint is sometimes heard in the South that ~~if~~ Negroes are therefore guilty of great waste of taxpayers' ~~originating~~ money. The ~~argument~~ argument stops short of the true cause of the waste. The true cause is of course the cause of the demonstrations and other actions, which is to say the denial by discrimination of rights guaranteed by the U.S. ~~Constitution~~ Constitution. Any community, any state which wants to end this waste need only take the necessary steps to providing equal protection and rights for all citizens.

IN THE ECONOMY OF THE COMMUNITY

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Police and Jail Costs..... [Editorial]

Walter Anderson, Chief of the State [North Carolina] Bureau of Investigation, estimated that each bomb scare costs about $1,500 in time spent by 10 to 12 policemen making a two-hour search.

.....Atlanta Daily World (by UPI), Feb. 22,1959

Jackson (UPI) - Gov. Paul Johnson asked the state legislature Tuesday to expand the highway patrol and give him the power to use it to keep the peace during racial turmoil.

The governor drew the most applause when he asked that any county or municipality which finds its jail inadequate be allowed to send prisoners to a "detention center" at the state penitentiary.

.....Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville, Miss.), March 4, 1964

.....in Savannah

Savannah has been rebuffed in its effort to collect from the state $18,000 which it spent for quarters and food for state troopers during racial disorders.

.....Atlanta Constitution, Feb. 11, 1964

.....in Albany

Mayor Jimmy Davis estimated Monday the 2-months stay of a group of pacifists cost Albany taxpayers about $5,000 in jail expenses.

.....Atlanta Constitution, March 3, 1964

.....in Memphis

Protests and demonstrations by Negroes against staggered hours at five Negro schools have cost the Memphis Police Department more than $9,000 in overtime pay since Sept. 4.

.....Memphis Commercial Appeal, Sept. 18, 1963

.....in Guilford County, N.C.

...Clarence Smith, purchasing agent for Guilford County, estimated taxpayers were supporting the jailed Negro demonstrators at a minimum of $1,200 a day"just for food."

.....Raleigh News and Observer, May 21, 1963

.....in Danville

Danville (AP) - The cost of policing civil rights demonstrations in this Southside city which has been the scene of sporadic racial unrest since May 31 has been placed at more than $60,000.

Danville Mayor Julian R. Stinson announced over the week end that overtime pay for policemen and other deputized law enforcement officers in June, July and August came to $48,199.

He said other expenses incurred included approximately $6,180 for feeding and housing prisoners and $6,515 for such items as night sticks, tear gas, office supplies andcourt costs.

.....Richmond News Leader, September 9, 1963

.....in Cambridge

Cambridge (AP) - Thirty-seven days of militia law here has cost Maryland at least $176,000. That's only the estimate of keeping National Guard troops billetted here.

The other costs - State Police expenditures and the economic toll to the community - have not been accounted for, and my be unaccountable.

The bill for the first 25 days of militia rule, from June 14 to July 8, was nearly $100,000. According to the comptroller, pay for the Guard totaled $83,199.83, the food bill was about $14,700 and the cost for gasoline was $1,858.89.

.....Baltimore Sun, June 24, 1963

.....in Williamston, N.C.

...The Martin County Commissioners in a brief meeting approved a bill of $1,095 for extra police protection during July.

Extra law enforcement officers were necessary recently to prevent violence as a result of nightly demonstrations by Negroes.

.....Greensboro Daily News, Aug. 9, 1963

.....in New York City

Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy disclosed yesterday that civil rights demonstrations were costing the city $15,000 a day in overtime pay to policemen.

.....New York Times, Aug. 6, 1963

.....in Jackson

He [Mayor Allen Thompson] said the city spent an extra $138,429.75 in overtime and equipment combatting the demonstrations from late May through August.

.....Jackson Daily News, Oct. 31, 1963

.....in Charleston

Costs of locking up racial demonstrators during July and August jabbed three Charleston County budgets out of kilter, according to a report issued this week by County Manager E. D. Martin.

The Prison Farm Barracks, County Jail and the Prison Farm all had to spend more than half of their six-months allotted funds in three months' time because of the demonstrations.

.....Charleston News and Courier, Oct. 17,1963

.....in High Point

High Point - City Hall is showing some concern over the mounting costs of Negro demonstrations here.

A $9,000,000 budget, closely trimmed in order to keep the same tax rate of $1.20 per $100 valuation, cannot stand too much additional and unbudgeted expense, it was pointed out by city officials.

Protest activities have cost $7,132.52 in overtime pay for policemen alone. Also to be considered is the wear and tear on the Police Department...

.....Greensboro Daily News, Aug. 30, 1963

.....and in Birmingham

the state paid.....

State Budget Officer J. V. Jordan said a tabulation three weeks ago showed that "upwards of $90,000" had been spent up to that time in keeping hundreds of state troopers in Birmingham to keep a watch on racial disorders there.

Jordan said a later tabulation ... would boost that figure by a substantial amount.

State Conservation Director Claude D. Kelley said it cost his department $25,000 to send about 100 conservation officers, deputized as state troopers, to Birmingham.

ABC officials reported they had been forced to spend an extra $17,350 for sending specially-deputized liquor enforcement agents to Birmingham.

State fiscal officials said the total expense could run well over $200,000.

.....Birmingham News, June 20, 1963

the c city paid.....

The cost of the five weeks of demonstrations was considerable. It is estimated that overtime pay to policemen, repair of damage to police vehicles and the feeding of more than 1,500 prisoners will total about $50,000.

Whatever the cost, most Birmingham citizens hope it is the final payment.

.....New York Times, July 22, 1963

the county paid.....

The county [Jefferson] may have spent as much as $10,000 more.

.....New York Times, July 22, 1963

and the people

Losses from fires during the weekend rioting were placed at $41,775 by Deputy Fire Marshall William E. Berry. And vandalism will boost the destruction toll much higher.

.....Birmingham News, May 14, 1963

paid.....

Governor Wallace is pushing through an emergency appropriation of $250,000 to cover expenses of troopers.

.....Atlanta Journal, May 26, 1963

Governor Wallace called for a doubling of the cost of driver's licenses in Alabama to finance an Alabama Highway Patrol to cope with racial disturbances.

.....Birmingham News, May 15, 1963

.....and in Jackson, Mississippi

Jackson has been steadily strengthening its police force in recent months and has laid in an added supply of gas masks, shotguns and helmets. Thecity also recently purchases a $15,000 tank-like vehicle designed especially for riot control.

.....Washington Post, February 27, 1964

...Mayor Allen Thompson has asked state lawmakers for $1,000,000 with which to build a compound for "agitators and others who do not go along with the Mississippi way of life."

.....Baltimore Afro-American, March 7, 1964

IN THE ECONOMY OF THE COMMUNITY

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Court and Legal Costs

Savannah, Ga. (UPI) - About 250 Negroes awaiting trial in connection with recent sit-in demonstrations here asked for separate jury trials Wednesday.

Solicitor General Andrew J. Ryan, Jr., estimated that, if the Negroes went ahead with their plan, it would take a year and a half to complete the 250 trials. According to Georgia law, any person accused of either a misdemeanor or a felony has the right to demand a jury trial.

.....Atlanta Daily World, September 21, 1963

...The 1st grand jury impaneled at the fall term of the superior courts of the several counties shall fix the compensation of jurors and court bailiffs for the next succeeding year, such compensation not to exceed $3 per diem...

.....Section 59-120, Georgia Code

by simple arithmetic: 390 weekdays (in 18 months) X $12 per day ($1 per juror per day minimum)

=

$4,680

Greensboro (AP) - Solicitor L. Herbin, Jr., said Friday that if all 183 defendants charged with obstructing a street here without a permit June 6 pleaded not guilty he would plan a single trial for them in Superior Court Monday.

A single trial, he estimated would save Guilford County and the state more than $25,000. He based the figure on an estimated cost of $30 a minute for court operation.

"If we were to try these cases individually, it would take about half a year ..."

.....Charlotte Observer, Aug. 24, 1963

By the petition, demonstrators transferred 932 cases brought against them in Orange Superior Court to U.S. Middle District Court. The cases resulted from demonstrations in Chapel Hill.

.....Winston-Salem Journal, March 6, 1964

Thus the long legal battle against school integration, the costs of which have nt yet been fully determined, and the continuing Prince Edward County Court battle, all costly to the state, are draining off tax dollars which could and should be used for education and public works construction.

.....Norfolk Journal and Guide, November 30, 1963

IN THE ECONOMY OF COMMUNITIES

THE PRICE WE PAY

in Resources Depleted Fighting Desegregation

The Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, an official state agency, helped prime the pump for the financial backing of the CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms] last September when it put up $20,000 of the state's money for the cause.

Satterfield's [ ] fee is $2000 a month, which he draws at the rate of $25 per hour for his services. His travel and other expenses are paid out of the Washington office.

While the State Sovereignty Commission hasinvested only $20,000 so far in CCFAF, it has sunk over $160,000 of state funds since June 1960 in the White Citizens Council's television and radio series.

Oddly, the Citizens Council does not submit any statement or invoice as a matter of record in order to receive its $2000 payment from the state. Expl>

The state auditor's office said last week that all other invoices made by the state must have a statement showing what was received in return.

.....New Orleans Times-Picayune, Feb. 9, 1964

The state of Mississippi is bankrolling an ambitious effort to defeat the civil rights bill now pending in Congress.

Within the last six months, Mississippi has shoveled $120,000 into the fight ....

According to figures filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives, the commission gave Synon's committee [John J. Synon, director of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, salaried at $519.23 a week] $20,000 in the quarter-year ending Sept. 30, 1963 and $100,000 in the quarter ending Dec. 31.

.....Miami Herald, January 29, 1964

ala item

Most of Mississippi's financial support for the anti-civil rights group, or $100,000, has been from "private contributions" to the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission.... This is what the director of the commission says. But even he admits that $20,000 of the state's grant to the Washington lobby was drawn from tax funds.

.....St. Petersburg Times editorial, February 8, 1964

...the sense of impatience that other states must feel for states such as Mississippi, which is, at once, the most abjectly mendicant of all the 50 states and the most aggressively

THE PRICE WE PAY ...in resources deflecting fighting desegregation

unyielding in its segregationist sentiments...

Why - it could be asked - should other states help pay [via federal tax dollars] for services that Mississippi says it is unable to afford on its own when Mississippi can afford to kick away $120,000 on lobbying and propaganda against a single piece of federal legislation within a single six-month period?

.....Arkansas Gazette editorial, Feb. 8, 1964

...it was once reported here that the expense incurred by the National Guard crew which flies the C-47 on the Wallace tours was paid by the Federal government. No state official bothered to correct me, they apparently preferred that I remain ignorantly incorrect. Just discovered is the fact that the expenses of the Guardsmen are paid by you, the taxpayers of Alabama. An allocation was approved a couple of days back for $1,356.48 from the General Fund for the active duty pay earned by the three-member crew on the midwest tour, plus some expenses.

.....Bob Ingram column in Montgomery Advertiser, March 1, 1964

The State Sovereignty Commission adopted as its first objective Thursday a massive campaign aimed at defeat of the civil rights bill pending in Congress.

As one gesture, the Commission agreed to pick up the check, not to exceed $1,000, for airplane gasoline for the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The Jaycees, who have distributed thousands of copies of the civil rights bill in Alabama and other states, also have arranged for the use of an airplane, the Commission was told, for conferences in other parts of the country to spread opposition to the bill.

.....Montgomery Advertiser, March 6, 1964

Put on 24

A drive to enlist the support of various Alabama organizations in fighting the civil rights bill now pending in the Senate was launched here Monday by the State Sovereignty Commission.

Howell [Eli Howell, executive director of the Commission] said the nationwide campaign would be directed by the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms.... The Sovereignty Commission had earlier appropriated $10,000 to this group.

.....Montgomery Advertiser, March 3, 1964

The Senate [Mississippi] authorized municipalities Tuesday to enter into mutual assistance agreements to combat riots or civil disturbances.

The action came in a measure expanding a current law permitting a city's fire department to be used outside of its city limits.

add cast

.....Jackson Daily News, February 14, 1964

THE PRICE WE PAY ...in the economy of communities

The State Highway Patrol has spent more than 11,000 man-hours dealing with racial demonstrations so far this year. The extra activity has cut sharply into traffic law enforcement.

Figures compiled Friday by patrol headquarters show traffic violations charged during the first six months of 1963 were down 18,558 compared with the same six-month period last year.

.....Raleigh News and Observer, Aug. 17,1963

Jackson (UPI) - Public Safety Commissioner T. B. Birdsong told United Press International Tuesday the morale of highway patrolmen, most of whom were on duty at the scene of the riot [at the University of Mississippi], was hurt by the crisis.

He pointed out that the state's highway death toll "rose very sharply" after the Sept. 30 riot which marked the entry of Negro James Meredith to the university.

Since then, there have been 327 traffic deaths in Mississippi, compared to 252 during the same period a year earlier.

.....Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville, Miss.), March 27, 1963

...one cost that is seldom counted is the time which trained, responsible leaders must take from their professional duties to "work on desegregation." Every time the Steering Committee of the Summit Leadership Conference meets there are businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors who are not doing what businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors are supposed to be doing. The same is true of the Atlanta Coordinating Committee.

If these same people were all free to work on the problems that come with twentieth century growth, instead of working on the problem of making the color of your skin no more important than the color of your hair, we might at least catch up with, even get one step ahead of automation, expressways, art centers, and school curricula.

.....Elisa Paschall column in Atlanta Inquirer, March 7, 1964

City Council yesterday voted five to one to borrow $40,000 for the construction of a Negro community center on Hernando Street and $10,000 for remodeling of the present community center on Robertshaw.

He [Park Commissioner] said the Negro facility is needed since there is at present nowhere for Negroes to attend Park Commission activities.

During the past several years, the City of Jackson has been subjected to various court actions, in addition to pursuing a steady course of prosecuting racial demonstrators and others charged with public breach of civic ordinances.

This activity has grown to such proportions that it overshadows most of the city's ordinary run of

THE PRICE WE PAY ...in the economy of communities

of business, has caused the expenditure of a formidable [amount] of money.

.....Jackson Daily News, Feb. 9, 1964

Emergency expenses resulting from the racial demonstrations of the last several weeks will cause a curtailment of some county services, the County Commission [Jefferson County, Ala.] said Monday.

.....Birmingham News, May 14, 1963

The extra costs, including overtime pay for police and other personnel used during the demonstrations last spring, totalled $45-46,000, money that might have gone into additional city equipment or services, Boutwell [Mayor Albert Boutwell of Birmingham] said.

.....Birmingham News, Sept. 15, 1963

...in resources wasted
(Sea Lion Department)

Greenville, South Carolina, is having its problems. Faced with a suit to integrate its municipal swimming pool, the city council voted last October to convert it into a "marineland." "Integrated pools operate at a loss," Alderman W. L Bouton ... explained in proposing the switch. The economy-minded council apparently had no alternative but to import six sea lions from California. Since then, however, it's been just one thing after another... The trouble began as soon as the sea lions were flown in by jet from Santa Barbara. They not only needed a series of vitamin and antibiotic inoculations on arrival but fifty pounds of fish a day as well.

Yet the "animal groceries" budget had already been exceeded by $378 at that point and the $1,500 ration allowance that was provided "obviously left no margin," one alderman found, "for feeding camels and yaks." (There was no question that camels and yaks deserved treatment equal to sea lions')... It was discovered that the pool had sprung a leak .... The costs, however, turned out to be manageable, and for several days the local papers carried dolorous pictures of the woebegone seals dryly sitting it out on the shower-room benches while the pool was drained and the repairs made. In mid-January a $1,200 concrete island with five spiral decks was lowered into the pool, and there is talk of a stainless-steel slide to come. But this gives no assurance yet that the sea lions will learn to be as happy as kids, black or white, in a swimming pool. At the end of January, one sea lion was found dead of unkown causes at the side of the pool, and another died at the veterinarian's.

.....The Reporter, Feb. 27, 1964

And, on the other side.....

Well over $300,000 has been collected and spent in the fight to win civil rights in Birmingham, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. revealed last week.

.....Baltimore Afro-American, June 1,1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

For Segregated Housing

He [Emerson P. Schmidt, chief economist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce] noted that while there has been no absolute drop in the volume of federally-financed house construction since the anti-discrimination order was issued in November, there has been a drop in the proportion it represents of all new house construction.

.....Atlanta Constitution, July 1, 1963

Not only is the impulse to new home ownership an inevitable expression of the middle class Negro's aspirations and accomplishments, its realization would have a salutary effect on the economy at large.

Recently the Housing and Home Finance agency prepared a series of estimates of the extent to which new construction would be augmented if non-white families were permitted and inclined to participate in the housing market in a manner identical to that of the white families. The calculation for 17 metropolitan areas in the United States indicated that potential demand accumulated among non-white families with incomes between $7,000 and $10,000 a year amounted to 45,000 units, and that demand in all 212 metropolitan areas may be as high as 200,000 units.

This figure represents approximately one-eighth of the total annual volume of new construction and one-sixth of the annual number of new one-family units. Were the backlog to be made up during the remaining portion of the decades of the 1960's, the demand for new construction would be increased by 2 to 3 per cent a year. This could be a welcome addition during a period in which net household formation is expected to taper off.

.....The Mortgage Banker, February 1964

...If backward attitudes prevail, Atlanta can become a predominantly Negro city by 1975.

And since the existing housing squeeze will increasingly drive well-off Negroes as well as whites to homes outside the city limits, in order to make way for city slums to house the poorest Negroes and whites, then the city's tax base will erode and progress will wither.

Then city business will falter, and with it job opportunities, so that the poverty of the city's poor will begin to feed on itself and perpetuate the cycle of decay.

What the city faces, therefore, is not a racial debate but an economic crisis. Poor whites, trapped in city slums, will be hurt along with poor Negroes. And the well-off whites, along with the well-off Negroes, who withdraw into suburbs will find the source of their prosperity - a strong central city - evaporating.

.....Eugene Patterson column in Atlanta Constitution, December 14, 1963.

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Loss of Conventions and Tourist Business

...A week or so ago, the National Lutheran Council decided to meet in Charlotte after the New York Times reported that eight hotels and motels in that city had been desegregated. Earlier, the council members had discounted Charlotte as a meeting site. The executive director of the council said that "we would prefer (as a matter of principle) not to be in a place where the hotel space was segregated." Thus Charlotte gets a convention that will bring 70 people there for three days.

Last Friday, the North Carolina Association of Broadcasters said that it had cancelled plans to hold its June convention at a motor hotel in Wrightsville Beach because the management refused to provide accommodations for representatives of a member radio station owned by Negroes. Instead, the association will meet at a New Bern hotel.

There will surely be other such instances as more and more organizations desegregate their membership and as the consciences of Americans become increasingly aroused to the need for racial justice. And in time the realities of business may overcome the fears of those who still feel that discrimination pays off.

.....Winston-Salem (N.C.) Journal, editorial
March ,1964

St. Augustine

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Loss of Conventions

New Orleans' loss of conventions is hurting business much more in the French Quarter than are District Attorney Jim Garrison's vice raids, a veteran Bourbon street night club operator believes.

Hyp Quinle, owner of the Famous Door Lounge, said Friday that state laws requiring segregation in hotels are costing night spots the convention trade which is their lifeblood.

"Seymour Weiss tells me he's had five cancellations from conventions this year because he couldn't take one or two colored delegates," said Quinle.

.....New Orleans Times-Picayune, September 8, 1962

Bluefield, W. Va. (AP) - The West Virginia Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claimed a victory yesterday when Negro hotels turned away Negroes and forced an American Legion convention out of Bluefield.

The NAACP has been "working hard to get Negroes not to cooperate with the segregated housing plans of the Legion convention," he [Rev. C. Anderson Davis, president of the W.Va. NAACP] said.

The controversy began last month when the West Virginian Hotel, to be convention headquarters, said it would not accept reservations from Negro legionnaires.

.....Providence (R.I.) Journal, May 24, 1963

Detroit (UPI) - The American Federation of Teachers has turned down a suggestion that its convention in 1963 be held at Bal Harbor, Fla.

Some of the delegates expressed concern over possible racial segregation.

.....New York Times, Aug. 22, 1962

Miami Beach (AP) - Miami Beach has been named the site of the American Legion's Sept. 6-12 national convention, shifted from New Orleans because of racial problems.

National commander James Powers ... said not enough integrated lodgings could be found in New Orleans.

An estimated 50,000 persons will attend the sessions.

.....Atlanta Journal, May 24, 1963

"Assuming that the Miami Beach meeting draws 35,000 delegates for a four day stay and each one spends $30.00 per day (a national average delegate's expenditure), this will amount to ... $4,200,000."

.....Larry Mansfield, Manager, City of Miami Convention Bureau, letter June 17, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Lost Tourist Business

The business community generally has begun to recognize that the Negro's rising disposable income represents a large and growing portion of the nation's buying power. However, this is far less true in the area of public accommodation.

I have asked my staff to prepare a tabulation of average Negro and white expenditures for "Admissions," "Food eaten away from home," and "Automobile operations" (a key to travel, and therefore spending for hotels and motels). The tabulation is based on a study published several years ago by the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

These data show that Negroes in large northern cities spend more than southern Negroes of the same income class in all of these expenditure categories, even though white families in northern cities spend less than similar families in southern cities.

In the same income group, northern Negroes spend more than northern whites for "Admissions," but southern Negroes spend less than southern white and Northern Negroes. Negroes in both the North and South spend less on "Food eaten away from home" than white people in the same income groups, but the difference is much greater in the South.

The table also shows that Negroes in both the North and South spend much less than whites of the same income class on "Automobile operations" (40 to 60 per cent). This statistic certainly suggests that Negroes are doing considerably less traveling by automobile than white people in the same income group. Since Negroes spent close to the same amount, on the average, for the purchase of automobiles as did whites of the same income level, I believe the absence of suitable facilities along our important North-South highway routes must be the discouraging factor.

.....from testimony of Undersecretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., before the Senate Committee on Commerce, July 23, 1963

Tourist travel through Birmingham to points in the South and Southwest "is off at least 25%, maybe more," says Bancroft Timmons, director of the Alabama Automobile Association. "We're getting requests for routings around Birmingham everyday. People coming from New York to the Southwest are driving 100 miles out of their way through Arkansas to miss Alabama."

.....Wall Street Journal, June 26, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

.....In Lost Tourist Business

Toronto (AP) - Canadians should boycott the southern United States as a holiday area in protest of racial segregation, Alan Borovoy, executive secretary of the Ontario Labor Committee for Human Rights, said Sunday.

.....New Orleans Times-Picayune, Sept. 16, 1963

.....While on the Other Hand

In Dallas, integration of hotels and restaurants has "opened up an entirely new area of convention prospects," according to Ray Bennison, convention manager of the Chamber of Commerce. "This year we've probably added $8 million to $10 million of future bookings because we're integrated," Mr. Bennison says.

.....Wall Street Journal, July 15, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY Culture, Entertainment and Sports

In ~~Missed Performances~~

ART

The Museum of Modern Art has barred its circulating exhibitions of paintings, sculpture and photographs from display before segregated groups.

One fourth of the exhibitions ... visit the South.

This rule, which applies also to rentals from the museum's extensive library of motion pictures, was instituted recently in the hope that other museums would follow suit.

OPERA

The museum is the third major cultural organization to act against segregation. Last year the Metropolitan Opera decided that it would no longer play before segregated audiences during its spring tours and this year the Actors Equity Association ruled that its members should not be required to perform in segregated theatres.

THEATER

.....New York Times, August 22, 1962

New York (AP) - The American Guild of Variety Artists voted in convention Monday for an immediate national boycott of entertainment centers that racially segregate either customers or employees.

NIGHT-CLUBS

The resolution continued;

"AGVA will advocate the non-appearance of AGVA members in any hotels, club or place of entertainment where such a policy of segregation exists."

.....Atlanta Constitution, June 11, 1963

BASE-BALL

The Boston Red Sox and the Pittsburgh Pirates have been asked by the Florida National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to reconsider plans to locate baseball farm clubs at Ocala and Palatka. The NAACP said both cities lack integrated facilities.

.....Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Oct. 20, 1963

FOOT-BALL

Four Negro stars of the Oakland Raiders [professional football] say they won't play Friday night in Mobile, Ala., against the New York Jets if seating in the stadium is segregated.

.....Houston Post, August 20, 1963

Prize Fight

AUDITORIUM

A proposed large bond issue failed in Atlanta, and Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. said the segregation issue was one of the reasons for the failure. A bond issue for new schools was barely defeated, but bonds for a cultural center lost by a big margin. Allen said the segregation issue had been "falsely injected" into the cultural center debate.

.....Southern School News, September, 1962

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Missed Performances

Playwright

Irish playwright Brendan Behan has cancelled a scheduled visit her Friday for a performance of one of his plays because of a news item he said he read in New York about police mistreatment of Negro comedian Dick Gregory in Mississippi.

Frank Wittow, director of the Academy Theater here, said ... he /Behan/ refused to come South.

"We were looking forward to seeing and working with Behan," Mr. Wittow said. "Unfortunately, we are all identified with the crude actions in Mississippi. This is a case of everybody suffering."

.....Atlanta Journal, April 4, 1963

Prizefight

Both Loew's State and the Saenger theaters announced Monday that they are canceling the telecast of the Sonny Liston-Cassius Clay heavyweight fight Tuesday night.

Earlier Monday, Liston said he would not stand for piping a telecast of his title defense, in Miami Beach, into any theater that had racially segregated seating.

.....New Orleans Times-Picayune, Feb. 25,1964

Music

...when Duke Ellington was to appear there [Little Rock, Ark., city auditorium] last year, seating was announced to be on a segregated basis, whereupon the band leader canceled his booking.

.....Redbook, "Little Rock - Five Years Later," by Gerald Walker, November 1962

Conductors George Szell, Leonard Bernstein and Erich Leinsdorf all announced that they would not appear before segregated audiences, and they were joined by such performers as Rise Stevens, Leon Fleisher, Jaime Laredo and Julius Katchen. Artur Rubenstein declared that such a stand is "a right and natural step."

Segregation remains the general rule for concert audiences in Mississippi and Alabama; elsewhere it is accomplished more discreetly .... Sol Hurok, with his huge stable of artists, has had a similar policy [refusal to appear before segregated audiences] for a decade. At week's end the new musical boycott of the Deep South was endorsed by Vladimir Horowitz.

.....Time, March 20, 1964

Blackout in Mississippi

[James] Webb, administrators of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, was to have given the principal address at a banquet honoring members of the Mississippk Legislature.

But a few hours before the event, Webb sent word he did not endorse segregation, and would not appear.

.....Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville, Miss.) by UPI, January 29, 1964

Television's Cartwright family of the "Bonanza" series exhibited a solid front Tuesday when Lorne Green and Michael Landon joined their co-star Dan Blocker in cancelling a scheduled appearance in Jackson because they refuse to appear before a segregated audience.

.....Jackson Daily News, Jan. 23, 1964

Jackson (AP) - Jazz trumpeter Al Hirt and his band failed to play Saturday night after he was asked by an integration group not to appear at the segregated coliseum.

.....Birmingham News, Jan. 26, 1964

Jackson, Miss. (AP) - Another performer has passed up an appearance here following a protest by a civil rights group.

Concert pianist Gary Graffman will not appear for a Community Concert series at the Jackson Auditorium Feb. 27 because of segregated arrangements.

.....Greenwood (Miss.) Commonwealth, February 20, 1964

THE PRICE WE PAY In Damaged Foreign Relations

SALES MANAGER CITES COSTLY EFFECTS
OF RACIAL TROUBLES ON SELLING ABROAD

Buffalo, N.Y. - I have just returned from a selling trip through the greater and lesser Antilles where for years we have been selling machinery and equipment to these off-shore areas in the Caribbean and the Atlantic.

Both the whites and the blacks now refuse to buy anything American from us even though, personally, I have made many friends for the past many years.

Russia, Japan, Canada and England have their salesmen in these prosperous islands and invariably they talk about how the whites treat the colored people in the United States.

Last year the U.S. Department of Commerce reported exports to these same islands amounted to $180 million but the steamship companies so far this year are noticing that shipments are few.

.....letter from W. M. Chase, General Sales Manager, Chase Machinery Company, in Atlanta Constitution "Pulse of the ~~Nation~~" column, May 20, 1963 Public

ELLENDER'S BOOMERANG

Washington - Twenty-two ambassadors from African nations get together here yesterday to tell the world what it already knew - that Africa thinks even less of Sen. Allen J. Ellender than he thinks of it.

A Louisiana Democrat and ardent segregationist, Sen. Ellender likes to go around telling anybody who will listen that Negroes are incapable of self-government. He said it again on television Sunday.

The statement brought the usual reaction. On Monday, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, speaking for an Administration that is up to its neck in racial problems, said the Senator did not speak for the government or for a majority of Americans.

The Africans had heard this before, and were not impressed. They gathered in the Liberian Embassy and issued a communique that said, in part:

"The language used by the Senator was needlessly offensive to our countries with which the United States government has friendly relations...

"It is difficult to ignore Sen. Ellender's remarks or to dismiss them as the fully privileged announcement of a private citizen in view of his position as a senior member of Congress and of the Senate Appropriations Committee...

"It is a grave disservice to the cause of world peace and understanding for a person occupying a prominent place in the public life of a great nation to provoke a return of the archaic debates on whether ethnic differences can be held to justify a claim of superiority by one race over another. That theory has proved been baseless and its revival is likely to be source of incalculable mischief."

Last December, while on a taxpayer-financed junket to Africa,

Senator Ellender also said Negroes were unable to rule themselves. The remarks received wide publicity all over the continent and caused the State Department considerable embarrassment.

One result was that four countries on the Senator's itinerary refused permission for him to visit.

In March, Sen. Ellender held a press conference here in which he said he had no apologies for his views. He called Africans "thinskinned" and still appeared nettled that he had been refused travel rights in four of the nations. He added:

"The Negro in Africa is no different from the Negro in America. The minute you say whites are a little ahead of the Negro it's like shaking a red handkerchief before a fighting bull."

The official policy of the United States, of course, has been to support independence for new African states. It is aiding these countries to the tune of $500 million a year.

.....New York Herald Tribune, June 20, 1963

~~The Harris Survey~~

~~MAJORITY OF WHITES ON DISCRIMINATION: IT HURTS ABROAD~~

When Negro and white demonstrators for equal rights converge on Washington this week, an American dilemma will be unveiled in dramatic terms. The vast majority of white Americans (78 per cent) feel that unsolved racial problems here at home cannot be defended in the court of world opinion.

.....Washington Post, August 26, 1963

Air mail brought cuttings from newspapers in the new African countries showing treatment of the Birmingham riots and bombings within four days after the first brutalities. These mailings - to our State Department, to members of many delegations in the United Nations, and to individuals - have continued. They include photographs.

The result of the madness at Birmingham, and the following statements by Governor Wallace, Bull Connor, and others in political leadership in Alabama and Mississippi, have quite literally paralyzed the foreign relations of this country's representatives in Africa and seriously damaged them elsewhere.

One paper mocks us asking if there is any real difference between the late Adolf Hitler's racist attitudes and those of America's extremists? Again, we are vulnerable.

.....Ralph McGill column in Atlanta Constitution, May 23, 1963

Washington (UPI) - Secretary of State Dean Rusk Monday called on Americans to solve racial problems which he said are causing "deep injury" to U.S. foreign policy abroad.

Rusk said that because of remaining U.S. racial barriers, U.S. diplomats must conduct American foreign policy like someone running in a foot race "with one of our legs in a cast."

Rusk said the United States "is now confronted with one of the gravest issues that we have had since 1865 ... and this issue deeply affects the conduct of our foreign relations."

.....Atlanta Constitution, May 28, 1963

Birmingham (AP) - A Chamber of Commerce Committee reported the city has suffered heavily because of racial troubles and said something must be done.

Letters of criticism came from as far away as Antwerp, Belgium, and Paris.

.....Atlanta Constitution, May 24, 1963

...Of the nearly 100 diplomatic missions now accredited to Washington, more than half have representatives of Asian or African background. So incidents of discrimination at airports and restaurants and other public places have become a matter of real concern on the part not only of Secretary of State Rusk but of normally intelligent Americans who are concerned about the kind of world in which their children are going to live.

.....from address by then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Carl T. Rowan, before the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, D.C., June 24, 1961, reprinted in Interracial Review, Oct. 1961.

Atlanta - It happened on Oct. 27, when my husband and I along with another Hindu couple from India went to a downtown restaurant to have our lunch. As soon as we went in we heard the most welcoming words from our American hostess, "Sorry, we cannot serve you."

.....letter from Mrs. Berty Makem in Atlanta Constitution "Pulse of the Public" column, November 1, 1963

Leopoldville, The Congo - A group of American Negroes boycotted the United States Embassy's July 4 garden party here to protest racial discrimination at home.

About 15 of the 30 American Negroes here, including several United Nations officials, refused to attend the party Thursday night. One, Charles E. Robinson, an electronics technician, said today:

"I didn't feel I could celebrate my country's Independence Day when my people at home are still fighting for their independence."

.....New York Times, July 8, 1963

Paris - Racial tensions in the United States are beginning to produce international repercussions of an unprecedented kind, especially in Western Europe.

As seen from here, the United States for the first time since World War II faces an internal crisis sufficiently serious to deflect its energies from its international responsibilities.

...They [Europeans] do not discount the possibilities of the domestic crisis having a sharply debilitating effect on U.S. foreign policy. The comparison increasingly made here is with the Soviet Union's running agricultural crisis and the restrictive influence it undoubtedly has exerted over the years on Russian initiative abroad.

.....Atlanta Journal (from North American Newspaper Alliance dispatch), July 25, 1963

Paris - France's new television program, "Seven Days of the World," opened tonight with a 10-minute sequence on the racial conflict in Birmingham, Ala., which was a model of expert impartial reporting.

.....Washington Post, May 25, 1963

A Baptist missionary in Nigeria mailed in three cuttings from newspapers in that country. One was an editorial from "The Times" of Lagos, perhaps the most influential publication in that country.

At the bottom of this cutting the missionary had written, "As a Christian this was to me, the most tragic article of all. Why, why, don't our people at home know what they are doing to us...?"

.....Ralph McGill column, Atlanta Constitution.

Oxford, Miss., Oct. 1 - ...Two were killed. They were:

-Paul Guihard, 30, New York-based correspondent of the French news agency Agence France Presse. He was shot in the back and found dead on the campus.

-Ray Gunter, 23, an Oxford juke box repairman. He was dead on arrival at Oxford Hospital.

.....Atlanta Journal, Oct. 1, 1962

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THE PRICE WE PAY

In
Employment

Racial discrimination in employment was singled out Wednesday as one of a complex set of forces which, together, are costing the American people more than $30 billion a year in personal income, most of it in the Southeast.

Ironically, it was not in Washington or at a civil rights forum that this estimate of economic loss was cited.

An Atlanta economist presented the calculation in a rather more academic setting in Minneapolis...

Dr. Joseph Airov, associate professor of economics at Emory University, was referring to the regional differences in per capita income in which the Southeast ranks hindmost among the eight major regions of the United States.

.....Jim Montgomery column in Atlanta Constitution, August 29, 1963

New Orleans - Several witnesses at a civil rights hearing here testified today that industry in the South was penalizing itself when it discriminated against Negroes.

Because of this discrimination, they said, the brighter and better-educated young Negroes migrate to the North and never return. This often leaves unfilled jobs for which they could qualify and discourages establishment of new industry for lack of skilled workers, they added.

Mr. Kerns [J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans] charged that although the Southern Bell Telephone Company had been advertising in New Orleans for months for telephone operators and other specialized workers, it had turned down all Negro applicants.

Representatives of the Boeing Company and of Kaiser Aluminum, both of which have national policies of equal opportunity in employment, said they had found difficulty finding skilled Negro help here.

.....New York Times, July 10, 1963

In recent years, its failure to attract any significant amount of new industry and its reliance on the limping steel industry - U.S. Steel Corp.'s Tennessee Coal & Iron division is the area's biggest employer - have combined to slow Birmingham's economy. In 1957, the metropolitan area had its highest employment, 246,000. Today, the total is estimated at 228,000.

Some Birmingham citizens say that in recent years large numbers of their best educated young men and women have been deserting the city to find opportunity elsewhere. It hasn't all been due to the lack of economic opportunity, says one young citizen. "We lost ourselves a generation; they just don't want to put up with all this racial strife."

.....Wall Street Journal, May 15, 1963

In Employment

In Georgia, the median income to support each individual white person is $2,470, each Negro $927. White unemployment is 3.7 per cent, Negro 6 per cent. Weltner [Rep. Charles L. Weltner, D. Ga.] estimated that if even the employed Negroes in Georgia earned at the white median rate they would add a half billion dollars a year to the state economy - instead of leading it with relief costs.

.....Atlanta Constitution, Feb. 20 1964 (reprinting an article which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal)

Such an atmosphere is a serious problem for companies that need to hire executives and highly trained workers. Rust Engineering Co., for example, employs some 400 people, mostly graduate engineers, in Birmingham. George M. Rust, executive vice-president, says flatly that his company can't attract the trained engineers it needs. He pins the blame directly on the racial troubles.

"Periodically we run help-wanted ads in newspapers around the country," Rust explains. "We generally get 10 to 15 responses to each ad. About the time of the demonstrations last May we ran 10 ads from which we got just two answers." He goes on: "One highly skilled man we needed badly put us off because he wanted to see how the racial situation developed. Finally he decided not to come."

.....Business Week, Sept. 28, 1963

The race trouble in Little Rock a few years ago caused so many people to leave the state that Arkansas lost two congressmen after the 1960 census.

Some Southerners maintain that states' rights protect their choice of economic suicide rather than social progress. However, the impoverished and ignorant migrants moving from the South are flooding Northern cities where there is no work for cotton pickers. Without education enough to hold a city job, these people become permanent relief clients.

Those who must support them do not have much sympathy for the states that have cheated them of at least an eighth-grade education and have practiced such mean discriminations as barring them from the public library.

Segregation is expensive, and it is not pleasant to pay in Chicago for a policy decided upon in Mississippi or Alabama.

.....George M. Korb letter printed in Dallas Morning News, May 20, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY.....

.....On a National Scale

Gross National Product

If non-whites had the same labor force participation and employment rates as the whites and if they were distributed geographically and occupationally (and thus in terms of wage and salary income) as whites with the same educational attainments -- if, in other words, non-whites were able to make the same contribution to production, given their present educational attainment, GNP would be increased by about 1.8 per cent.

Furthermore, the 1.8 per cent estimate relates only to wage and salary income and does not attempt the difficult measurement of the change in the labor component of entrepreneurial income. Gains will occur in the labor productivity of the self-employed adding further to the 1.8 per cent increase in GNP.

The above considerations suggest that the gain in Gross National Product might well be as much as 2.5 per cent (about $13 billion at today's level of GNP).

...The shift to full utilization of the present capabilities of the non-white population (and the resultant GNP increase of about 2.5 per cent) would assist significantly in meeting our economic growth objectives in the coming years.

If non-whites had the same educational levels as whites and if the economy fully utilized their education, GNP today might be perhaps 3 per cent higher (inclusive of the 2.5 per cent estimate reported above). This amounts to about $17 billion at today;s levels of GNP.

.....from a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment" presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, September 1962, by the Council of Economic Advisers

Humphrey /Sen. Hubert H. D. Minn./ told a Roosevelt Day dinner ~~/held by Americans for Democratic Action~~ that the money lost to the American economy through racial discrimination is "more than one-fourth of the money we spend for national defense" and "three times as much as we spend on our space program."

.....Baltimore Afro-American

/the speech itself is coming and we will use that citation/

Washington - The chief economist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce fears that "unresolved race relations issues" may hurt some kinds of businesses particularly, and business generally in certain sections of the country.

Entire areas of the country where there is widespread public unrest might also see some temporary drop in business, Schmidt /Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt/ indicated.

.....Atlanta Constitution (from New York Times Co. dispatch), July 1, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

Gross National Product

Where there are many Negroes and if Negro income levels are substantially lower than whites - and they are - then the states or the region with so large a number of Negroes suffers by not having all its people able to buy goods or services matching the national level. The more Negroes can buy, the more jobs will be created.

.....Birmingham News editorial,
Sept. 22, 1963

American society robs itself when it refuses equal job and educational opportunities to people because of their race, creed or religion.

That's the feeling of Hobart Taylor, Jr., of Washington, D.C., the executive vice chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

...Taylor prefers to approach the issue of desegregation on economic grounds.

The Gross National Product of the United States, for example, would be increased by at least $30 Billion a year if job discrimination were ended, he said. The Gross National Product now stands at $600 Billion.

"Our economic system needs to be arranged so that everyone strives to his fullest," he said. "If he doesn't, the country is that much poorer."

The economic evil about discrimination, he said, is that it makes many feel they cannot rise above a certain level, so they tend to give less than their best.

Taylor said one of the most harmful fallacies in the nation is that there are only a certain number of jobs available for the work force.

The truth is, he says, that as more people are given the opportunity to produce, the more wealth and jobs there are created.

.....Houston Post, Feb. 23, 1964

For Federal Troops in Racial Disorders

For the fourth time in recent years[+], the National Guard of a Southern state was called into Federal service during a desegregation dispute yesterday ...

...The 320 Alabama Guardsmen mobilized by Gov. George C. Wallace early yesterday to bar Negro children from entering school in three Alabama cities, withdrew on Department of the Army orders after President Kennedy Federalized the entire 17,000-man Alabama Guard. They returned to their armories.

They [Guardsmen] will draw an average of $13.50 a day in Army pay while mustered into Federal service even though not actually on duty - at a cost to the U.S. Government of about $320,000 a day.

.....Washington Post, Sept. 11, 1963

[+Little Rock - 1957; Ole Miss - 1962; Tuscaloosa - 1963; and Birmingham, Tuskegee and Huntsville - Sept. 1963]

THE PRICE WE PAY

For Federal Troops in Racial Disorders.....

Washington (AP) - The call-up of the Alabama National Guard in that state's public school integration crisis last month has cost at least $422,000 so far, the Army said Wednesday.

This figure covers pay and allowances from Sept. 10 to 30.

It does not include operations costs ...

.....Atlanta Constitution, Oct. 3, 1963

The Defense Department estimates it has spent at least $4,100,000 maintaining troops at Oxford, Miss., to protect James Meredith ...

Secretary Robert McNamara supplied the figure to a House Appropriations subcommittee, for the period ending Jan. 31, at the request of three Southern members ...

McNamara pointed out that the Defense Department figures were in addition to the cost incurred by the Justice Department.

.....Nashville Banner, March 29, 1963

The Justice Department has told Congress its expenses to enforce court orders permitting Negro James H. Meredith to attend the University of Mississippi will run about $559,000 through June 30.

.....Jackson Daily News, April 5, 1963

Federal costs in the operation have exceeded $4,500,000, and it is costing an additional $4500 a day for the 300 troops still stationed at Oxford, Miss. ...

.....Knoxville-News-Sentinel, Jan. 30, 1963

Washington (AP) - The damage that heavy military aircraft inflicted last fall on the University of Mississippi airport will be repaired by the government, two Mississippi House members said today.

"The damage to the runway alone is estimated to be in excess of $200,000. Additional extensive repairs must be made to restore other airport property to its original condition."

.....Arkansas Gazette, Feb. 20, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

On a National Scale

The Washington March

Washington (AP) - The civil rights march on Washington last Aug. 28 cost the taxpayers $805,000, Rep. George Huddleston Jr., D-Ala., said today.

He had called on Comptroller General Joseph Campbell the day of the march for an account of its cost to the government.

Campbell had reported to him that "out-of-pocket costs" and diversion to the District of Columbia government and the Department of Defense totaled $255,000, Huddleston said.

"In addition, administrative leave costs to government agencies in the D.C. area took another $550,000 from our taxpayers, bringing the estimated total to $805,000," Huddleston said in a statement.

"This figure of $805,000 does not include some $5,000 for food provided to policemen on duty which the District refused to pay for because it was spoiled; cost incurred by the District in the amount of $65,000 in the value of overtime work performed by uniformed personnel on their regular workday, for which no compensation is authorized by law; or the estimated amount of losses of sales tax revenue to the District merchants in the amount of $36,000 to $45,000 and parking meter revenue losses estimated at $2,300," Huddleston said.

The $805,000 figure also does not include, Huddleston said, any amount for the losses of sales suffered by District Merchants.

.....Florida Times-Union, Dec. 13, 1963

Don't end with these 2

use in intro... ?

THE PRICE WE PAY

Enforcing Civil Rights Legislation

Civil Rights, as proposed in the omnibus bill now pending in Congress, won't come cheap.

Administrative expenses of the program were set out in a letter to the House Judiciary Committee, which now is seeking right of way for the bill to floor.

Nicholas Katzenbach, deputy attorney general, estimated that over a five-year period these would run close to $100,000,000, broken down in this way:

1. To Department of Justice, for enforcing new guarantees of voting rights and access to public accommodations and facilities, $923,920.

2. To Department of Health, Education and Welfare for technical help to schools as they desegregate, $10,095,000; to Justice for legal work in this connection, $699,870.

3. To Civil Rights Commission, operating under broader power granted in the bill, which also makes this agency permanent, $1,425,000.

4. To Justice Department, for enforcing nondiscrimination in Federally assisted programs, $66,350.

5. To proposed new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, $5,760,000; to Labor Department for special studies in this field, $75,000.

6. To Department of Commerce, for special voting census to determine how many Negroes are denied franchise, $1,800,000.

These outlays total $20,845,140 for the first year of the new program. Subsequent years might be somewhat less expensive since the special voting census will not be a recurring project.

.....Knoxville News-Sentinel, Jan. 19, 1964

S O S NEWSLETTER

1520 Jefferson Avenue March 15, 1961

Quiet presently prevails in the struggle for open public schools. However, this lull should not be taken to mean the fight is over. Despite rumors of compromise between state and federal government and an apparent relaxation by the legislature of the bonds placed on the Orleans Parish school board, there are other indications that harassment of the board will be continued and that financial strangulation of the system may well be attempted.

A report that a legislative committee intends to "investigate" administration costs of the Orleans Parish school system confirms this point of view. Such an "investigation" is both unnecessary and a useless expenditure of taxpayer's money. It was only a few weeks ago that one of the nation's outstanding competent management consulting firms completed a study of our school system. This firm not only commended the operation for its efficiency but pointed out the significant progress made in recent years and the amazing economy exercised. Ultimately, the organization paid the highest tribute of all. It hired, for its own consulting staff, Dr. James F. Redmond -- the superintendent of schools who led in establishing this most creditable organization.

We ask therefore: what significant contribution can be made by a group of legislators unprepared and untrained in the conduct of such an analysis? If they were sincere in their efforts, they would need only to review the comprehensive report rendered by Booz, Allen and Hamilton. Obviously, this would save taxpayers many hundreds of dollars. The only conclusion: added harassment of the Orleans Board is in the offing.

Further indication that the fight is not over: a newspaper headline: "Louisiana Leaders Pledge U. S. Court Defiance." In the story, legislators indicate they have subpoenaed various materials held by Supt. Shelby M. Jackson and taken other steps to relieve him of functions that have caused him to be the object of federal contempt proceedings. Further, the story indicates that the funds previously reported released may be "delayed" for some time yet.

Another conclusion: our school system is not yet free of the possibility of further attempts at financial strangulation.

Hence: our fight to keep schools open will continue, our efforts to educate the public will continue.

* * * * * * *

SOS STATURE HAS GROWN.

This is the first newsletter since the school crisis exploded back in November, principally because board members and hundreds of other members have been engaged in executing parts of the SOS program. If you've followed the newspapers closely, you are certainly aware that we have been active.

These activities have not only drawn New Orleans attention, and been of assistance in awakening the public here, but have drawn nationwide attention. All members should take pride in the fact that the organization has achieved such prominence and that all of us had the courage to speak out publicly and repeatedly for open schools in difficult and trying times. If the organization has remained silent, it would have surrendered the purpose its members set for themselves when they were organized 11 months ago. Silence would have been tantamount to defeat.

Many people in New Orleans have done excellent work behind the scenes to keep the schools open. But this particular purpose of SOS -- to educate the general public to the need for open schools -- could not be carried out in silence. Public education of this kind functions in large part by publicity. To this end, each SOS member should be publicity agent for open schools. Talk to your neighbor about the desperate need for public education! Phone your friends and tell them that private co-op schools are not the solution to the current problem! Have a coffee party and sell open schools when you pass the cake!

FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

On February 18, the president of SOS testified before a legislative committee on the administration's mis-labeled local-option bill. Contrary to the Georgia local option bill, the Louisiana bill cannot be construed as valid local option, since it does not provide for keeping schools open even if a community votes for open schools. Administrative leaders have said repeatedly that should New Orleans vote to keep schools open, efforts to cut off funds would not cease.

It is evident that administration leaders will use St. Helena as a testing area for present local option and tuition grant laws. A local option election has been called in St. Helena for April 22. The Louisiana grants-in-aid program will be implemented if the parish votes to close schools rather than comply with federal court orders and utilize the pupil placement plan.

In Virginia, the pupil aid program is being seriously questionned now. The chairman of the Virginia Pupil Placement Board, E. J. Ogglesby, has stated that he thinks the law violates the U. S. Constitution because it discriminates against pupils

attending parochial schools. A suit indirectly assailing the tuition plan is at present in the U. S. District court in Richmond. Until many questions concerning grants-in-aid are settled, Louisiana people should not be misled into readily accepting the plan as an answer to the current problems.

SOS STORY TOLD

Our organization was represented among a group of some fifty who attended the third annual conference on schools in transition sponsored by the U. S. civil rights commission at Williamsburg, Va., during February. The conference was attended by educators, parents and other citizens from communities faced with federal court orders to desegregate public schools. Among them were representatives from the Prince Edward, Va., Foundation; school superintendents from Roanoke, Norfolk, and Front Royal, Va.; Atlanta, New Orleans, and Baton Rouge. Mrs. Mary Sand served as SOS's representative.

President Kennedy, in a telegram to the meeting, praised New Orleans educators, parents and other citizens who are working to keep public schools open for "quiet intelligence and true courage". He said: "This is no time for schools to close for any reason, and certainly no time for schools to be closed in the name of racial discriminiation." President Kennedy said of those in New Orleans who have tried to carry out the desegregation order: "The whole country is in their debt, for our public school system must be preserved and improved. Let me also pay tribute to the school children and their parents, of both races, who have been on the frontlines of this problem. In accepting the command of the constitution with dignity, they, too, are contributing to the education of all Americans."

In his message, President Kennedy said "our very survival as a free nation depends on preserving and improving the public schools." If the U.S. is to give world leadership,

he said "we must be true to the great principles of our constitution -- the very principles which distinguish us from our adversaries in the world." The President summarized: "Let me here pay tribute to these educators -- principals, officers of school boards and public school teachers. The constitutional requirement of desegregation has presented them with many new responsibilities and hard challenges. In New Orleans today, as in many other places represented in your three conferences, these loyal citizens and educators are meeting these responsibilities and challenges with quiet intelligence and true courage."

SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

535 GRAVIER STREET, SUITE 806, NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

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March 22, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, Forsyth Streer, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your note of March 16th. I have been out of town for a few days and just returned.

As yet I have not heard from Henry Cabirac, but I feel certain that he will probably call after he gets himself settled a bit. In the meantime, I plan to check with Jack Nelson but he is out of his office now; but I shall try again shortly.

Thanks for the info; I appreciate it. Hope to see you again shortly.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Irwin Schulman

IS:sh

LWD ✓
SM

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
21 West Superior
Chicago 10, Illinois

MOhawk-4-8222

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW NEW ORLEANS CATHOLIC ORGANIZATION FORMED TO WORK FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Editors: Attached for your information is a release prepared by an organization formed last night, March 23, 1961, in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Organized by Catholic laymen, with the approval and blessing of New Orleans Catholic Archbishop Rummel, the organization is called the CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS. It was formed to work for better race relations in all aspects of community life.

The release of this new organization and its statement of purpose is attached.

President of the new organization is Mr. C. Ellis Henican, prominent New Orleans attorney, and a Knight of St. Gregory in the Catholic Church.

Secretary of the organization is Mr. John P. Nelson, Jr, also a New Orleans attorney. Mr. Nelson is a vice chairman of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Mr. Nelson is also a vice chairman of the New Orleans "Save Our Schools Organization" formed to keep the public schools open on an integrated basis.

Working with the group as Chaplain appointed by Archbishop Rummel, is Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Plauche, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

The organization was formed at an interracial meeting of about 300 laymen. In its statement of purpose, the Council invites non-Catholics to consider approval of their objectives and working with the organization on community wide projects.

For Release: March 23, 1961
CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
P.O. Box 4366
New Orleans, Louisiana

Not to be released until
10:00 p.m.

A group of Catholic laymen have established an organization designed to promote interracial justice and charity in the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

At a meeting March 23, at Notre Dame Seminary, approximately 300 laymen and lay women voted to establish the Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

They elected C. Ellis Henican, New Orleans, their president. Other officers elected were: First Vice-President, Dr. Paul Hebert, Baton Rouge; Second Vice-President, Dr. Leonard Burns, New Orleans; Secretary, John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans; Treasurer, Mrs. Thompson B. Burk, New Orleans.

Members of the Board of Directors are: Francis C. Doyle, Harry Charbonnet, Shelly Schuster, Dr. Nick Accardo, Miss Iona Berteaux, William Joseph Rouchell, Charles DeBlieux, James Gilly, Miss Norey Smith, Numa Rousseve, Basil Moss, Ben Canaday, Charles Denechaud, Elliot Keyes, all of New Orleans; Senator J.D. DeBlieux, Dr. B.V. Barranco, Andrew Bahlinger, John Burk, A.A. Lenoir, Herman Scluter, Dr. Myron Walker, all of Baton Rouge; Dr. John Fisher, Cut-Off; Thomas Ragusa and Frank Cucchiara of Hammond; Dr. Charles Daunis, Vacherie; J.R. Schoen, Covington; Edward Lapeyrouse, Houma; Dr. Richard Dawes, Gramercy.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Plauche stated that the Council was formed with the approval and blessing of the Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans.

Mr. Henican said the purpose of the organization is to improve relationships among peoples of all races and national origins in the Archdiocese. He added that it will promote the teachings of the Catholic Church on interracial justice and charity and will work to correct the mistaken image that some persons have of the Church's official position on these matters.

"While this is a Catholic laymen's organization," he said, "we invite all citizens of good will to consider the approval of the objects of the newly created Council and to join with the Council in this community wide undertaking."

It is the Council's hope, he said, that attitudes of Christian charity will permeate all phases of community life. Its aims are fourfold:

(a) To promote good relationships among peoples of all races in the Archdiocese of New Orleans;
(b) To make known the teachings of the Catholic church on matters of interracial justice and charity, particularly as summarized by all of the cardinals, archbishops and bishops throughout the United States in their statement issued in 1958 and entitled "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience"; and the application of these principles to everyday living experiences;
(c) To work in cooperation with public and responsible private agencies in strengthening the fabric of America's democratic way of life through the promotion of good human relations; and
(d) To exhort all of the clergy, religious and laity to offer their daily prayers, good works and sacrifices for the peaceful and

charitable solution of all problems of human relations.

Msgr Plauche said the responsibility for these aims lies with the Catholic layman as well as well as with the clergy.

Mr. Henican reported that Council members will conduct a program of education within the Catholic pariehes and will promote the Council's ideals in all phases of community life.

Mr. Henican says anyone interested in further information, please call 866-4455, or write P.O. Box 4366, New Orleans, Louisiana.

He released the attached statement on the Council's purposes and aims:

cf following pages

March 23, 1961, Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans

Statement of purpose:

The Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans has been established under the guidance and direction of the Most Reverend Archbishop of New Orleans.

According to Article II of the Charter of the Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, the objects and purposes are stated to be:

(A) To promote good relationships among peoples of all races in the Archdiocese of New Orleans;

(B) To make known the teachings of the Catholic Church on matters of interracial justice and charity, particularly as summarized by all of the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops throughout the United States in their statement issued in 1958 and entitled "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience"; and the application of these principles to everyday living experiences;

(C) To work in cooperation with public and responsible private agencies, in strengthening the fabric of America's Democratic Way of Life through the promotion of good human relations; and

(D) To exhort all of the clergy, religious and laity to offer their daily prayers, good works and sacrifices for the peaceful and charitable solution of all problems of human relations.

We have been motivated towards the formation of this Council out of a deep sense of the demands of the great Christian law of love of neighbor and respect for his rights, taught to us by Christ both by deed and word. These demands have been spelled out for us by the authoritative statement of all the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops of the United States issued in 1958, and entitled "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience." No document can better express both the reasons for the formation of this Council of Human Relations, and its goals. Here is the official statement of this newly formed work in Christ's Church. And it is only right and proper that is should be so, for as Catholics we believe that by the disposition of Christ Himself, the Roman Pontiff for the whole Church, and the Bishops for the faithful entrusted to their care, are the properly constituted shepherds of the flock of Christ; to them has been divinely given the right and duty to teach, rule, govern and sanctify those in their charge. As Pius XII stated, in his allocution of May 31, 1954: "Besides the lawful successors of the Apostles, namely, the Roman Pontiff for the Universal Church and Bishops for the Faithful entrusted to their care, there are no other teachers divinely constituted in the Church of Christ." (The Authority of the Church in Temporal Matters, NCWC, Washington, p. 2). As loyal and faithful Catholics we must, then, accept the authorative teaching of the American hierarchy and respond to their call to action.

The Bishops have taught us that "Discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color, and as such injurious tohuman rights regardless of personal qualities or achievements, cannot be reconciled with the truth that

God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity." (Paragraph 12). They have further stated that: "Legal segregation, or any form of compulsory segregation, in itself and by its very nature imposes a stigma of inferiority upon the segregated people. Even if the now obsolete Court doctrine of 'Separate but Equal' had been carried out to the fullest extent, so that all public and simi-public facilities were in fact equal, there is nonetheless the judgment that an entire race, by the sole fact of race and regardless of individual qualities, is not fit to associate on equal terms with members of another race. We cannot reconcile such a judgment with the Christian view of Man's nature and rights." (Paragraph 16). Finally they add that: "It is a matter of historical fact that segregation in our country has led to oppressive conditions and the denial of basic human rights for the Negro. This is evident in the fundamental fields of education, job opportunity, and housing." (Paragraph 17).

Faced with such authoritative teachings, the Catholic laymen forming this Council on Human Relations, will to answer the call to action of the American Bishops. Together with the Bishops, we as Catholics and southern citizens of the United States, realize that the problems which face us in the domain of human relations in the Archdiocese "are rooted in Decades, even centuries, of custom and cultural patterns" and that "changes in (such) deep-rooted attitudes are not made overnight." (Paragraph 22). We know that our action must be both prudent and courageous, quiet, prayerful and decisive. But act we must. We equally deplore a "gradualism that is merely a cloak for inaction" and a "rash impetuosity that would sacrifice the achievements of decades in ill-timed and ill-considered ventures." (Paragraph 23). We must "seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist," (Paragraph 24), "Root out of our hearts bitterness and hatred. The tasks we face are indeed difficult. But hearts inspired with Christian love will surmount these difficulties." (Paragraph 25). It is our prayer that this Council on Human Relations will, with God's grace, meet full face the challenge of our times and under the direction of the Most Reverend Archbishop of New Orleans yield fruit a hundred-fold.

While this is a Catholic laymen's organization, we invite all citizens of good will to consider the approval of the objects of the newly created Council and to join with the Council in this community wide undertaking.

CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS

P. O. BOX 4366 NEW ORLEANS 18, LA. PHONE 866-4455

MARCH 28, 1961

MR. PAUL M. RILLING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR MR. RILLING:

IT WAS A PLEASURE MEETING AND TALKING WITH YOU THE SHORT TIME WE HAD TOGETHER A FEW WEEKS AGO.

YOU WILL FIND ENCLOSED A NEWS RELEASE AND OUR STATEMENT OF PURPOSE INDICATING OUR ORGANIZATION WAS FORMED LAST THURSDAY NIGHT. OUR FIRST BOARD OF DIRECTORS' MEETING WILL BE APRIL 6, AT WHICH TIME WE WILL APPOINT COMMITTEES TO HANDLE PROGRAM PLANNING, MEMBERSHIP, FINANCE, ETC.

IT IS MY HOPE THAT WE CAN WORK VERY CLOSELY WITH YOUR ORGANIZATION, AND WE WOULD APPRECIATE WHATEVER ADVICE AND SUGGESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE TO OFFER AS I AM NEW IN THIS FIELD AND BELIEVE THAT I HAVE A LOT TO LEARN.

SINCERELY YOURS,

Henry Cabrac Jr.

HENRY CABRAC, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HCJR/MB

ENCLOSURES 2

FOR RELEASE: MARCH 23, 1961
CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
P. O. Box 4366
NEW ORLEANS, LA.
TELEPHONE: 866-4455 (MR. HENRY CABIRAC)

Not to be released until
10:00 p.m.

A GROUP OF CATHOLIC LAYMEN HAVE ESTABLISHED AN ORGANIZATION DESIGNED TO PROMOTE INTERRACIAL JUSTICE AND CHARITY IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS.

AT A MEETING MARCH 23, AT NOTRE DAME SEMINARY, APPROXIMATELY LAYMEN AND LAY WOMEN VOTED TO ESTABLISH THE CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS.

THEY ELECTED C. ELLIS HENICAN, NEW ORLEANS, THEIR PRESIDENT. OTHER OFFICERS ELECTED WERE: FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT, DR. PAUL HEBERT, BATON ROUGE; SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT, DR. LEONARD BURNS, NEW ORLEANS; SECRETARY, JOHN P. NELSON, JR., NEW ORLEANS; TREASURER, MRS. THOMPSON B. BURK, NEW ORLEANS.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ARE: FRANCIS C. DOYLE, HARRY CHARBONNET, SHELLY SCHUSTER, DR. NICK ACCARDO, MISS IONA BERTEAUX, WILLIAM JOSEPH ROUCHELL, CHARLES DEBLIEUX, JAMES GILLY, MISS NOREY SMITH, NUMA ROUSSEVE, BASIL MOSS, BEN CANADAY, CHARLES DENECHAUD, ELLIOT KEYES, ALL OF NEW ORLEANS; SENATOR J. D. DEBLIEUX, DR. B. V. ~~BRANCO~~ Barranco, ANDREW BAHLINGER, JOHN BURK, A. A. LENOIR, HERMAN SCLUTER, DR. MYRON WALKER, ALL OF BATON ROUGE; DR. JOHN FISHER, CUT-OFF; THOMAS RAGUSA AND FRANK CUCCHIARA OF HAMMOND; DR. CHARLES DAUNIS, VACHERIE; J. R. SCHOEN, COVINGTON; EDWARD LAPEYROUSE, HOUMA; DR. RICHARD DAWES, GRAMERCY.

THE RT. REV. MSGR. CHARLES J. PLAUCHE STATED THAT THE COUNCIL WAS FORMED WITH THE APPROVAL AND BLESSING OF THE MOST REV. JOSEPH FRANCIS RUMMEL, ARCHBISHOP OF NEW ORLEANS.

MR. HENICAN SAID THE PURPOSE OF THE ORGANIZATION IS TO IMPROVE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PEOPLES OF ALL RACES AND NATIONAL ORIGINS IN THE ARCHDIOCESE.

HE ADDED THAT IT WILL PROMOTE THE TEACHINGS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON INTERRACIAL JUSTICE AND CHARITY AND WILL WORK TO CORRECT THE MISTAKEN IMAGE THAT SOME PERSONS HAVE OF THE CHURCH'S OFFICIAL POSITION ON THESE MATTERS.

"WHILE THIS IS A CATHOLIC LAYMEN'S ORGANIZATION," HE SAID, "WE INVITE ALL CITIZENS OF GOOD WILL TO CONSIDER THE APPROVAL OF THE OBJECTS OF THE NEWLY CREATED COUNCIL AND TO JOIN WITH THE COUNCIL IN THIS COMMUNITY WIDE UNDERTAKING."

IT IS THE COUNCIL'S HOPE, HE SAID, THAT ATTITUDES OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY WILL PERMEATE ALL PHASES OF COMMUNITY LIFE. ITS AIMS ARE FOURFOLD:

(A) TO PROMOTE GOOD RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PEOPLES OF ALL RACES IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS;

(B) TO MAKE KNOWN THE TEACHINGS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON MATTERS OF INTERRACIAL JUSTICE AND CHARITY, PARTICULARLY AS SUMMARIZED BY ALL OF THE CARDINALS, ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES IN THEIR STATEMENT ISSUED IN 1958 AND ENTITLED "DISCRIMINATION AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE"; AND THE APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES TO EVERYDAY LIVING EXPERIENCES;

(C) TO WORK IN COOPERATION WITH PUBLIC AND RESPONSIBLE PRIVATE AGENCIES, IN STRENGTHENING THE FABRIC OF AMERICA'S DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE THROUGH THE PROMOTION OF GOOD HUMAN RELATIONS; AND

(D) TO EXHORT ALL OF THE CLERGY, RELIGIOUS AND LAITY TO OFFER THEIR DAILY PRAYERS, GOOD WORKS AND SACRIFICES FOR THE PEACEFUL AND CHARITABLE SOLUTION OF ALL PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RELATIONS.

MSGR. PLAUCHE SAID THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THESE AIMS LIES WITH THE CATHOLIC LAYMAN AS WELL AS WITH THE CLERGY.

MR. HENICAN REPORTED THAT COUNCIL MEMBERS WILL CONDUCT A PROGRAM OF EDUCATION WITHIN THE CATHOLIC PARISHES AND WILL PROMOTE THE COUNCIL'S IDEALS IN ALL PHASES OF COMMUNITY LIFE.

MR. HENICAN SAYS ANYONE INTERESTED IN FURTHER INFORMATION, PLEASE CALL 866-4455, OR WRITE P. O. BOX 4366, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

HE RELEASED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON THE COUNCIL'S PURPOSES AND AIMS:

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED UNDER THE GUIDANCE AND DIRECTION OF THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP OF NEW ORLEANS.

ACCORDING TO ARTICLE II OF THE CHARTER OF THE CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS, THE OBJECTS AND PURPOSES ARE STATED TO BE:

(A) TO PROMOTE GOOD RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PEOPLES OF ALL RACES IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS;

(B) TO MAKE KNOWN THE TEACHINGS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON MATTERS OF INTERRACIAL JUSTICE AND CHARITY, PARTICULARLY AS SUMMARIZED BY ALL OF THE CARDINALS, ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES IN THEIR STATEMENT ISSUED IN 1958 AND ENTITLED "DISCRIMINATION AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE"; AND THE APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES TO EVERYDAY LIVING EXPERIENCES;

(C) TO WORK IN COOPERATION WITH PUBLIC AND RESPONSIBLE PRIVATE AGENCIES, IN STRENGTHENING THE FABRIC OF AMERICA'S DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE THROUGH THE PROMOTION OF GOOD HUMAN RELATIONS; AND

(D) TO EXHORT ALL OF THE CLERGY, RELIGIOUS AND LAITY TO OFFER THEIR DAILY PRAYERS, GOOD WORKS AND SACRIFICES FOR THE PEACEFUL AND CHARITABLE SOLUTION OF ALL PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RELATIONS.

WE HAVE BEEN MOTIVATED TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF THIS COUNCIL OUT OF A DEEP SENSE OF THE DEMANDS OF THE GREAT CHRISTIAN LAW OF LOVE OF NEIGHBOR AND RESPECT FOR HIS RIGHTS, TAUGHT TO US BY CHRIST BOTH BY DEED AND WORD. THESE DEMANDS HAVE BEEN SPELLED OUT FOR US BY THE AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF ALL THE CARDINALS, ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF THE UNITED STATES ISSUED IN 1958, AND ENTITLED "DISCRIMINATION AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE." NO DOCUMENT CAN BETTER EXPRESS BOTH THE REASONS FOR THE FORMATION OF THIS COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS, AND ITS GOALS. HERE IS THE OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THIS NEWLY FORMED WORK IN CHRIST'S CHURCH. AND IT IS ONLY RIGHT AND PROPER THAT IT SHOULD BE SO, FOR AS CATHOLICS WE BELIEVE THAT BY THE DISPOSITION OF CHRIST HIMSELF, THE ROMAN PONTIFF FOR THE WHOLE CHURCH, AND THE BISHOPS FOR THE FAITHFUL ENTRUSTED TO THEIR CARE, ARE THE PROPERLY CONSTITUTED SHEPHERDS OF THE FLOCK OF CHRIST; TO THEM HAS BEEN DIVINELY GIVEN THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO TEACH, RULE, GOVERN AND SANCTIFY THOSE IN THEIR CHARGE. AS PIUS XII STATED, IN HIS ALLOCUTION OF MAY 31, 1954: "BESIDES THE LAWFUL SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES, NAMELY, THE ROMAN PONTIFF FOR THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH AND BISHOPS FOR THE FAITHFUL ENTRUSTED TO THEIR CARE, THERE ARE NO OTHER TEACHERS DIVINELY CONSTITUTED IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST." (THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH IN TEMPORAL MATTERS, NCWC, WASHINGTON, P. 2). AS LOYAL AND FAITHFUL CATHOLICS WE MUST, THEN, ACCEPT THE AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING OF THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY AND RESPOND TO THEIR CALL TO ACTION.

THE BISHOPS HAVE TAUGHT US THAT "DISCRIMINATION BASED ON THE ACCIDENTAL FACT OF RACE OR COLOR, AND AS SUCH INJURIOUS TO HUMAN RIGHTS REGARDLESS OF PERSONAL QUALITIES OR ACHIEVEMENTS, CANNOT BE RECONCILED WITH THE TRUTH THAT

GOD HAS CREATED ALL MEN WITH EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL DIGNITY." (PARAGRAPH 12). THEY HAVE FURTHER STATED THAT: "LEGAL SEGREGATION, OR ANY FORM OF COMPULSORY SEGREGATION, IN ITSELF AND BY ITS VERY NATURE IMPOSES A STIGMA OF INFERIORITY UPON THE SEGREGATED PEOPLE. EVEN IF THE NOW OBSOLETE COURT DOCTRINE OF 'SEPARATE BUT EQUAL' HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT TO THE FULLEST EXTENT, SO THAT ALL PUBLIC AND SEMI-PUBLIC FACILITIES WERE IN FACT EQUAL, THERE IS NONETHELESS THE JUDGMENT THAT AN ENTIRE RACE, BY THE SOLE FACT OF RACE AND REGARDLESS OF INDIVIDUAL QUALITIES, IS NOT FIT TO ASSOCIATE ON EQUAL TERMS WITH MEMBERS OF ANOTHER RACE. WE CANNOT RECONCILE SUCH A JUDGMENT WITH THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF MAN'S NATURE AND RIGHTS." (PARAGRAPH 16). FINALLY THEY ADD THAT: "IT IS A MATTER OF HISTORICAL FACT THAT SEGREGATION IN OUR COUNTRY HAS LED TO OPPRESSIVE CONDITIONS AND THE DENIAL OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS FOR THE NEGRO. THIS IS EVIDENT IN THE FUNDAMENTAL FIELDS OF EDUCATION, JOB OPPORTUNITY, AND HOUSING." (PARAGRAPH 17).

FACED WITH SUCH AUTHORITATIVE TEACHINGS, THE CATHOLIC LAYMEN, FORMING THIS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, WILL TO ANSWER THE CALL TO ACTION OF THE AMERICAN BISHOPS. TOGETHER WITH THE BISHOPS, WE AS CATHOLICS AND SOUTHERN CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, REALIZE THAT THE PROBLEMS WHICH FACE US IN THE DOMAIN OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE ARCHDIOCESE "ARE ROOTED IN DECADES, EVEN CENTURIES, OF CUSTOM AND CULTURAL PATTERNS" AND THAT "CHANGES IN (SUCH) DEEP-ROOTED ATTITUDES ARE NOT MADE OVERNIGHT." (PARAGRAPH 22). WE KNOW THAT OUR ACTION MUST BE BOTH PRUDENT AND COURAGEOUS, QUIET, PRAYERFUL AND DECISIVE. BUT ACT WE MUST. WE EQUALLY DEPLORE "A GRADUALISM THAT IS MERELY A CLOAK FOR INACTION" AND A "RASH IMPETUOSITY THAT WOULD SACRIFICE THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF DECADES IN ILL-TIMED AND ILL-CONSIDERED VENTURES." (PARAGRAPH 23). WE MUST "SEIZE THE MANTLE OF LEADERSHIP FROM THE AGITATOR AND THE RACIST," (PARAGRAPH 24), "ROOT OUT OF OUR HEARTS BITTERNESS AND HATRED. THE TASKS WE FACE ARE INDEED DIFFICULT. BUT HEARTS INSPIRED WITH CHRISTIAN LOVE WILL SURMOUNT THESE DIFFICULTIES." (PARAGRAPH 25). IT IS OUR PRAYER THAT THIS COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS WILL, WITH GOD'S GRACE, MEET FULL FACE THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIMES AND UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP OF NEW ORLEANS YIELD FRUIT A HUNDRED-FOLD.

WHILE THIS IS A CATHOLIC LAYMEN'S ORGANIZATION, WE INVITE ALL CITIZENS OF GOOD WILL TO CONSIDER THE APPROVAL OF THE OBJECTS OF THE NEWLY CREATED COUNCIL AND TO JOIN WITH THE COUNCIL IN THIS COMMUNITY WIDE UNDERTAKING.

* * *

April 3, 1961

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Executive Director
Catholic Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 4366
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

We were very pleased to note that the Catholic Council on Human Relations was born on schedule and received reasonably good coverage in the local press. With a board meeting scheduled April 6, you seem to be maintaining your good start and momentum. The quality of your leadership looks good, although some of the names are not known to me.

I presume you will be channeling most of your energy to membership and organization for the time being. When you get to the point of program planning, perhaps we can talk further. I am sending along a few newsletters which will give you some idea of what some councils on human relations are doing here and there. Generally speaking, they function in the area of communication, public education, fact finding and research, trouble shooting and negotiation.

I would urge you to consult with the two staff people in the area of human relations in New Orleans, Mr. Irving Schulman of the Anti-Defamation League, and Mr. Harvey Kearns of the New Orleans Urban League. When you get to the point of special solicitation of non-Catholic membership, I would suggest that you talk with Mrs. Moise Cahn, Mrs. Betty Wisdom, Dr. Al Dent, president of Dillard, and with Mrs. C. W. Coffey.

I will probably be getting back to New Orleans in early May and hope we can have somewhat more time together then.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS

P. O. BOX 4366 NEW ORLEANS 18, LA. PHONE 866-4455

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CHANCELLOR

ASSOCIATE CHAPLAIN—

MONSIGNOR GORDON RAINE

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MRS. ROBERT PASCAL

JUNE 6, 1961

MR. PAUL REILING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR PAUL:

THANK YOU FOR THE REPORT ON FREEDOM RIDERS. I'VE READ IT AND FOUND IT TO BE VERY FACTUAL. IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE WHAT THE LONG RUN OUTCOME OF THIS IS. I HOPE TO SEE YOU AT THE MEETING AT DILLARD FRIDAY AND SATURDAY.

SINCERELY YOURS,

Henry

HENRY CABIRAC, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HCJR/LB

La. -

Cabirac

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MRS. ROBERT PASCAL

June 30, 1961

Mr. Paul Reiling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the information you sent me recently, particularly that on the Washington schools. This is just what the Chairman of our Public Relations Committee has been looking for in case we would like to counter Perez's poisonous propaganda to the effect that there has been strife because of the integration in Washington schools.

We started our membership drive today after the Archbishop, Monsignor Plauche and Henican had addressed the pastors of the archdiocese last week. In the meantime we are working on other plans to submit to the Archbishop to keep the program moving. Lets hope we can get it off the ground.

If the Council can raise funds to be able to keep me as Executive Director and if the Directors permit me to attend I'll see you in Atlanta in September.

Sincerely yours,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Executive Director

HCjr/lb

CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

CHART SHOWING CATHOLIC FACILITIES DESEGREGATED AS OF JULY 1, 1961

(X indicates desegregated failiity)

DIOCESE	PARISH ORGANIZATIONS	DIOCESAN ORGANIZATIONS	HOSPITALS	ATHLETIC PROGRAM	ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	HIGH SCHOOLS	COLLEGES	% CATHOLIC OF TOTAL POPULATIONS OF AREA	% NEGRO CATHOLICS OF TOTAL CATHOLICS OF AREA
Dallas			Don't know		✓	are no public	✓		
CHARLESTON, S.C.		X	X		X			14%	11%
GALVESTON-HOUSTON, Tex.		X	✓		✓ X		✓	19%	9%
MIAMI, FLORIDA	Can't tell?	X	✓		✓ X	✓ X	✓	18%	1%
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE					✓ X		✓	2%	4%
RALEIGH, N. C.					✓ X	✓	✓	1%	9%
ST. LOUIS, MISSOIRI	X	X	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	28%	3%
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS	X	X	Don't know X	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	35%	0.3%
WASHINGTON, D.C.	X	X	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	19%	19%
NEW ORLEANS, LA.	X	X			✓		✓	40%	11%
Atlanta						✓	✓ GaTech not Ga. state		

1. Only one school

Sources of the above information are:

1. Replies from above dioceses
2. The Official Catholic Directory- P.J. Kenedy
3. Commission for Catholic Missions among the Colored People & Indians

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LANCASTER W. COLLENS
MRS. ROBERT PASCAL

August 4, 1961

Sent 8/8/61

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for sending me Report L26, dated July 25, 1961. I have read it and thought it was excellent and would appreciate you sending us about sixty copies, if you have a surplus of this many. I want to circulate them to our Directors, and committee heads as I am trying to educate them in all aspects of this particular situation.

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Executive Director

HCjr/lb

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MRS. ROBERT PASCAL

September 6, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for sending me General Clay's speech so that I can send to our Directors and committee people. You people certainly put out some fine literature and I am going to take advantage of it, all that I can.

Your wife probably told you that I called you while I was in Atlanta on my way to the convention to discuss your letter regarding whether or not you should establish an office in Louisiana. There is certainly much to be said for this, but I would like to discuss it with you further at the Interagency meeting in Atlanta, which I will attend, if you think you would like to wait that long to get my opinion on it. Incidentally, I haven't received a notice of the meeting yet and would appreciate as much information as you could give me on it, so that I can make reservations in time.

In an attempt to determine what to do and how to do it, we have made a survey of eight other dioceses and I am enclosing a chart which indicates some of the things that have been done in the Catholic community in these particular places. Perhaps this exchange of information will be helpful to both of us.

Hope to see you soon in Atlanta.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Executive Director

HCjr/lb

Enclosure

October 9, 1961

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Catholic Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 4366
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

A few newsclips and one short list are enclosed; this is the only material we are, at this time, able to supply in answer to your request for information on and "success stories" of desegregated hospitals in the South. We are assuming you are interested only in actual integration of physical hospital facilities - wards, post operative facilities, and such. If your interest extends to desegregated training programs in teaching hospitals, or to hospitals which do admit both white and Negro patients but maintain segregated wards and other facilities, please let us know and we will send you further materials.

The only instances of complete hospital facilities desegregation in the Southern and border states which we are able to document are: V.A. hospitals in all states, and North Carolina's Cerebral Palsy Hospital at Durham. We know of no published surveys in this area; one study of North Carolina hospitals has been completed and should be released at an early date. It was prepared by the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (the Subcommittee on Medical Care. You may want to write Mr. McNeill Smith, 700 Jefferson Standard Building, Greensboro, N.C., for a copy when it is available.). We have a draft of this study in our files, and although extensive quotation would not be in order until after formal publication, you may be interested in the following information taken from the draft:

State-owned Hospitals (other than mental hospitals):

North Carolina Cerebral Palsy Hospital, Durham: No segregation in any form.

North Carolina Orthopedic Hospital, Gastonia: Some degree of desegregation (in post-surgical facilities, primarily).

North Carolina Memorial Hospital; Adult beds for non-whites are all on one floor; obstetrical and pediatric allotments for whites and non-whites are on the same floor (as I interpret the report) but may be segregated in some wise (this point is not clearly stated).

The four state tuberculosis hospitals; "Every degree of segregation and desegregation."

Other than state-owned hospitals;

Quoting from the study; "In those institutions now receiving white and Negro patients, segregation usually prevails according to wing, corridor, ward, or on some area basis. In certain of these, space may be sued interchangeably for white or for colored, but never simultaneously save in the premature nurseries."

One of the enclosed newsclips pertains to litigation which was this summer brought against segregated James Walker Hospital, Wilmington, N.C.

We are currently involved in a survey of teaching hospitals which may turn up more information relating to the area of segregation practices within the hospitals. We will send you any information we obtain.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Enclosures

Newselips and other records indicate that the following Southern hospitals are to some extent desegregated:

1. Variety Children's Hospital, Dade County, Florida
2. Mercy Hospital, Charlotte, North Carolina (Catholic)
3. Charlotte (North Carolina) Memorial Hospital
4. The University of North Carolina Hospital
5. Charlotte (North Carolina) Rehabilitation and Spastics Hospitals
6. North Carolina Cerebral Palsy Hospital, Durham
7. Central Carolina Convalescent Hospital, Greensboro, North Carolina
8. All V. S. hospitals, in all states
9. Catholic hospitals in Charleston, S. C.; Raleigh, N.C.; San Antonio, Texas (Also border-state St. Louis, Mo.).

Return to WMM

CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS

1046 BARONNE ST., SUITE 2 NEW ORLEANS 13, LA. PHONE 523-2901

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR—
HENRY A. CABIRAC, JR.

October 18, 1961

Mrs. Marge Mauderson
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Mauderson

Thank you for the information regarding the desegregation of hospitals. It appears that efforts in this field have lagged behind those in the school system. It is our hope that our Southern Field Office will be able to speed up these efforts primarily in the Catholic field and of course this will influence the other secular and religious hospitals. Regarding your comment on which cities have desegregated their Catholic hospitals you could add at least one in Atlanta and all those in Washington D.C.

Please inform me if there is any help I can give you any time in the future.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Executive Director

HCjr/rm

La - Catholic Council

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

November 2, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Your request has been forwarded to both C. Ellis Henican and Matt, for permission to send you our mailing list. Perhaps you aren't seeking the names of the people in our Catholic Council of Human Relations in New Orleans, but just the people with whom I have communicated in the south, or the rest of the country from other various interracial Catholic councils. We have over 400 signed applications in our New Orleans council, totaling over 600 people as some of these are couples, whereas, I don't think that we would have 400 names to give you from the National Catholic Conference.

You probably realize that since I have just started my job as of the first of October as the Southern Field Director, that I haven't made very many contacts yet, so I would have to secure the majority of these names from Matt.

As soon as I get clearance from both Henican and Matt, and hear from you, I will forward you whatever information I can.

See you in San Francisco next week.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Director

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

October 27, 1961

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Catholic Council on Human Relations
1046 Baronne Street
Suite 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

It was good to be with you at the recent conference at Waveland. I was poking around in New Orleans Monday and Tuesday and would have liked to see you, but there simply wasn't time to do everything before I left the city.

We are preparing a mild promotional campaign in connection with our monthly New South magazine and we are anxious to obtain lists of persons whom we can assume to be interested in the general subject matter. If it is possible and ethical, we would like to receive copies of any mailing lists of members of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice - or would it be better to restrict it to Southern members? If we secure the names, they will be solicited by us and sent a sample copy of New South. We will not mention the way the names came into our hands. We plan to do this with a number of concerned organizations. We also plan to exchange subscription lists with such magazines as The Progressive, New Republic, etc..

Let me know your thinking.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

La Cab

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

November 28, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In an effort to get the Bishops of some southern Dioceses to desegregate all of the Church facilities as quickly as possible, I would appreciate, if you have the information, trying to send me which public facilities have been desegregated in the cities where we have made surveys as indicated on the chart which you received, plus Atlanta and Dallas.

It is my hope that by showing how far ahead the Church in these cities, excluding Atlanta, has been of the rest of the community, that possibly we might encourage the Bishops in other areas where less has been done to move ahead. Regardless of what the situation is, it would be interesting to compare results. I realize that the civil community doesn't have such things as retreat houses and diocesan organizations, but whatever information you can supply, I would appreciate.

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Director

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

La - H Cab

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

November 28, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

JF
done
12/1/61

Please add Mr. Norman Melun, 4330 Ridge Road, Dallas 29, Texas, to your mailing list as he is the president of the Dallas Catholic Interracial Council. Since the entire Dallas Catholic facilities have been desegregated for some years, the main objectives of their Council should be to reach more Catholics and also to work on the various community problems. When I was in Dallas recently, I talked to Clarence Laws and second only to registering voters, is improving employment opportunity for the Negro, therefore, I would appreciate you sending him your pamphlet entitled "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South", published by the Houston Council on Human Relations. Thanks.

Done
12/11/61
MM

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Director

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

La - H. Cab

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

December 8, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It is my understanding that the Southern Regional Council is trying to make up its mind whether or not to staff an organization in Mississippi at this time. Although I am much nearer then you are, I wouldn't give you an opinion as to what should be done. I am sure that every bit of information you have will help you reach a decision and, therefore, I am enclosing a copy of a letter sent to me regarding our program.

It has been several weeks since I wrote you regarding our desire to add a staff person to encourage voter registration in southern Louisiana and east Texas. Can you give us any indication at this time as to what the situation is and also, let me know whether you need any additional information.

Has there been any change in the plans to hold our next Inter-Agency meeting in January on the 11th and 12th, in Washington, D.C. This will probably be an ideal time for me because there is a tentative program planning meeting of the National Catholic Conference on January 13th and 14th, in New York.

Whatever information you can give me on these matters would be appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Director

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

106 Criole Terrace
Natchez, Mississippi
November 30th, 1961

Mr. Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
Suite 2
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac

Recently I received notice that your office had been opened in New Orleans. I do not know how my name got on the list for receiving the circular of notification, but I am very happy that it did.

Would it be within your line of duty to furnish me with some information on the Conference? I am very much interested in interracial justice and wish to help in any way that I can.

Yours very truly,

Marjorie R. Baroni

Marjorie R. Baroni
(Mrs. Louis J.)

P. S. I wonder if there are any other people in Mississippi who are like myself-- that is, isolated from contact with an interracial group but desiring to make such contact? If so, do you have any suggestions as to how we may reach each other?

La - H Cab Return letter to PR

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

December 12, 1961

104

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

You will find enclosed the names of some priests and the presidents of Southern Catholic Interracial Councils. Forgive me for taking as long as I have to send these to you, but I had expected to be able to give you more names before now. If you would like, I would be happy to write the presidents of the various Councils to request that they give you a list of their members in order that you might send them the literature that you had in mind.

Please let me know what you would like me to do on this.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Roburt Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

4

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Catholic Interracial Council of Little Rock
P. O. Box 2152
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Robert C. Ford
Catholic Interracial Council of Greensboro
1804 North Elm Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Miss Katherine Beverly, Co-Chairman
Catholic Interracial Council of San Antonio
1010 Wyoming St.
San Antonio 10, Texas

Miss Theresa Staudt, Co-Chairman
Catholic Interracial Council of San Antonio
111 Hot Wells Blvd.
San Antonio 10, Texas

Mr. Joseph Muldowney, President
Catholic Interracial Council of Richmond, Va.
Mutual Building
Richmond, Virginia

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c/o Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Gable
Our Lady of Consolation Church
P. O. Box 10604
Charlotte, North Carolina

Catholic Interracial Council of Raleigh
c/o Rev. Jerome Tierney, O.P.
St. Monica's Rectory
1109 New Bern Avenue
Raleigh, North Carolina

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1024 Quintard Ave., P. O. Box 629
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622 Chestnut Street, P. O. Box 38
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Blessed Martin de Porres Church
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Rev. Andrew Mullen, C. M.
1502 Broad St., P. O.Box 147
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4 West Street, P. O. Box 10613
Prichard, Ala.

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P. O. Box 70, Tuskegee Institute
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Cit Henry
Shean

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307 Gower St., Greenville, S.C.

Malone, Rev. Christian, O.F.M.
1610 Green St., Columbia, S.C.

Masad, Rev. Frederick F.
3600 Devine St., Columbia, S.C.

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Box 308, Sullivan's Island, S.C.

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Cheraw, S.C.

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Pyle, Rev. Brendan, O.F.M.
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Anderson, S.C.

Smith, Rt. Rev. Msgr. George L.
Park Ave. and York St., Box 438
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Wattigny, Rev. Bede, M.S.SS.T.
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Hessmer, Avoyelles Parish, La.

Rev. M. Dube , St. Paul's Church
Mansura, Avoyelles Parish, La.

Rev. Joseph Paga, C.S.Sp.
Box 67
St. Christopher's Church
Bunkie, Avoyelles Parish, La.

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St. Joseph's Church
Marksville, Avoyelles Parish, La.

Rev. Wilhelm A. Blass, C.S.Sp.
Box 308
Marksville, Avoyelles Parish, La.

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216 Patten Ave., Box 5188 X
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Atlanta 5, Ga.

Rev. Leonard Kelly, O.F.M.
48 Hunter St., S.W.
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Rev. James E. King
928 Gordon St., S.W.
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Rev. Walter J. Donovan
134 Prince Ave.
Athens, Ga.

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623 S. Thornton Ave.
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2372 Collier Drive
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624 W. Ponce de Leon Ave.
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642 Spring Street, P. O. Box 593
Gainesville, Ga.

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110 N. Jefferson Street
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Rev. John F. McDonough
911 N. Broad Street, P. O. Box 1669
Rome, Ga.

DIOCESE OF MOBILE-BIRMINGHAM (CONT'D)

Rev. Leonard L. Prusinski, C.R.
1807 11th St., P. O. Box 978
Panama City, Fla.

Rev. C. Franklyn Lynette, S. J. ✓
Spring Hill College
3669 Old Shell Rd.,
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Ala.

La - Cabirac

December 19, 1961

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Catholic Council on Human Relations
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

There has been no change in the Interagency Meeting in Washington January 11 and 12. I look forward to seeing you there.

Concerning your desire to add a staff person to encourage voter registration in Southern Louisiana and East Texas, the voter registration project here is not yet staffed and operating. We hope that it will be so shortly after the first of the year. You should remember that its very existence is not yet supposed to be known. No requests for funds can be processed until the office is staffed. This will not be handled through SRC but through the separate project office. If you would care to write more details, however, I will pass them on to the project staff when it is in being. I would expect that they would need more data on the amount of money you would need, the kind of activities such a staff person would conduct, whether he would concentrate in certain communities, etc.. It would seem to me that the idea would certainly be well worth considering.

We are not thinking in terms of staffing anything in Mississippi at this time. A Mississippi meeting was held recently involving many of the same people you met at the Dillard conference in June plus others. They are establishing some machinery for continuing consultations but are a long way from setting up anything very formal or thinking in terms of staff. Thank you for the letter from Mrs. Baroni. If you have no objection I will pass it on to those in Mississippi who are working in this direction. Bishop Brunini is a member of the steering committee that the Mississippi people have established. Its secretary is Dr. Dan Beittel, president of Tougaloo College in Tougaloo, Mississippi, outside of Jackson.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

LD
PR

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

November 15, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It was nice to see you at the NAIRO Convention in San Francisco. Regarding your question as to when I will be in Texas, I am going to make a two day trip to Dallas and Fort Worth either next Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday, and I will be in Galveston, Houston and San Antonio later in November or early December. If this coincides with your visits, please let me know.

Regarding our discussion on our desire to conduct a campaign to register Negro voters in southern Louisiana and eastern Texas, we would be in an excellent position to handle this because better than 25% of the entire Catholic Negro population of the country lives in this area.

One of the advantages our organization, which is tax exempt, can offer is that it is bi-racial and influences the community more than an all white or all Negro organization. An additional benefit of this would be once the large Catholic Negro community is awakened, they would probably bring additional pressure to bear on the Bishops in the various dioceses.

If we could secure funds to add a staff person to devote his time exclusively to this, we would probably be able to yield profitable results. When you realize that out of a potential of 140,000 Negro voters in Metropolitan New Orleans, only 35,000 are registered, you can realize what a job there is to be done in the area outside of New Orleans.

If you would like additional information, please let me know and I'll be happy to furnish you with it.

Yours sincerely,
Henry
Henry Cabirac, Jr.

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

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SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

December 26, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the information regarding the voter registration program. I will keep this matter confidential until I hear otherwise from you. In the meantime, I am beginning to prepare a presentation which I hope to be able to submit to you in the near future.

Regarding Mrs. Baroni's letter, I have already sent a copy to Bishop Brunini, Rabbi Mantindand, Aaron Henry and Joseph Cross. I was in Jackson and Natchez the beginning of last week and had an opportunity to talk to Bishop Brunini, the school superintendent, the editor of the Catholic newspaper and Mrs. Baroni in Natchez. From the information that I have, both from people in Mississippi and outside, I would say that you would probably be wise not trying to staff an organization there now, as I am afraid it might not last too long.

You will find enclosed a list of names which you might find helpful. I was in Houston and Galveston two weeks ago and met with some of these people who have had somewhat of an informal Council existing for a while and appear eager to organize formally. When I was in Jackson and Natchez this past week, I picked up the following names, but had no opportunity of verifying their interest or attitude: Mrs. Felix Webster, Jackson, Miss.; Mr. Wilson Minor, Jackson, Miss.; Mr. Guy Knolbloch, Jackson, Miss.; Mr. John L. Kennedy, Holly Springs, Miss.; Mr. Joel Blass, Williams, Miss.; Mr. Joe Wroten, Greenville, Miss.

I hope to be able to get some names for you from the Dallas area in the near future.

I'll see you at the Southern Inter-Agency meeting and in the meantime, happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

La - Cab

December 29, 1961

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Catholic Council on Human Relations
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

Thank you for the information and names in your recent letter. I am afraid we have nothing in being in the Dallas area at the present time.

Did I tell you, or do you know, that we do cooperate with a local human relations council in Houston? If you have not been in contact with the group, I would suggest that on a future trip you contact Mrs. George Dumbauld, Executive Secretary of the Houston Council on Human Relations, 3605 Fannin Street, and its Chairman, Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw, 8402 North Bayou Rd., Houston.

I look forward to seeing you in Washington next month.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

La. Cab

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

January 2, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Forgive me for failing to send you the names of Catholics in Houston who are interested in forming a Council. While I was there recently, I had the opportunity to spend several hours with Mrs. Dumbauld and Steve Wilson, Executive Director of the American Friends Service Committee. I have asked Vincent Williams, who will apparently lead any Catholic Council that is formed in Houston to work as closely as possible with both of these organizations.

When we meet in Washington, I would welcome your opinion on the situation in Texas.

Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

4

People in Houston who have Expressed Interest in a Council

Mrs. J. B. Downey
1301 Martin Drive
Houston 18, Texas

Mrs. Joseph F. Reilly
2708 Robinhood
Houston 5, Texas

Mrs. Inez Bowman (Mrs. Bowman is Supreme Lady of the Ladies of the Knights of Peter Claver, nationally)
3218 Alabama St.
Houston, Texas

Mr. Charles Broussard
2312 Leffingwell St.
Houston, Texas (a friend of Father Perry)

Dr. Eugene B. Perry
Atlanta Life Building
Suite 315
618 Praire Ave.
Houston, Texas
(Dr. Perry is national Supreme Knight of the Knights of Peter Claver)

Father Dexter George (Pastor St. Mary's Rectory)

Father Golasinski (Ass't. " " "

Father Charles Sullivan " " " "

Mr. Henry Stephens

Mr. Edward Eugere (Head of Dept. of Pharmacy - TCU)

Mr. Roland Rousseve (Teacher, Junior High - Chairman CCD)

Dr. Rudy Motard (Professor of Chemical Engineering Univ. of Houston)

Mr. Curtis Graves (Student at TCU)

La
Cab

January 3, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
Suite No. 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

In response to your letter of November 28, I have filled in your little chart as best I can. Under Athletic Program I assumed high school athletics. The hospitals should be handled with some care. Our records show them to be desegregated "to some extent" in the cities checked.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
enc.

La - Ho. Cabirac

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

January 16, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the information which you returned to me on our chart. In the near future, I hope to have information from the majority of the southern dioceses which I will forward you and ask you to do the same, if it is convenient and possible.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Director

HC:ild

P.S. I'd very much value your opinion on certain matters that I will discuss with Matt which he's in NO the week of 1/21 and therefore hope you can make the cocktail party 1/24 - 8:00 PM at 6211 S. Tonti St.

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

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SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

January 29, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Mr. C. Ellis Henican, our president, thought that your copy of the Jackson, Miss. article which is your piece of literature #L-30, dated December 28, 1961, was such an excellent one that he would like to see at least our directors sent a copy of it and perhaps even all of our members. In order for us to determine what would be the best use of it, I would like to send a copy to all of the members of our Public Relations Committee, and therefore, would appreciate you sending me 25 copies.

Both Forwarded 1/31

This letter will probably reach you after you have arrived in New Orleans and I have seen you, but I know it is more convenient for you to have a written reminder and therefore, I have used this means to do so.

I would also like to have a map similar to the one on the wall at the Potomic Institute indicating the percentage of Negro population in various areas of the South. If there is any cost, please send us an invoice.

Very truly yours,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

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JM
Return to PR

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

La. H. Cab.

March 2, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Would it be possible for your research department to send me information on the adverse economic effects discrimination has in the sense of hurting the community because the purchasing power of some of its members is kept below the highest potential level and secondly, the disastrous results caused by racial unrest and strife?

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

Lu
H Cab
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SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

March 26, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Matt sent me a copy of a letter the other day from Bill Osborne indicating that he had written Bishop Schexnayder to get his reaction to a conference which he would propose holding for some southern bishops who had desegregated some of their facilities and others who hadn't, to stimulate such an action. He indicated in the letter that he had received encouragement from you and, of course, I can understand your reason in doing this, however, I am somewhat afraid that Bill's actions may alienate some of the more conservative southern bishops because they would tend to establish a relationship between Yankee interference and progress in the racial field which, of course, would be extremely harmful.

As I believe I have mentioned to you in the past, it is my belief, and I think you agree, that eliminating the racial barriers in the parochial schools of New Orleans is a bottleneck for the remaining southern dioceses which haven't done it and now that we have broken this log jam, it is my intention to contact the remaining southern bishops one by one, hoping that we will be able to get something started. I might also add another danger of Bill's move is that it might give some southern bishops who haven't moved a feeling of consolation when they see that there are a fair number of others who haven't and may return to their own dioceses more determined not to do anything than they were when they left. As I mentioned, my technique would be trying to knock them off one by one until there would be only a few remaining and then hold such a conference, preferably under the Southern Field Service's auspices.

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I would appreciate your reaction to my thoughts on this matter because I value your advice.

We have been able to talk Archbishop Rummel into removing the racial barriers in all of the Catholic schools in the Diocese of New Orleans, from kindergarten through the 12th grade, and the order will be implemented by Archbishop Cody. However, it would be harmful to us to let the public know we were instrumental in doing this.

If New Orleans isn't blown off the map by then, I'll see you in Atlanta.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

PR

Henry is a cantrom fellow. On the other hand, I don't think this is our business, either to encourage or to discourage to agree with Cabrae or with Osborne. I think our position should be to help Osborne if the Catholics decide this is a good thing to do.

La - H Cab

April 11, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
Suite No. 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

I somehow failed to raise with you during the Interagency Meeting the Foster matter about which you wrote on March 26.

I certainly have no quarrel with the line of reasoning you put forward. We did tell Bill Osborne that we thought this would be "a useful project." This was due partly to courtesy and partly because we did not see the objections or difficulties which you point out. I did not see this as an example of "Yankee interference," since it seems to be aimed exclusively at Southern persons and personnel, with St. John's serving as host.

I hope we have done no disservice to your own strategy and planning.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

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SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

April 23, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth St., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

You had asked me to let you know what, if anything, was being planned to prepare the community for public school desegregation in New Orleans. On Saturday April 14, I had a conference with Henican and he feels that since Archbishop Rummel, with Archbishop Cody's assistance, is handling the Catholic school situation so firmly, or is that an understatement, that we should shift our emphasis to helping to prepare the entire community. In fact, he specifically suggested getting the names of the officers of the New Orleans Hotel Association so that we might meet with them in order to try to get something going here, and also to work on the Darwin Fenner Committee who last year was able to achieve peace and law and order in the community for the 1961 opening of public schools. These matters will be discussed at our directors meeting and I will be able to let you know more after the meeting.

Regarding Bill Osborne asking you whether or not you thought it was a good idea to get the southern bishops together, I realize that as a matter of diplomacy you had to answer yes and I am sure it wouldn't have made much difference one way or another what you said. The only' thing I would like to ask you to do is to refrain from encouraging him on this as we believe that for one thing it would be detremental to the Southern Fueld Service to have this meeting come off outside our organization, but even more important, we do believe that even the suggestion of this meeting to some southern bishops could do harm because it was suggested by an outsider. You may think this to be extreme, but just

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last week I received a letter from Father Bordelon in Shreveport asking me not to visit them because I would be regarded as an outsider. This, of course, doesn't make sense, but does indicate the state of mind of these people and unfortunately we will have to deal with them on this basis.

I am looking forward to your visit in New Orleans as I haven't had a good night out on the town since we did the French Quarter together.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

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SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

May 7, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Don't take the time to give me a lengthy report, but I would appreciate you dropping me a note to let me know which of the steering committee appeared at the Mississippi Council on Human Relations meeting on May 3rd, and what were the sentiments of the group.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

La
Cab

May 9, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
Suite No. 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

The enclosed report I prepared for staff purposes here may answer some of your questions. We still do not know why neither Bishop Brunini nor Father Scanlon attended, but we understand that Bishop Brunini has accepted his appointment as a Vice Chairman. The only Catholic clergy on hand was Father Singleton from the Seminary at Bay St. Louis.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Lu -
H Cab

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

May 14, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the report on the organizational meeting of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. I was happy to see that you survived for the sake of your dear wife and the benefit of furthering progress in human relations in the south.

It was indeed unfortunate that Bishop Brunini didn't attend. I am even more sorry that the unfortunate publicity revealed his name because now I am sure he will be subject to criticism and feel less free to do whatever he could within the Church in Mississippi to further racial justice. Regarding Father Scanlon's absence, as I told you, he would have come, but his office said that he was out of town.

If you are attending the conference given by the President's Committee on Equal Employment in Washington, D.C. May 19th, I will see you there as I hope to go.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

La
H Cab

May 23, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
Suite No. 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

Thank you for the Interagency minutes. We will process them and get them out as quickly as possible. The Interagency Conference does consist of regional and national organizations with a concern for problems in the field of race relations, although a number of the agencies also have program interests in other areas. We have from time to time touched on matters relating to religious tensions such as anti-Semitism in the South, religious bigotry in the presidential election, etc.. It would certainly be quite appropriate for the group to discuss religious differences and I would not think this too "controbersial" for the Interagency Conference. It may well be complex, but I think we could agree on a topic for discussion of workable size and scope.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

May 16, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

You will find enclosed the minutes of the Southern Interagency Meeting. I realize that they are longer than the average minutes that are sent out, but I would rather have more in it and you can condense it if you want, rather than to be lacking anything.

Paul, here is a matter on which I would like your advice. Are our various southern agencies limited to the racial field, or would they be broad enough to include discussions of religious differences? Actually, what I have in mind is the possibility of increasing cooperation among the various groups by ironing out some of the misunderstanding that may exist among the various religious and secular organizations. On the other hand, this may prove so complex and controversial that it might do more harm than good at this time. Please give this some thought and let me know how you feel about it.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

June 6, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Happy to hear that you will be able to take your trip to Europe, you lucky dog. Probably half of the joy will be in thinking of us peasants slaving away while you are enjoying yourself over there. Anyway, have a nice trip.

Irv Schulman asked me to request you to try to persuade Gladys Cahn to postpone the announcement of the formation of the New Orleans Community Relations Council until after schools open in order to try to avoid making it appear that it is an organization formed to handle a crisis that we hope will not exist. He believes that you exert a lot of influence over her and could do this easily. Incidentally, I am in agreement with Irv on this idea.

You get around probably more than anyone else in intergroup relations in the south and therefore have a fairly good idea as to what, if any, misunderstandings between various religious groups, or between religious and secular groups, might be preventing the maximum progress in achieving racial justice. My idea for discussing these differences was not merely for the sake of enlightening others on religious beliefs, but primarily to eliminate anything that might prevent all of us from reaching our common goals. I would appreciate you letting me know whether or not you think there are matters worthy of discussion.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

1700 North Davis Street
Pensacola, Florida
June 8, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

We were pleased to receive your comments on our progress in our undertaking. Your letter was read to our group and we were gratified, especially in the contents of the second paragraph of your letter dealing with individual bishops' interpretation of the policy of the Church.

We are desirous of having you come to Pensacola again, at your convenience, so that we can compare notes and get some further advice from you. I have received an answer to my letter to the Bishop which is very explicit in his refusal to consider integrating our schools. We would like to know where to go from here. I am sure that your presence would inspire more of our interested persons to meet with us. If you can arrange such a trip, we would appreciate your advising us a bit beforehand so that we can have time to pass the word. In order to facilitate your trip, we are enclosing a small contribution, in the amount of $25.00, which we hope will help bear your expenses.

Please let us hear from you very soon.

Sincerely yours,

S. W. Boyd

Dr. S. W. Boyd

C. F. Benboe

Clarence F. Benboe

/v
Encl.

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

June 13, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 15 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Your letter of explanation to me sounds just like a letter that I would write. I realize that the last thing in the world that we would want is to become embroiled in an argument with unfriendly people. What I had in mind was only successful legal action, but then I can see that you have considered this and are using it where it is effective.

You will find enclosed a copy of a letter from the Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee which has indicated a desire to help us with " an impending crisis." Although we are eager to have all legitimate intergroup organizations such as theirs work in New Orleans, I am just wondering if you might help me urge them not to move in here prior to the opening of schools. You will find enclosed a copy of the minutes of our Public Relations Committee which I think indicates the low pitched type of program we are attempting to use and is apparently proving successful. Would it be possible for you to talk to these people and try to dissuade them from coming here before September? If I were to write such a letter, I am afraid it would be misconstrued.

Please let me know what you think of this.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

135 ~~197½~~ Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 23,1962

MUrray 8-0351

Henry Cabirac
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference For Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Sir:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has recieved a letter from Matthew Ahmann of the NCCIJ telling us of the Southern Field Service that has been established in New Orleans and asking that one of our field representatives get in touch with you. At this time SNCC does not have any of its staff in your area due to a number of things such as a lack of funds and field personnel, not to mention a distinct distaste for "criminal anarchy" charges. The way things shape up now, however, I am planning to be in New Orleans sometime around the first part of July.

We have had a number of requests from students in your area that SNCC send in a field representative to work with them. We are also cognizant of the impending crisis that integration of the Catholic schools in September might bring. SNCC feels that I might be able to be of some service in the area because I am a Catholic.

These plans are, of course,subject to change at any time so I can't say definitely that I will be there. I do look forward to meeting and talking to you as you would undoubtedly be of great aid to us.

Yours in FREEDOM,

William W. Hansen

William W. Hansen
Field Secretary
Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

June 13, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

You will find enclosed a letter from Dr. Boyd and Mr. Benboe urging me to return to Pensacola to aid them further with their program. Before doing so, I would like very much to find out whether or not you have been successful in getting any of the prominent non-Catholics of that city to contact Archbishop Toolen.

Please let me know as quickly as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

June 18, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
Suite No. 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

You did not enclose the letter that you said you were enclosing from Dr. Boyd and Mr. Benboe in Pensacola. I consulted with Mr. Wallace King concerning your suggestion. I do not know what action, if any, he has found it possible to initiate. He did say it would receive careful consideration and I expect to hear from him this week.

On the matter of the New Orleans Community Relations Council, I am not sufficiently sure that I agree with you and Irv on this matter to intervene with Gladys Cahn. There is always some reason why the time isn't right and these things can drag on forever. I will, however, call Gladys sometime this week to "check on progress of developments" and at that time I will advise hereagainst any public announcement until the group is fully organized with selected leadership and respectable strength. I think it quite possible that this may achieve the same purpose.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 20, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
Suite No. 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

Les and I have discussed the matter you raised with him concerning the proposal of SNCC to initiate activity in the New Orleans area.

I really don't think there is any way we can help you on this. It would be artificial for us to take the initiative in raising the matter and would rather clearly indicate you had contacted us about it. I'm afraid that any such suggestion from us would not be likely to be effective and would be probably "misconstrued," as you put it. These youngsters are eager and ambitious and feel the need to be involved in everything, and have direct contact with student groups everywhere. Adults can and should counsel with them on the spot and when asked, but counsels of moderation and caution generally meet with little favor.

If I were you I would write Hansen indicating your belief that the parochial school situation is moving well and does not require assistance and expressing your willingness to meet with him if he does come to New Orleans. If we have an opportunity to comment informally on the New Orleans situation while talking with SNCC representatives, we will try and do so.

On a matter raised in an earlier letter, I have not been conscious that "misunderstandings between various religious

groups, or between religious and secular groups" are handicapping cooperation among the various religious and secular agencies working in intergroup relations. I believe that the important thing is for each group to understand the motivations, the goals, and the limitations of all groups. I think these things are fairly well understood among the groups participating in the Southern Interagency meetings. I believe that you made a good contribution in this direction by speaking to this group last time about the structure of the Church and your method of operation. In other words, I think topics along this line would be appropriate, but I have not myself noted any particular need in this direction.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

June 22, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul,

Thanks for working so hard to get some prominent non-Catholics to call on Archbishop Toolen. This should definitely help the situation. You will find enclosed a copy of Dr. Boyd's letter which I had intended sending you in my last letter.

By now you have probably spoken to Gladys Cahn and learned that we are proceeding with the formation of the Community Relations Council in all seriousness and hope to have our organizational meeting, which will not be publicized, by the 26th of this month. She has probably told you that Ted Baptist, Dr. Burns, Mrs. Keller, and others have been selected as officers of the group. This is fine as far as I'm concerned as long as it is not publicized before the opening of schools in order to avoid the impression that it is an organization formed to fight an impending crisis. Knowing Perez and his associates, they could very well use the knowledge of the formation of this organization to their advantage in stirring up trouble in September if it was widely publicized.

When I think of you and Midge enjoying yourselves on your trip to Europe, I turn green, but this could quickly be remedied by a night in the French Quarter the next time you are in New Orleans.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:met
Enclosure

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

June 22, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans, 13, La.

Dear Henry:

Mr. King, the Chairman of the School Assistance Committee in Pensacola, has indicated the Committee does not feel it appropriate to approach the Archbishop for fear that their law and order function will be misunderstood. They do not want to give the appearance of favoring desegregating anything.

This is unfortunate, as the Commistee has real status in the community.

We have, however, succeeded in activating certain individuals, ministers and otherwise, who are not Catholics and who will either write or telephone the Archbishop. I talked with Jack Sisson by telephone this morning. He is one of my best contacts, as he is yours, in Pensacola. He indicates that he has been able to stimulate some letters from non-Catholics on this point.

I wish we could do more, but I am off to Europe tomorrow and time has run out.

Goodbye,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

June 26, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul,

Thanks for your suggestions on Hansen. You are right about it looking awkward for you to try to give them any advice on New Orleans, but if the opportunity presents itself, I would appreciate you briefing them on what the situation is here. My personal feeling is that New Orleans is potentially the most explosive situation in the South if we permitted it to get out of hand, but if we carry it out properly things could go smoothly. Before writing you, I had already written Hansen telling him that I would be glad to meet with him and asked him to notify me when he was coming.

Recently I noted that the proportion of people living in urban areas in Mississippi to those of rural areas was rather low - 37% if I'm not mistaken. Do you know if there has ever been a study made of the proportion of the population living in metropolitan areas as compared with the rural areas in the various states in the South in relationship to the progress that has been made? I realize that this is only one of the many factors having a bearing on the situation, but it does seem as if there would be some importance in it.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:met

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

August 22, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

How was your trip? Did you find any discriminatory practices in Europe which would call for the establishment of a Council on Human Relations?

Getting down to serious business, I would like for you to recall my request for your opinion on whether or not it would be beneficial to discuss certain items of tension or friction that might be preventing the maximum of cooperation between the various agency groups. There are two at the moment that come to my mind. You probably missed much of the storm of protest that was raised over the Supreme Court decision to eliminate prayer from all public schools, but it was one of the hottest things in years. Southern senators who have probably never been in a church in their life are saying, "They put the Negroes in our schools and have taken God out."

In the opinion of many, the Jewish agencies who have pushed this thing have won a battle, but possibly lost the war. This particular ruling has given the White Citizens Councils and other hate groups just the ammunition they have been looking for to prove that is only the atheistic groups who are striving for racial justice.

Another item which I don't think is causing as much friction in the south as in the North, but perhaps is making some southern bishops resentful of certain agencies, is the drive for a bill for federal aid to education which would exclude religious schools.

What is your opinion as to whether or not we would create greater understanding and harmony if we discussed these issues? Let me make this unmistakenly clear. If you don't think that we would be increasing the effectiveness of our total movement, i.e., the effort of all southern human relations agencies, I would prefer not to have these matters discussed.

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

Mr. Paul Rilling August 22, 1962

Please give me your comments as soon as you have had a chance to clear up some of the backlog of work that has piled up in your absence.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

August 29, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street, Suite No. 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

It is my opinion that it would be useful for the Southern Interagency Conference to discuss openly some of the differing agency policies and tactics concerning the issues you mention. Although the group exists primarily for the purpose of closer coordination concerning race relations in the South, we are, after all, concerned with all inter-group issues and have from time to time in the past considered matters of inter-religious tensions, etc..

I think our group is certainly sufficiently sophisticated that such a discussion would have positive rather than negative results on our talks.

I would suggest, however, that we save these discussions for our second meeting in late winter. I note that at least one or possibly two of our Jewish representatives will not be present for the September meeting.

Our trip to Europe was fabulous. I am engaged now in talking with foundations about support of a European Southern Regional Council that would operate in southern France, southern Italy and Greece, and for which agency I would serve as traveling field representative.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

August 30, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

You've probably been asked to give your opinion on a conference in Florida to discuss the extremist situation. What do you think of this? Do you think it would be profitable at this time?

I received a request from the National Council of Jewish Women in New York to send them the minutes of our next Southern Inter-Agency Meeting. What is your opinion of this.

If you think it will cause too much inconvenience, please let me know and I can bring my own can of sardines for our Friday luncheon at the Waluhaji, but if it won't, I would appreciate them serving me some kind of fish. These minority groups create all kinds of problems.

See you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

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SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

September 4, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Matt has asked me to get whatever information I can on intergroup situations in and around Miami, Florida, as Raymond Hilliard, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice will attend a conference in Miami in September and is considering visiting Bishop Carroll and anyone else who you think might be helpful. Because time is limited, I would appreciate you sending a copy of the letter I hope you will write me to Matt at the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, #21 West Superior St., Chicago 10, Illinois.

Do you think that you will have broiled lobster or Oysters Rockefeller for our Friday meal at this coming Southern Interagency meeting?

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

September 6, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
Suite No. 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

We have not been asked our opinion on any conference in Florida to discuss the extremist situation and it would be hard to give one without more information.

The National Council of Jewish Women is supposed to be a participating agency in the SIC. We regularly send minutes to them in care of Miss Hannah Stein, who is listed on our books as Executive Director at their New York Office?! What should we do to clarify this with them?

The Waluhaje Hotel assures me that some form of sea animal will be available at the Friday luncheon. There is a nearby grocery store just in case.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

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320P EST SEP 7 62 AH370

NSC262 NS LLA267 PD AR NEWORLEANS LA 7 140P CST

PAUL RILLING

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL #5 FORSYTHE ST NORTH WEST ATLA

CAN YOU WIRE ME COLLECT WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING OR ANYONE ELSE WOULD BE BEST FOR ME TO SEE IN SAVANNAH FORREST WIGGINS, M J MAYNARD JR, REV MCNAMARA, REV MCDONOUGH, REV CUDDY, MRS KATIE CAMPBELL

HENRY.

Father

High recommend -
Well respected
Well thought of

FIRST THING MONDAY

Catholic Leaders - Who -

P. G. Yancey

196 SEP 7 PM 3 35

No more Chairman -

Sugg

B- 37851

September 18, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, has recently been apprised of two Catholic laymen in Savannah, Georgia, whom you might be interested in contacting.

They are:

1. Mr. John W. Ahern
   908 West DeRenne

2. Mr. Percy L. Miller
   507 W. 36th Street.

We don't know whether Mr. Ahern is a Negro or is white. Mr. Miller is a Negro; Mrs. Pauley's sources advise that he would have influence with the Bishop.

I hope this information doesn't reach you so late that it is useless. Perhaps, if you are on the road, your office will forward it on to you.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

September 18, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

I neglected to get this information to you at the Interagency meeting recently and did not know how to track you down Saturday. I am enclosing a list of contacts in the Miami area. All of these are good folks and well worth contacting.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enc.

cc: Mr. Matt Ahmann
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

SRC Board Members:

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Vice President
The University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson
Christ Episcopal Church
3841 Hibiscus Street
Miami 33, Florida

Intergroup Agencies:

American Jewish Committee Southeast Area Office
1208 Congress Building, Miami
Seymour Samet, Area Director
FRanklin 3-4749

American Jewish Congress Southeastern Region
Congress Building, Room 906
111 N.E. 2nd Avenue, Miami
Harold Kramer, Director
FRanklin 9-6195

Anti-Defamation League Florida Regional Office
330 Seybold Building, Miami
Nathan Perlmutter, Director

Union of American Hebrew Congregations
816 Congress Building, Miami
Present director unknown

National Conference of Christians and Jews, Miami
Max Karl, Director

Others:

Mrs. Mayme Williams
1200 N.W. 6th Avenue
Miami, Florida

The Rev. Ed Graham
Mt. Zion Baptist Church

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

October 5, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the Miami names. I hope to eventually go there so that I can make use of them. Would it be possible for you to give me the names of a few Catholics in Birmingham, Alabama?

Paul, after giving it long consideration I don't think it would be a good idea to bring up the federal aid to religious schools at our Southern Inter-Agency meeting, but it might be well to discuss the Supreme Court ruling on the prayer in public schools, if there is room on the agenda.

Odile told me today that she secured box seats for you and Midge for her father's carnival ball which will be February 13, 1963. I do hope that you will be able to take advantage of this opportunity.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry

HC:to

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

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NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

October 10, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Matt telephoned me yesterday to discuss several matters with me and one that he mentioned was the fact that we have a proposal pending with the Field Foundation. Thus far we have managed to survive but don't have the kind of funds that we really need to operate properly. As an example we don't have a sufficient travel budget for me this year and in order to really do this thing properly we should have another man. We would certainly appreciate your putting in a good word for us with Field, if it is possible for you to do so.

You had asked me to remind you about checking on the "moonshine" in a keg about a month before attending the Southern Interagency meeting in Atlanta, but as long as I am thinking of it, I thought I would mention it to you now. The only problem here for me would be getting the stuff back to New Orleans. I could just see the revenuers picking me up for possession of illegal whiskey. However being from an old French New Orleans family, there is a bit of that smuggling blood in me and if it were at all possible I would certainly like to give it a try.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC/w

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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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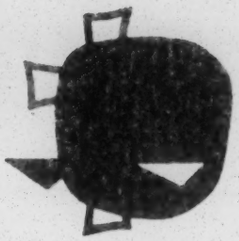

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DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

October 24, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

You are invited to serve on the Southern Field Service Program Planning Committee for the Southern Leadership conference which will be held sometime next summer. Our first meeting will be Tuesday October 30 at 8:00 p.m. at 6211 S. Tonti. The following is a suggested agenda.

1) Purpose of the conference. 2) Place at which it is to be held. 3) Securing the permission of the ordinary of that particular diocese. 4) Resource people to be invited. 5) Subject matter to be included. 6) People to be invited to work on the program planning committee.

Forgive the short notice for this particular meeting but we had some difficulty determining when it could be held and we promise to give you more notice in the future. For those of you who live out of town we would welcome your comments and suggestions.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

Henry Cabirac

HC/mw

October 31, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

On names in Birmingham, about the best I can do is Father Edward L. Foster, 3160 Highland Drive, and Father Phillip Schaeffer, Holy Family Church, 1910 - 19th Street, Ensley, Birmingham 8. Father Foster, particularly, has been very active in this area in the Catholic community. Norman Jimerson of the Alabama Council tells me that there has been some police harassement of Catholics because of their integrated churches in some of the roughest churches in Birmingham. On a trip to Birmingham, you should contact Jimerson at Room 1224 Comer Building, AL-pine 2-2722.

I have had no luck with the keg yet, but I am trying.

Thank you for the appointment to the Program Planning Committee. I will try and make an occasional meeting to show that I mean well.

About the Mardi Gras, I'm afraid you can't count on us as yet. We hope to come, but will not know until I can see whether I will have a normal business trip over that way at around the right time. What with a new car, Christmas, etc., we simply will not be able to handle the financing of both of us on a special trip. If you can hold the seats awhile fine, if not go ahead and turn them over and we will understand.

We do appreciate your thinking of us.

Sincerely,

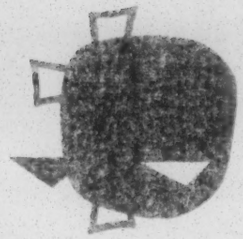
Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street · New Orleans 13, Louisiana · 523-2301



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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew Ahmann
DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

November 7, 1962

Dear Committee Member:

You will find enclosed the unedited minutes and the agenda of our first Program Planning Committee meeting for a Southern Field Service Leadership Conference.

In order to try to make the meeting as graphic as possible for those who missed it, we have felt that it was better that you should get the minutes in such a form in order to bring you the true atmosphere.

You will note that our next meeting will be held Tuesday November 20 at 8:00 p.m. at 6211 S. Tonti Street to review the brief that has been prepared for Archbishop Cody and subsequently Hallinan and Lacey, to approve the budget for the conference to discuss the suggested resource people and to refine, if necessary, our approach to Archbishop Cody. Another question which should be raised at this time is if C. Ellis Henican, president of the New Orleans Council is going to be invited to serve on the liaison committee should the New Orleans Council, assuming we hold this in New Orleans, act as co-host with the Southern Field Service.

Please consider this your notice of your next meeting and the tentative agenda. If for any reason you will not be able to attend, please inform us.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

Henry Cabirac

HC/mw

Southern Field Service Leadership Conference

Suggested Agenda

Program Planning Committee Meeting October 3, 1962

I Who - Total community with emphasis on our own faults.

A. Ordinaries, bishops of dioceses.

B. Priests.

C. Nuns and brothers.

D. Laymen.

II What - Responsability of

A. Hospitals

B. Schools

C. Fair employment practices

1. In Catholic institutions.

2. By laymen in private life.

D. Involvement of the Negro in parish life.

E. Diocesan organizations and retreat houses.

F. Voter registration.

III How

A. Explore feasibility of topics.

B. Where

1. Cooperation of ordinary with a program

2. Geographical assessability.

C. Resource people.

D. Funds.

IV Other points

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

November 8, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Congratulations on your new position. Ted Baptist read us your letter at the Community Relations Council meeting, Monday November 5 announcing that you had decided to move to Washington. Needless to say, I am happy for you but regret the fact that we will not have an opportunity to work as closely as we did previously.

You need not reply at this time because I am sure that you are just getting settled, but I am still looking forward to you and Midge being able to make the carnival ball. You had better take advantage of this exuse to get back to New Orleans, because you will not be visiting here as much as you did previously.

Good luck in your new assignment and I will probably see you at the NAIRO convention.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC/mw

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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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November 9, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the Birmingham names you sent. I am quite eager to visit there to see just what can be done as I understand that they have a bishop that is more progressive than Archbishop Toolen, although he is under Archbishop Toolen.

In reply to your question as to whether I can hold the seats until you can determine whether you and Midge can come, I can.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC/mw

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORT OF THE SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1961-1962

This report will present the facts, both public and behind the scenes, that led up to the desegragation of parochial schools of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, and of the effect its accomplishment has had on New Orleans and on the rest of the South. It will point up the role that the New Orleans Catholic Council on Human Relations and the Southern Field Service have had on these developments.

Introduction: As you know, the desegregation of New Orleans parochial schools is now an accomplished fact. Despite some minor disturbances and harassment by a radical group, the admittance of Negroes to previously all white parochial schools has been accepted with relatively little ill effect on the community or the parochial school system. Enrollment is now approximately 98% of last year's peak enrollment, and this figure is expected to rise one or two per cent before the end of the year.

Developments leading up to desegregation were involved and the New Orleans Catholic Council on Human Relations and Southern Field Service played an important part in making desegregation a reality.

I. THE CATHOLIC COUNCIL AND ITS ROLE IN MOTIVATING ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL TO DESEGREGATE THE SCHOOLS

A. The Council was organized in March, 1961 with the help and guidance of National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and, specifically, of Jack Nelson, one of its officers. We were able to secure as our president, C. Ellis Henican, prominent attorney and a member of the power structure of New Orleans. Msgr. Plauche, Chancellor of the Archdiocese, is Chaplain of the Council, and I am its Executive Director. Mr. Henican, Msgr. Plauche and I devoted a considerable amount of time to the selection of our Board of Directors, believing that

it must contain a broad spectrum of the population, including some of the members of the power structure, if we were going to be effective. This done, we conducted a survey of what had been done in other southern dioceses and compiled a report of this for the Directors, usging that we approach Archbishop Rummel to desegregate the schools immediately.

In August of 1961, after securing the support of our Directors, the Chaplain, the Chairman and I met with Archbishop Rummel in an attempt to persuade him to desegregate the schools. We had no immediate success, but our Chairman did not bite his tongue in telling the Archbishop of the urgency of desegregating the Catholic schools. Although Archbishop Rummel did not appear to be influenced at the meeting by what we said, we learned from the Chancellor afterward that he had adopted many of Mr. Henican's ideas and this appeared to be the beginning of the turning point.

Months before this meeting and following it, I devoted much of my time to encouraging individual Council members to write letters, make telephone calls, personal visits and send wires urging the hierarchy to issue the order, but not to identify themselves as Council members in order to avoid the accusation of being a pressure group.

At one of our early meetings with the archbishop, he indicated that the reason he was not favorably disposed to school desegregation at that time was because his Superintendent of Schools had not recommended it. Although we believe that the ordinary himself should have seen the need to take action, we felt that under the circumstances, we must try to favorably influence the superintendent and in turn get him to recommend it to the archbishop.

Knowing the Superintendent of Schools feared possible enactment of punitive state laws, designed to stop the Louisiana Catholic schools from desegregating, we discussed the matter with a well disposed member of the state legislature. After ascertaining his judgment of possible state action and knowing him to favor immediate desegregation, I arranged a meeting for him with the Superintendent of Schools in November, 1961. He was able to favorably influence the superintendent by telling

him that it did not appear that the state would enact punitive measures because 1) the people of the City of New Orleans had indicated to the rest of the state their desire to keep the public schools open even though they looked with distaste on the token desegregation; i.e., the entrance of the four Negro children into the New Orleans schools, and therefore the state had drawn the battle line at New Orleans, and 2) at this particular time the state's treasury was at an all time low and the state administration was far more docile because they were trying to secure a favorable settlement from the federal government in the Tidelands issue.

B. Between November, 1961 and February, 1962 we met a number of times with the archbishop and sent him many further recommendations on the desirability of desegregation and the best methods to successfully bring it about. Our various Council committees worked hard preparing these recommendations and second gressing the moves being made by our opposition, working just as hard to discourage the archbishop from issuing the desegregation order. One of their greatest talking points was the possibility following desegregation of a tremendous loss of parochial pupils to the public schools. To offset this argument, Mr. Henican met with Judge J. Skelly Wright to discuss the possibility of his ordering desegregation of all six grades of the public schools. If this were done at the same time that parochial schools were desegregated, we felt that pupil loss would be no problem. From this time on we maintained liaison with Judge Wright and as a result feel that we were responsible for his order to desegregate all six grades in all public schools. Although this order was revoked, the net effect was for greater progress, and it certainly helped the cause.

C. In November of 1961, at a meeting of the Chancellor, the Superintendent of Schools, Archbishop Rummel and myself, the archbishop declared that he would desegregate the Catholic schools. From then on it was mostly a matter of getting him to issue the order. At this meeting he authorized me to meet with the Justice Department, inform them of our contemplated move and secure their cooperation in whatever manner possible.

In January of 1962, when I met with Mr. Burke Marshall in Washington, D. C., he assured me of the Justice Department's support and I reported this to the archbishop.

In order to reinforce Archbishop Rummel's desire to desegregate the schools, we were able to get our Priest Advisory Committee to present him a written recommendation that this be done. However, it was not until February, 1962 that we secured his firm commitment to desegregate, and it was not until March 27 that the desegregation order was made public.

II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT THE ORDER

A. Following are the minutes of two Public Relations Committee meetings, one held March 27, the day that the order was made public, and the other, June 7. During this time Archbishop Cody, who had been placed in charge of education by Archbishop Rummel, met on two other occasions with the Public Relations Committee for advice on various matters which needed immediate attention. The Public Relations Committee is composed of four newspaper men, including the editor of Catholic Action, two public relations directors for hospitals, a public relations director of a university, a business man, Father Romogosa who is Director of the Bureau of Information for the Archdiocese, a doctor of psychology and a doctor of sociology. These people were selected because of their professional competence and their dedication to racial justice.

"The Public Relations Committee of the Catholic Council on Human Relations, Archdiocese of New Orleans, met Tuesday evening, March 27, 1962, with the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Plauche, Chancellor and Council Chaplain, to discuss developments that may follow the decision to open all Catholic elementary and high schools in the archdiocese to all Catholic children."

"Msgr. Plauche described the clergy conference that afternoon at which Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel announced the decision and Coadjutor Archbishop John P. Cody gave preliminary details on methods of implementing it, advising priests to be patient and kindly in discussing the matter with individual parishioners but cautioning them not to expatiate on it in sermons or at parish meetings and not to give statements to representatives

of news media, particularly from outside New Orleans."

"Msgr. Plauche answered a number of questions on details of the issue and there was extended discussion of several points. In line with the counsel to priests from Archbishop Cody, it was felt that the Speakers' Bureau of the Public Relations Committee should remain quiet for a period of from six weeks to three months until the proper authorities feel that definite good can be accomplished through explanation of the issue by speakers at parish meetings, etc. The danger of mob reaction if talks were given in meetings at present was pointed out. It was recommended that the pastor be present during such talks when it is feasible to present them."

"It was felt that answers to requests for information, protests, and the like, should be handled by the clergy on an individual, personal basis. If "rump" sessions of parents' groups occur, it would be best to talk individually with the leaders rather than address groups. Teaching by action at present is more effective than extended discussions or explanations. It was suggested that furthering attendance of both races at Catholic gatherings would assist in emotional conditioning."

"Newsmen brought up the point that news media will clamor for statistics on the number of Negroes accepted in Catholic schools at registration, April 13 and 14, and at the opening of school. They argued that it is customary to use such statistics in news media and that presenting accurate figures might avoid misleading stories that could inflame emotions."

"Other committee members argued that to adopt a policy of not releasing such information is a position of strength based on sound principle. To give statistics of this kind in itself points up racial differentiation whereas to adhere firmly to a policy of not providing them upholds the stand of the Church that, as all are one in Christ, there should be no racial bias. Even though a pupil's race is indicated on school census cards, a copy of which is sent to the Orleans Parish School Board, the Archdiocesan School Office, pastors and principals can simply say that such statistics are not compiled."

"Though this does not preclude the fact that newsmen can and probably will gather such statistics from personal observation in preparing stories on direction of their superiors, the accuracy of such information is the responsibility of the reporter and news medium, and the principle upheld by Catholic authorities is maintained. To preserve good will with news media, however, and to protect individual reporters from criticism by their superiors, it was suggested that a responsible authority (who ideally would be Archbishop Cody) should meet with the proper executives of local newspapers and responsible TV and radio stations before the school registration dates and explain the policy of not giving out such statistics and that this policy will be firmly maintained."

"As there is serious reason to believe that punitive legislation may be introduced at the coming session of the State Legislature, it was considered highly important to compile data on the immense contribution that is made to the state through the operation of Catholic schools. These data should include the number of children enrolled in Catholic schools, costs of operation the state and civil parish school boards would have to assume if Catholic schools were closed, the capital outlay that would be needed for building schools to care for Catholic children, and so on. These figures should be broken down according to individual civil parishes."

"It was felt also that it would be of extreme value for the Archdiocese to have a representative at the legislative session armed with such data for presentation to legislators and ready otherwise to answer questions of attempt to offset the proposal of dangerous measures. Though Henry Cabirac, Council Executive Director, expressed willingness to serve in this capacity, it was pointed out that the Council could be attacked more readily than the Archdiocese and that the person doing this work would have a stronger position if representing the Archdiocese."

"The matter of appointing a subcommittee of the Public Relations Committee for immediate service if necessary was advanced. It was explained that questions may arise in which

the probable reaction of news media or of various sections of the public with which committee members are familiar may be desired. It was brought out, however, that given members of the committee might not be available at a specific time, and that all members will be glad to confer by telephone or otherwise at any time if available. Furthermore, a special meeting of the committee can be called if desired. The Rev. Elmo Romagosa, Director of the Bureau of Information; Mr. Cabirac, and the Committee Chairman have a list of members, their addresses and telephone numbers. The committee includes men of long experience on newspapers and with other communications media, in public relations and similar fields, the head of a university department of psychology, and so on, and can draw upon the services of other experts as needed. Committee members are unanimous in offering to serve in any capacity and at any time that they can do so."

"The Public Relations Committee of the Catholic Council on Human Relations, Archdiocese of New Orleans, met from 5 to 7 p.m. Thursday, June 7, 1962, in the Archdiocesan Administration Building. Present were the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Plauche, Chaplain of the Council, seven members of the committee and Matt Ahmann, Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice."

"There was detailed discussion of several points relating to the desegregation of Catholic schools and allied matters. A major one concerned methods of helping effect an orderly transition with acceptance of changed conditions by adults involved. The general feeling was that the situation as a whole is favorable and that the presence of Negroes at meetings of parents' clubs previously all-white would quickly be accepted as routine. It was felt, however, that quiet preparation could help establish better relations at the beginning."

"It was suggested that pastors and principals could enlist the aid of well-disposed white parents to welcome Negro parents and otherwise work for smooth operation of the new program. Seminars for the instruction of prospective leaders in this field can be arranged through the Council if pastors deem them desirable."

"As advocated previously, argument should be avoided. The basis of acceptance should be simply that of obedience to the Church. Resignation of officers and members who feel they cannot work under a desegregated program should be accepted. If necessary in extreme cases, a club can be disbanded and reorganized with members and officers willing to work for the new program."

"It was felt that the preparatory phase of the program could be more effectively put into force through a directive to pastors from the Most Reverend Apostolic Administrator. The committee recommends this proposal to His Excellency for his consideration."

"A second major topic discussed was the avoidance of unfavorable and inflammatory publicity at the opening of schools. It was believed that the local daily papers and responsible radio and television stations would wish to adopt this procedure. Since harmful publicity previously came to a great extent from national networks and news media, which did not present the complete picture, it was suggested that the responsible executives of these media - the heads of news or religion departments as the case might be - be approached with an appeal for fair and accurate coverage at the time the schools open and treatment in depth later so that the New Orleans story might be properly told."

"It was agreed that this contact should be made with the proper persons in NBC, CBS andABC networks, concerning television in particular; Associated Press and United Press International. National publications such as news magazines, the New York Times, etc., could be approached also if deemed desirable."

"It was felt that most effective contact in this field could be made by the Most Reverend Archbishop Cody. The Committee offers this recommendation to His Excellency for consideration."

"In regard to publicity concerning the general membership meeting, the Committee agreed that there should be only a brief announcement prior to the meeting and afterward a factual story of election officers and other business transacted."

B. Archbishop Cody met with the Mayor, Chief of Police and the Press and received assurances from them of their cooperation.

C. In order for you to get the complete picture of conditions under which the New Orleans Council is attempting to operate, you should be informed of Archbishop Cody's attitude on Catholic Interracial Councils. Perhpas some of you already know that in Kansas City he refused a group of Catholic lay people, including the editor of his diocesan paper, permission to form a Council. Archbishop Cody's reason for doing this was his belief that it is primarily the responsibility of the ordinary to use his authority to secure racial justice in his diocese and since this is a highly complex operation, does not want matters complicated by groups of well meaning people who may not be entirely familiar with the situation.

We have to agree with Archbishop Cody that it is primarily the responsibility of the ordinary, but believe that once we can successfully start even a limited program, he will become more enthusiastic. Let me assure you that Archbishop Cody has deep convictions on the matter of racial justice and charity and will act vigorously to implement these in the Archdiocese of New Orleans and the entire province.

Knowing his past attitude on Councils, our chairman was for a while reluctant to make any recommendations to the archbishop. However, after much consideration and encouragement by other Council leaders, he wrote a letter to Archbishop Cody outlining suggestions for Council action. The archbishop's reaction to this was favorable - he replied that he wished the Council to continue, he promised financial help and suggested a meeting to work out a program.

D. On the assumption that a most important factor in changing attitude was to provide white Catholics with the opportunity of meeting and getting to know Negro Catholics, I encouraged several Council members to encourage Negro parents to register their children at formerly all white Catholic schools. This was something that was handled behind the scenes because we did not feel that we could officially make this a part of the New Orleans Council's program because of the high tensions that existed in our area at that time. We ran into certain difficulties anyway. We worked quite successfully with organizations like Caritas and individuals like Father McManus, leading raco relations priest

for the Josephites. However, when Msgr. Bezou, Superintendent of Schools, discovered that some of the Caritas people were encouraging Negro parents to enroll their children in white schools, he reacted unfavorably and in fact called Dr. McGrower of Caritas to his office to criticize her for this program. One of the results of this campaign was the discovery that tuition in the formerly all white Catholic schools was higher than in the Negro schools and it became necessary to raise funds for part of the tuition money. This was done quietly through interested individuals in order not to give the impression to the community that we were bribing Negro children to enter white schools. The majority of those we encouraged to enroll now pay their own way, but the Southern Field Service is still concerned with raising approximately $1200 in tuition money.

Our success in gaining Negro students for previously all white parochial schools favorably effected the public schools in New Orleans. During the summer when the New Orleans public schools were attempting to determine how many Negroes were going to be accepted, we met with them and told them that there were approximately two hundred entering approximately thirty-five schools throughout the archdiocese. They were surprised and gratified to learn this as they felt that the Catholic schools were going to be so crowded that we would only permit fifteen to twenty to enter and therefore they had used this as a criteria for attempting to establish a more or less equal amount for their schools. Here again the liaison resulted in a greater number of Negro students entering the public schools. It is worth mentioning this because it is an indication that whenever a Catholic facility removes its bars, it affects a similar public facility and therefore we believe that the removal of race restrictions in hospitals, retreat houses, diocesan offices and construction employment, parish organizations etc., has a beneficial effect on the total community.

III. REACTION OF THE COMMUNITY

A. The Clergy

The clergy of the Archdiocese were summoned to a meeting on the afternoon of March 27, at which time Archbishop Rummel made

the announcement. He was interrupted by applause from the clergy which lasted three or four minutes. Four times during his talk he was interrupted again by applause and upon finishing had to ask the clergy to stop applauding. This reaction does not mean that all the clergy in the Archdiocese suddenly became enthusiastic about racial justice, because from time we receive reports of priests who are attempting to evade the implementation of it. However, it is an understatement to say that their reaction at the meeting was heartening. As is indicated from the Public Relations Committee meeting, Archbishop Cody then spoke on the implementation of the desegregation order.

B. The Laity

Perhaps the best general guage that can be used to measure the acceptance of the laity is the fact that attendance at Mass, reception of the sacraments, Sunday collections and school registrations are excellent. Here again this does not mean that the majority of the laity are enthusiastic about desegregation, in fact, we know that they are not. However they are reluctantly obeying. Of course, there is a segment of the Catholic population, perhaps 20%, that favors it.

A few weeks after the initial flurries of protest on the opening of schools in September, it became apparent that desegregation was having little effect on school enrollment. It is presently 98% of last year's enrollment, and this figure is expected to rise before the end of the year. This was much better than we expected - especially considering the fact that this was the first time in the Deep South that rural areas such as Covington and Morgan City had been successfully desegregated.

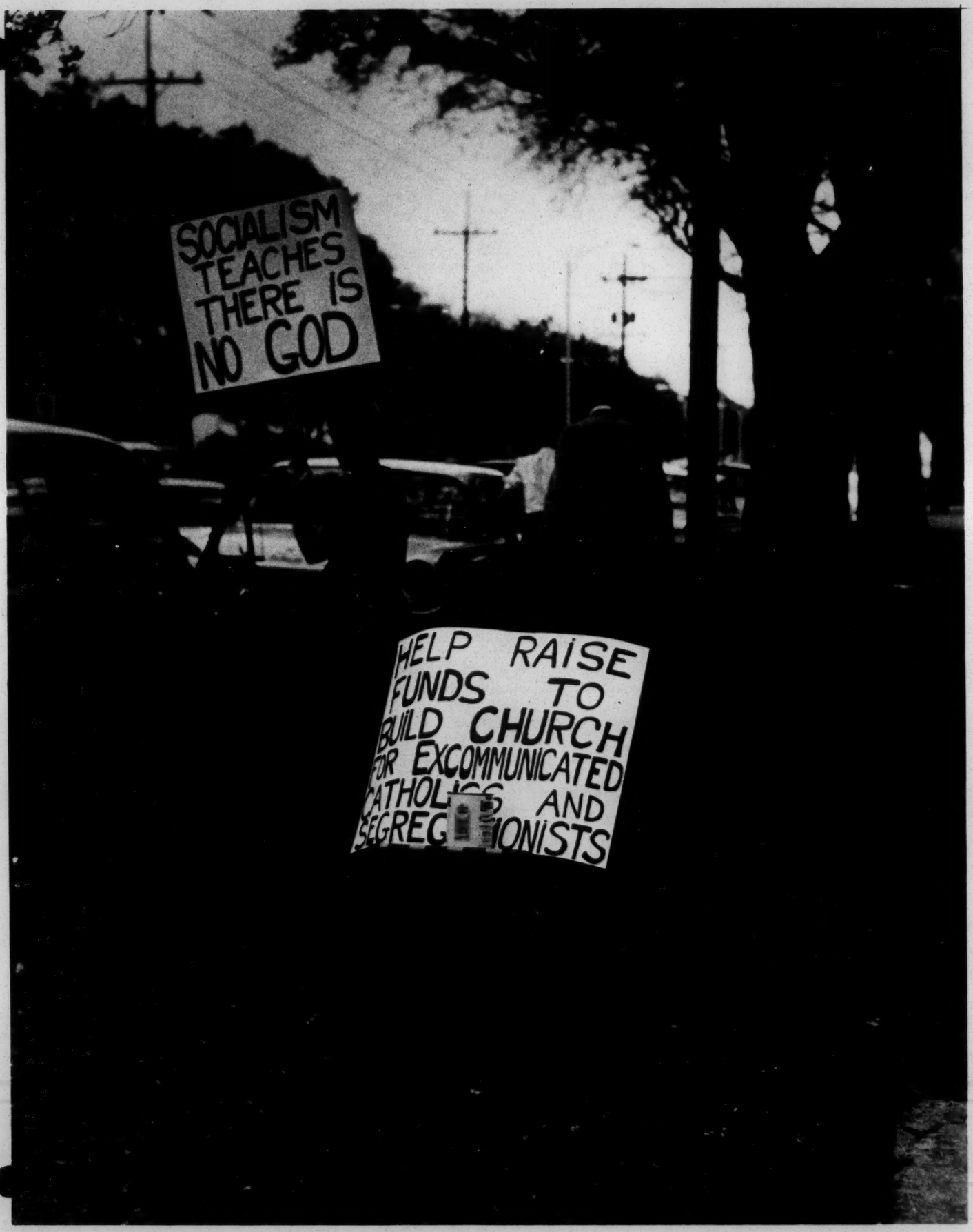
Many of you who have followed the New Orleans school situation closely will remember that shortly after the announcement a group of arch-segregationists started attacking the Church. I would like to explain their movement and its effect on the community so you can better appreciate all of the problems involved. An initial response to this radical group's first appearance was the spontaneous action of a group of laymen favoring the desegregation order. They publicly announced their support of the archbishop, stated that they would obtain a signed petition indicating that

there was widespread support, and that they would be willing to debate with anyone on this matter. The same night that they released their statement to the news media, the archbishop summoned them for an interview and thanked them for their support but urged them to discontinue their efforts immediately because of the danger of polarizing the population and antagonizing some of the more reluctant members into open opposition. The leader of this group was extremely disheartened at this and it was not until he was ordered by the archbishop to stop that he did so. As it has turned out, this has been the right move.

The Excommunicated Catholics and their followers - The excommunication of Leander Perez, Jackson Ricau and Mrs. B. J. Gaillot was an unfortunate but extremely necessary action, and although we all pray that these three and their followers will at some time return to the fold, it appears very unlikely. The Ordinary issued letters of warning to approximately ten Catholics who were publicly voicing their objections to his order, but only took action on those who continued to do so and it so happened that the three who were effected have been the most outspoken and objectionable for a long period of time and perhaps by coincidence the least respectable in the eyes of the community.

Their excommunication did not modify these people's activities - they continued to picket the seminary, the archbishop's residence and hold meetings every two or three weeks to encourage the boycotting of the collection plate, staying away from Mass, building private segregated schools, and boycotting of Catholic school registrations. Upon a request from the hierarchy, we had all these meetings covered and sent written reports to the hierarchy. What the arch-segregationists said at these meetings was absolutely fantastic, and it was obvious that their statements were directed at the lunatic fringe, a group of approximately 350 who attended these meetings.

To give you indication of the lengths to which this group went, we have enclosed the picture on the following page. This movement to start a schismatic Church did not get off the ground, but at the time there seemed to be a danger that they might lure some of the more reluctant clergy. On this score, the archbishop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had to speak sternly on several occasions to some priests and even had to send one priest outside of the Archdiocese because of his support to the Whtie Citizens' Council.

It was for this reason; i.e., the possibility of a full blown schism that we were extremely, perhaps at times overly cautious, in order to avoid doing anything that might cause such a thing, particularly when it came to avoiding all publicity until scools were successfully opened. We felt that what happened in New Orleans would have a tremendous influence on our cause in the entire country. We thought that if Catholic schools could be opened successfully with a good attendance and a schism prevented, that ordinaries, not only in the South, but all over the nation, would be encouraged by this example to act in a more forthright manner, using their authority to achieve racial justice. On the other hand, if there were large numbers of parents who withdrew their children from the schools and particularly if a schism were started, you can imagine how this would have dampened the spirits of the other ordinaries who might be contemplating taking authoritative action on any Church facilities. As it turned out, our feelings in this matter were justified. Desegregation has been achieved in a peaceful manner and its effect on the city and the rest of the South has been salutary. As we previously mentioned, desegregation of parochial schools actually served to increase the number of Negroes enrolled in public schools.

IV. OTHER ACTIVITIES

A. Reverse Freedom Rides

According to Harvey Kerns, director of the New Orleans chapter of the Urban League, this recriminatory tactic, the brain child of the New Orleans White Citizens' Council, has generated far more publicity than it has results. As you well know there has been over the past 15 to 20 years a mass migration of Negroes from the South to the North, and it is doubtful that this scheme has increased this move one per cent. While not achieving the arch-segregationists' aim of appreciably decreasing the Negro population of the South, the reverse freedom rides have given them a great deal of moral support because of the reaction of the northerners. We realize that no section of the country wants another section's welfare people, and that the people and officials

of northern communities have a just complaint against these rides, but their widely publicized reaction has added fuel to the segregationists' propaganda mill. They now self-righteously and jubilantly declare that the white northerner wants to give the Negro all of his rights so long as he stays in the South. From the point of view of the southerner working for racial justice, northern resentment against the reverse freedom rides works against their cause. And the less publicity given northern sentiments, the better for us.

B. Formation of a Community-wide Human Relations Council in New Orleans

A group of the New Orleans Catholic Council members and myself have been instrumental in creating enthusiasm and working with other members of the community to form this organization. The originators of this organization have called upon the Executive Directors of ADL, the Urban League, the Social Welfare Planning Council and myself to serve as consultants for them, and it is possible that they might secure some type of staff aid. We believe that this is an extremely important development in the community because it provides an organization which is more representative of the entire community than any now in existance and will, therefore, be able to reach certain areas that the existing organizations cannot.

V. EFFECT OF ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL'S ACTIONS ON THE REST OF THE SOUTH

As we stated in our last report, other southern bishops have posed the question, "You wouldn't expect us to desegregate our schools when Catholic New Orleans hasn't desegregated their's." We believe that the bottleneck has now been broken, an example has been set, encouragement has been given, and a pattern established, not only for the South, but to the entire nation. Approximately two and a half months after this Archbishop Hallinan announced his decision to desegregate all Catholic schools in the Archdiocese, grades one through twelve. To the best of our knowledge, the New Orleans order to desegregate <u>all</u> grades of <u>all</u> Catholic schools in the Archdiocese was the first time that such a sweeping move has been made in the deep South.

Incidentally, I have corresponded with Archbishop Hallinan for eight months and I visited with him in Atlanta last April, informed him of what we had done in New Orleans and left pertinent information with him which we had gathered in our surveys of other southern dioces and encouraged him to make the move.

If you will note, since the Archdioceses of New Orleans and Atlanta have issued the orders to desegregate their schools, there are no archdioceses or metropolitan sees which have not issued orders to desegregate schools. And incidentally, attendance at Atlanta parochial schools has been higher this year than ever before.

VI. APPLYING THE EXPERIENCE GAINED IN NEW ORLEANS TO THE REST OF SOUTH

The methods learned in motivating the ordinary to issue the order in New Orleans can be profitably applied throughout the South, even where schools have been desegregated, or at least where a start has been made to desegregate the schools. We have found in some dioceses that the city in which the bishop resides may have desegregated their schools, but other large cities have not. Perhaps the best example of this is the Diocese of Nashville where the Catholic schools in both Knoxville and Chatanooga still remain segregated, and even in Nashville itself there has not been much done recently to implement the bishop's order of 1954 to desegregate the schools. In addition to schools, there are other Church facilities which have not removed their barriers.

Because of the success of the desegregation of New Orleans schools, I have been able to promote the idea among other southern dioceses. Recently I visited Bishop McDonough of the diocese of Savannah which geographically takes in the southern one half of Georgia. After giving him a favorable report on the conditions in New Orleans, I asked him if he would consider desegregating all twelve grades of his schools next year in conjunction with Bishop Reh of the diocese of Charleston, South Carolina which encompasses the whole state. In neither of these areas have the public schools desegregated. He urged me to ask Bishop Reh with whom I had an appointment within the next few days to see how he felt about this because Bishop McDonough was favorable to the idea. When I asked

Bishop Reh, he said he was extremely favorable to the idea and would discuss it with Bishop McDonough at the Ecumenical Council in Rome. I then informed Archbishop Cody of the willingness of these two bishops to give this matter serious consideration and stressed the fact that the more dioceses that could do this at the same time, the easier it would be on the various dioceses and the more beneficial effect it would have on the image of the Church. Since Archbishop Cody was in Rome when I wrote this note, I have not received his reaction yet. It is my hope that he as the head of the province of New Orleans will be able to persuade at least the dioceses of Lafayette and Baton Rouge, Louisiana to move, perhaps in conjunction with Savannah and Charleston in the fall of 1963. As of this time out of twenty-four dioceses in the fourteen confederate states all except seven or eight have desegregated their schools. I am not sure whether the diocese of St. Augustine, Florida has done it or not.

According to intergroup relations resource people, the most effective way found of changing attitudes is to use authority to effect institutional changes. In order to do this, it is necessary to motivate the gatekeepers to make changes. In the case of Church facilities, this naturally means the ordinary of the diocese.

It is particularly important in the South where the average person is less capable than the northerner of absorbing abstract ideas and hasn't developed a conscience regarding racial justice - a conscience is built on knowledge and experience - that the Church lead the way in this field. Even among well disposed lay people, you will find a reluctance on their part to take the first steps because they feel that they should follow rather than lead the Church in such matters. Their attitude is that if racial justice is right, why doesn't the Church act and not just talk about it. The example set by the bishops Chile in their recent program of land distribution is an excellent one because it sets an example for all right thinking Catholics to follow.

Just as the personalities of people differ, so do those of ordinaries and therefore in some cases we find some who have been very forthright in their actions to achieve racial justice, whereas others have not. Let me say at this point that we regard all

ordinaries as men of good will, but some of them, because of their age, background, area of the country in which they live, and other factors, have not made certain vital moves which we regard as necessary.

In order to motivate the ordinary to move, we believe that there are certain steps which the laity can take. Naturally, it is easier to do this where there is an existing Catholic Council on Human Relations or Catholic Interracial Council, but even where there is not - in fact, in some dioceses we know that the ordinary would refuse permission to form one - we are encouraging those Catholics with deep convictions to make personal visits, send telegrams, make telephone calls and write the ordinary expressing their complaints in a respectful manner and making a plea that something be done. We have also worked with other religious groups quite successfully. For example, at my urging Wade Mackie of the American Friends Service Committee is encouraging Catholics in the Diocese of Baton Rouge to request Bishop Tracey to desegregate the schools as quickly as possible.

Despite our shortage of travel funds, we have visited a few places and have maintained correspondence with our existing Councils, with people in other cities I have visited, and certain other key people who either wrote for information or with whom I initiated correspondence.

We believe that the following areas are of special interest:
San Antonio - We visited our Council there and learned that they are participating with other agencies in a program to desegregate community activities. We also met with His Excellency Archbishop Lucey and secured his permission to make a survey with the idea of making recommendations for the incorporation of a nondiscriminatory hiring clause in all Church construction contracts. We have had to postpone this because we needed additional information from certain resource people in Washington, D. C. and we were unable to go to Washington because of our financial limitations. It is hoped that we will be able to resume activities on this in the near future, and persuade Archbishop Lucey to include such a clause. If we are able to do this, it will be the first such clause in any diocese in the country.

Pensacola, Florida - There are Catholics, mostly Negroes, with deep convictions who are attempting to persuade Archbishop Toolen to change his policies. Thus far, they have not met with any success, but we know that their pleas must be pricking the conscience of the archbishop.

As you can see from the letter on the following page, he does not seem to be favorably disposed to doing anything despite the fact that there are no punitive laws to stop him and the public schools in this area are desegregating on a pupil placement basis in all grades this fall without any major objections from the community. You might also be interested in knowing that when one of the priests in this area learned of my visit, he investigated me but was disappointed to learn that I was not connected with any subversive organizations.

Mobile, Alabama - Several years ago the state of Alabama was successful in preventing the N.A.A.C.P. from operating. This has definitely hurt progress, but we are attempting to stimulate a group we have met in Mobile to encourage them to make known their hopes and aspirations to the bishop and also to sue for desegregation of the public schools, recreational facilities, etc.

Atlanta, Georgia - Although the Catholic population of the Archdiocese of Atlanta is only one per cent, this city obviously is considered important by both Chruch and secular officials as was indicated by the Holy See's recent decision to make it the metropolitan see of a new province and to appoint Archbishop Hallinan as its head. There is a small but enthusiastic group of Catholics working for racial justice. It is important that we have a vigorous group here because Atlanta is the headquarters for the majority of southern agencies.

Nashville, Tennessee - George Barrett, a long time friend of Matt and former chairman of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, invited us to Nashville to meet with a group of people interested in forming a Council. Unfortunately, because of the lack of funds, we were unable to accept the invitation. However, while Matt was lecturing at the Fisk Race Relations Institute last June, he met with the group and got them started.

C O P Y
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A R C H B I S H O P'S R E S I D E N C E
400 GOVERNMENT STREET
MOBILE, ALABAMA
May 30, 1962

_____
_____
_____

Dear _____:

Sorry to have kept you waiting so long for an answer to your letter but this is the busiest time of year and I don't think I have been at my desk for more than a few hours the past two weeks.

I easily understand your problem and believe you understand mine. We have always tried to give to the Negroes of the Diocese the same opportunities as the whites. We have tried to integrate them in our Holy Name Society and our meetings and parades and in many other ways. In regard to the schools we have hesitated because of the fact that we know that if we accept colored children for our schools that we will lose a great number of the white children and it is a question in my mind as to whether it is best to lose fifty children and accept two. You are in a position to send your child to a school that will accept Negro boys and save all the difficulty and trouble that we would run into in Pensacola.

There is another side to the question. The colored people of West Florida and Alabama have never accepted their obligations and perhaps that is one reason why the high school in Pensacola is not up to the standard it should be and this is true all over the Diocese. Anything that the colored parishes have has been given to them either by a community or by the diocese and it is not easy to keep these places going.

I am sure without doubt that integration is coming in the next few years but I don't think we are ready for it just now. I hope you will see my point of view and send your boy to an institution outside of the state that will give him all that you desire.

Asking God to bless you, and with all good wishes and prayers, I remain

Sincerely,

/s/ T. J. Toolen
Most Rev. T. J. Toolen, D.D.
Archbishop
Bishop of Mobile-Birmingham

Panel on Human Relations at the Knights of Peter Claver annual Convention - Clarence Laws, a Catholic and a native of Louisiana and presently Southwest Director of the N.A.A.C.P., Mrs. Ora Mae Martin, a Catholic writer and the person who was influential in getting Archbishop Rummel to desegregate the Eucharistic Congress in New Orleans in 1938, and I presented a Panel on Human Relations in Lafayette last summer. We attempted to point out that the Church's teachings on this point were unmistakenly clear and encourage these people to exert more strenuous efforts to work for interracial justice. Father Perry, a member of the Board and Chaplain of the organization, informed me that the Board at this convention of the Knights of Peter Claver had voted to send the National Catholic Conference $490 and the Southern Field Service $600. News of this was indeed encouraging to us, not only because we could use the money, but because it is an indication that the Southern Catholic Negro is beginning to awaken to his responsibilities to do something about discrimination.

Southwide Voter Registration Campaign - The largest single undertaking at the moment throughout the South is this campaign which has been underway since spring. We are encouraging all of our member Councils to cooperate with the agencies in their areas which have been given a grant to work on this. We have also discussed with the officials of the Voter Registration Project the possibilities of a grant for the Southern Field Service to staff a voter registration drive in Southern Louisiana and Eastern Texas and will continue to work on this.

We felt that it was appropriate to outline our goals for the second year of the Southern Field Service operation. The following is based on the assumption that we have an adequate budget.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE

October 1, 1962 to September 30, 1963

1. Work with people of conviction and try to influence other people of good will particularly those in influential positions, to make a great effort to encourage the ordinary of their dioceses to remove all racial barriers

as quickly as possible in order to give the people a living experience in interracial activity which is the most effective way of changing attitudes.

2. Prepare for and hold a Southern Field Service leadership conference in New Orleans in June of 1963.

3. Conduct a workshop or school for training people in direct action techniques to bring economic pressure to bear on such institutions as stores, lunch counters, hotels, theaters, etc., to desegregate and offer merit employment to minority groups.

4. Encourage the increase in the formation of Catholic Councils and strengthen those already in existance.

5. Secure foundation money for a voter registration project in Southern Louisiana and Eastern Texas.

6. Find ways of raising at least a small portion of our budget in the South in order to continue to receive the major portion of our budget from foundations.

7. Encourage Councils to actively cooperate and participate with the various local agencies who have been given grants by the Voter Registration Department of the Southern Regional Council to conduct a southwide voter registration campaign.

8. Persuade at least two southern ordinaires to insert in all of their Church related construction contracts a nondiscriminatory hiring clause.

9. Continue to urge southern Catholics and non-Catholics alike to work for racial justice in the total community through our own Councils, through cooperation with other responsible agencies and in cases where neither exists, to work through an informal group for these purposes.

10. Establish an integrated youth center as a pilot project.

11. Continue to work closely with the Josephites and increase our effort to develop close cooperation with other Negro orders, to help furnish the leadership to end discrimination in the Church and in the total community.

12. Attempt to stimulate the Negro fraternal orders such as the Knights of Peter Claver into becoming a militant organization to work for racial justice.

13. Encourage the formation and development of a diocesan priests' movement to carry out our aims.

14. Increase diocesan employment of minority groups and encourage influential people in the community to hire on a merit employment basis.

15. Continue our newsletter.

Again, we would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude for the support which the National Catholic Conference and Taconic has given to both the Southern Field Service and to all of the southern Councils, particularly the New Orleans Council. Without this support it is quite possible that conditions in New Orleans might be chaotic and certainly not encouraging for progress anywhere in the South.

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MINUTES OF THE SOUTHERN FIELD OFFICE
PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE MEETING

Re: Southern Field Service Leadership Conference

The Southern Field Office Program Planning Committee met on October 30, 1962, to discuss a proposed convention during the summer of 1962.

Mr. Laws called the meeting to order with a few words about the proposed conference, which aims at encouraging and promoting human dignity and justice in human relations. Purpose of the summer meeting is to take a closer look at Catholics and what we are doing race-relations-wise; some non-Catholics will be invited to make some contributions in this area. Areas to be covered include Catholic education, employment practices, hospitals, retreat houses, diocesan organizations, parish organizations, etc. and in addition to them, votor registration because this has the most significant effect on community climate. The conference should stimulate the hierarchy, clergy and the laity into carrying out the work of human relations in their respective dioceses.

Fr. Schiffer suggested that we get a dynamic speaker, such as Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio (a bishop, anyway) for our main speaker. Fr. McManus added that the bishop would have to be a convener and stated that our first function would be to examine our own deficiencies that is those of the Catholic community.

Fr. Putnam suggested Archbishop Hallinan of Atlanta; Dr. Pausons commented that we could have all three archbishops as conveners. Mr. Cabirac mentioned that the Catholic Interracial Council in San Antonio was fairly active while the one in Atlanta was new. Mr. Morial said we should let the archbishop decide which city would be best. Concensus of opinion in the group was that Mr. Cabirac should write to the three archbishops, asking them to jointly convene the conference this summer.

Mr. McColloster asked about accommodations. Fr. McManus said that a centrally located place would be better and less expensive. Mr. Francis pointed out the advantages of having the conference in the same place where the planning was being done.

Mr. Cabirac asked that a couple of priests go along with him to see Archbishop Cody, to give the proper feeling of this being a clerical as well as a lay activity. Mr. Morial added that a list of the planning committee should be shown to the Archbishop. Mr. Laws said a committee should be appointed for the visit.

Mr. Morial asked what is Archbishop Cody's attitude toward the Council. Fr. McManus mentioned that he had talked to the Archbishop about school desegregation; that Archbishop Cody feels that Church structure

is sufficeint to handle this problem. Orders from the top down. No interference needed.

Manner of approaching the archbishop discussed: Fr. McManus suggested that we present to him the idea of representatives of the Southern Interracial Councils discussing problems under the leadership of the Archbishop. Fr. Schiffer elaborated on this and Fr. Putnam quoted the Archbishop's appreciation of lay effort. Mr. Francis mentioned the danger of appearing to be a pressure group - stressed that we wish to be of service. One angle mentioned by Fr. McManus - so many problems on race remain unsolved because people do not have good communication and don't discuss their problems. Mr. Laws suggested that we get Msgr. Flauche's advice on who would be an acceptable committee; Mr. Cabirac, would follow up on this. Names suggested are:

LIAISON	Mr. Henican	Fr. McManus	Fr. Andrew Smith
COMMITTEE	Fr. Perry	Msgr. Raine	Msgr. Flauche
	Mr. Francis	Rev. Mother Byrne	Mr. Cabirac

Discussion of material to be presented to the Archbishop by the committee. Fr. McManus to prepare brief on the conference. Mr. Laws suggested that a memo be prepared ahead of time and attached to our request for audience, so that the Archbishop would have an opportunity to look it over.

In a moment of digression, Mrs. Martin expressed the idea that motivation as well as opportunity should be given to Negroes so that they will be willing to move forward, especially in the field of employment. She mentioned her dislike of "forced" situations. Fr. McManus pointed out that you must "prime the pump". After so many years of discrimination, desegregation must be somewhat "forced" at the beginning. This is one reason for the Council - to find out how to get Negroes accepted and how to sell them on the idea that they <u>are</u> accepted. Fr. Putnam helped here to clarify and Mr. Laws further stressed the idea that only qualified Negroes should be placed in new situations.

Another brief point of digression -- during much of the discussion the contributions by Dr. Pausons were very valuable and Fr. McManus mentioned how important it is to have a psychologist of the fine quality of Dr. Pausons on our planning committee.

Returning to the matter of the bried which Fr. McManus would prepare, Mr. Laws, as well as Fr. Putnam and Dr. Pausons, stressed that it was important to use a positive approach.

Corrections on the agenda were discussed and revised agenda is attached.

Length of time for conference discussed - two to two and one-half days.

Place - Seminary suggested by Fr. Schiffer. Ursuline could be used for the ladies' accommodations. Mr. Francis said Xavier University was available.

Funds - Mr. Cabirac mentioned that money might be secured from foundations. (Fr. Putnam said we should be able to tell the archbishop how

we stand financially).

Resource people - Fr. Schiffer suggested a psychologist or sociologist on how to influence people (1- how to influence the white community; 2- how to influence the negro community.) Fundamentals on this explained. St. Louis school superintendent suggested by Fr. Putnam. Someone from the hospital in Raleigh. VA Hospital in New Orleans might be a good contact for a resource person, but here the economic situation would not apply. Fr. J. Fitzpatrick, SJ of Fordham suggested. Fr. Putnam mentioned the NCCJ program on Channel 4, Sunday 11:00 - 11:30 a.m. on Human Relations.

General discussion about whether we can see the archbishop at all, with his involvement in the Vatican council. Fr. Putnam mentioned that the archbishop calls the chancery each week; Fr. Schiffer said that the person he calls should be our initial contact.

Group voted to meet again in three weeks with the brief - Tuesday November 20.

Below are listed committees appointed - and revised agenda.

Meeting adjourned.

* *

Program and Arrangements

Fr. Schiffer
Fr. Fichter
Dr. Pausons
Mr. Francis
Mr. Bill Maloney
Mr. Cabirac

Liaison Committee

Mr. Henican
Fr. Perry
Mr. Francis
Fr. Smith
Mr. Cabirac
Fr. McManus
Msgr. Raine
Rev. Mother Byrne
Msgr. Flauche

Finance committee not named yet.

* *

Corrections in agenda

II What - Responsibility of
- A. Hospitals
- B. Schools
- C. Fair employment practices
  - 1. In Catholic institutions
  - 2. By laymen in private life.
- D. Involvement of the Negro in parish life.
- E. Diocesan organizations and retreat houses.
- F. Voter registration.

* *

Present at Meeting

Mr. Clarence Laws, Chairman
Mrs. A. W. English
Dr. Pausons
The Rev. Eugene McManus
Mr. E. Morial
Mr. Henry Cabirac
Mr. Trudeau
The Rev. Hubert Schiffer
Mr. Elias McCollester
Mrs. Martin
Mr. Jupiter
The Rev. J. Putnam
Mr. Norman Francis

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January 9, 1963
AIR MAIL SPECIAL

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Executive Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

We can't immediately find--for certain--any "Catholics with conviction" in Montgomery and Knoxville.

The best I can offer are two good people who will be reliable sources of information on who in their communities may fit your requirements. They are:

Mrs. J. F. McLeod
1540 College Court
Montgomery 6, Alabama
AM. 4-2577

Mr. Paul Christopher
Regional Director, AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Mrs. McLeod was suggested by Mrs. Tilly. Christopher is on our board.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

January 8, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for giving me John Wheeler's name. He did supply me with some helpful information regarding the employment situation in North Carolina, and it's quite possible that I might invite him to speak to some of the Catholic Interracial Councils later in the year.

Could you either list at the bottom of this letter or jot down on a piece of paper and return to me air mail, special delivery names of any Catholics with conviction in either Montgomery, Alabama or Knoxville, Tennessee? A friend of mine from Pensacola, Jack Sisson in whom I have great confidence is visiting these particular areas and has agreed to contact anyone there who I think might be appropriate.

Good luck in your new position. I'll be looking forward to your visit to New Orleans in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC:kv

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

January 11, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Forgive me for bothering you again, but would you be able to send me the names of any Catholics with whom we might work in Chatanooga, Tennessee?

Thanks again.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:kv

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

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VIA AIR MAIL
January 14, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

John Popham, Managing Editor, The Chattanooga Times, is your best source of information in Chattanooga. I don't know his religious persuasion, but he's a good man.

Is this again for Jack Sisson? I'm sure he's a good man, but I always have a little uneasiness about putting persons whom I don't know with the good, and usually few, contacts in the region. Hope I shall have an opportunity to meet Sisson soon.

Your inquirées are no bother. Always glad to help.

Sincerely,

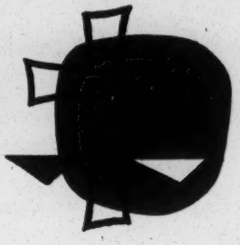
Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901



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January 14, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the names of the people in Knoxville. I will explore the situation with them.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:kv

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National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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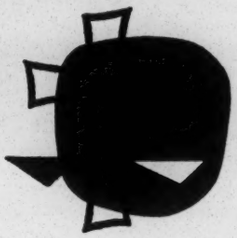

January 21, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks again for the Chatanooga name. You're right to express some concern about giving the name to someone else to contact and perhaps I will regret it, but in this particular case I have a lot of faith in Jack Sisson plus the fact that in the diocese of Tennessee there's little to lose because the bishop is ill and aging and will probably be retired soon. In fact I'm trying to speed up that process by getting as many complaints into him as possible.

The postponement of the Southern Inter Agency meeting to April 18 and 19 is better for me than the former date. I'll look forward to seeing you then if not sooner when you come to New Orleans.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:kv

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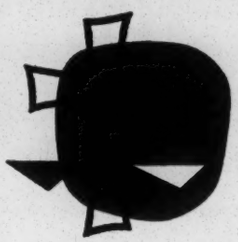

April 12, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Matt Ahmann would like to know what organization Bill Higgs and Charlie Butts belong to. Would you please give me this information and any other pertinent facts which you might have on them? Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

HC/ej

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June 25, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

If you have completed and released your speech which you were writing when we had our Steering Committee Meeting in your office, I would appreciate receiving a copy of it.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

HC/ej

Cab

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June 28, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

George Barrett, one of our Directors asked me today to ask you to write James O. Bass at the American Trust Building who is the Chairman of the Metropolitan Mission on Human Relations of Nashville to inform him that since some hotels and motels in Nashville have been desegregated that the Southern Interagency Conference will be held there. They needn't know that we represent such a small number of people.

He also asked that you send a blind copy to Ed Shay, Executive Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce of Nashville and to himself George Barrett, Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.

Can you do this for them, please?

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC/ej

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

July 16, 1963.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. - Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Paul:

Thanks for sending me your Daytona Speech.

Do you expect to be coming to New Orleans anytime in the near future?

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

HAC.jr:ji

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Cab

July 17, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Have checked with Charles (Wittenstein, Chairman of SIC) who says he would prefer having the group act at the Nashville meeting, commending the city with said commendation going to Bass. I see no problem either way but this should accomplish the same purpose though not with the same timing.

Incidentally, the Chamber of Commerce here has said that Atlanta's hotel integration now enables it to: "go after the 40% of the convention business which was automatically unavailable where segregation was a policy." George May want to suggest that Ed Shay write Atlanta about this.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: George Barrett

Southern Field Service

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

July 18, 1963.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. - Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Paul:

The Chancellery Office of South Carolina is deeply involved in an effort to try to bring both peace and progress to their community. The Priest that contacted me asked me to send him whatever information I had on bi-racial committees working with businessmen and the City Government to achieve progress. Could you do this as quickly as possible?

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

HAC.jr:ji

Cash

July 24, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Enclsoed are the materials requested for Charleston. I hope to go there soon and would be happy to have suggestions on persons to see. This one may be tough.

It is unlikely that I will be coming to New Orleans anytime soon. My brief efforts there to encourage and strengthen the Council have been--in my opinion--a complete failure. I suspect the New Orleans people are of the same opinion. More importantly, our sense of priorities and potentialities puts our legitimate concerns about the city somewhat down the scale.

Hope to see you somewhere soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

July 29, 1963

Dict. 7/26/63

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the large variety of material which you sent me in answer to my request. I will see Father Friend this weekend and give it to him.

When I asked you to send me this material, I should have requested that you send me an additional copy for my own use. I would appreciate your doing this when you have the opportunity.

It's distressing to realize that the New Orleans Community Relations Council has not progressed any further than they have. Whether or not you are aware of it, New Orleans borders on a crisis, and we are doing everything that we can to maintain peace and, at the same time, make progress.

I look forward to seeing you at the Southern Interagency Meeting, if not sooner.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC/gpb

MM: Send something whenever you get the chance

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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

August 5, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Would you be able to reach any influential people in either Mobile or Birmingham, to try to approach Archbishop Toolen and Bishop Durick to desegregate their Catholic schools along with the public schools this year, in order to spread it as far as possible and minimize making target areas of the public schools?

We have been working in both places for awhile, trying to encourage Catholic negroes to register their children in white Catholic schools, and believe we are making some headway. Dr. Hazeur, 474 E. Creek Circle Drive, Mobile, Alabama, is heading this drive, and Father Paul Downey, 1327 Sixth Avenue South, is heading this drive in Birmingham, Alabama.

The more weight we could put behind this effort, the greater chances of success we would have.

As you probably know, Archbishop Toolen has been the outstanding advocate of separate, but equal, facilities of all southern Catholic bishops; but, this fall he is opening his schools in Pensacola, which is part of his diocese, to negroes.

Whatever you could do to aid in this matter would be a contribution to the community and certainly would be appreciated by me.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC/gpb

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August 13, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Executive Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

We will follow-up in Birmingham on your request to encourage desegregation of the Catholic schools though I am not certain how effective this will be.

In Mobile, it will be somewhat more difficult since we are currently getting considerable unfavorable publicity from the ultra-right there. However, we will try there too. My reports, like yours, about Archbishop Toolen are not encouraging though the Pensacola breakthrough does hold out some hope.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activity

PA:mm

Cab

April 26, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Executive Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

I don't know the whereabouts of Bill Higgs. As you know, he left Jackson some time ago and is now "up North." Bill Higgs was and is Editor of the Mississippi Free Press, 1253 Valley Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

Hope this will help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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September 21, 1963

Mrs. Marge Mandersen
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Mandersen:

Thank you for informing me that Matt Ahmann has been receiving invitations to the Southern Interagency Meetings. He later confirmed this.

I also appreciate you sending me the names of the two most knowledgeable people in Huntsville and will contact them while I am there next week.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

October 2, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Sometime ago I forwarded Paul Rilling a list of the Southern Presidents and Chaplins of the Catholic Interracial Councils. Enclosed is an up to date list and some leaders in other Southern areas where we don't have a formal council for one reason or another.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

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December 12, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Charles and I are now working on the next Interagency Conference meeting. Very likely the meeting will be held in Washington in mid-February. (At the last meeting we were asked to consider holding the meeting there and it now seems especially appropriate that we do so.)

The new director of the President's Committee should be appointed by then. We will try to get him; if not, the suggestion of Percy is a good one.

Will confirm date and place as soon as possible.

In the meantime, all good wishes for the season from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA/mg

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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December 27, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Would you be able to send me a sample of whatever literature you might have available providing resource information for businessmen, politicans, labor leaders, professional men, attorneys, and the secular news media to implement the principles of racial justice in their own area. We are trying to put on a Southern Leadership Conference in Atlanta which will be a meaningful, practical, problem-solving conference, and whatever information we can supply to the various groups on success stories in their own fields and techniques on how to do it will be helpful.

I have written Bishop Carroll of Miami for an appointment and as soon as I hear from him, I will inform you so that we may set the date for our Southern Interagency Steering Committee meeting.

Seasons greetings to you.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

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January 2, 1964

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Executive Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Under separate cover, several items we have available for your needs. The most appropriate is the L-Report concerning Charlotte. In a few days I will be sending you a publication which we are now producing, "Transition Without Tragedy." This contains some material you might be able to use, though excerpted. As you will see, the book is a highly specialized one and would not be appropriate for use in its entirety.

Incidentally, the name Southern Leadership Conference comes close to that of Martin King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Will it cause any confusion?

Look forward to getting a date for the January meeting.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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January 13, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Bishop Carroll of Miami has given me an appointment the week of February 3rd. I hope to complete my business and be in Atlanta February 6 & 7. Would either of these days be convenient to the Steering Committee to meet in preparation for our Washington Southern Interagency meeting?

Thanks for the confidental report "Transition without Tragedy" which I received in the mail this morning. I haven't had an opportunity to read it yet, but will do so with interest. Paul, would it be possible for you to send Father Law, editor of the Catholic newspaper of Mississippi and a person with whom I have worked very closely and has sound judgement, a copy of this report?

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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January 14, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

You will find enclosed a copy of our confidental annual report, which I thought might be helpful to you in becoming more familiar with the role we are trying to play. Whatever comments and suggestions you have on it, I'd appreciate hearing.

You will note Bishop Gerow's letter on page 7 forbidding us from working in his diocese. Within the past week, we have been successful in mending our fences with him, and he has agreed to send his administrators to our Southern Leadership Conference in Atlanta.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

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Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
Suite 2
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Southern Field Service

Report of Activities, 1962-63
Program Goals 1964

Report of the Director
Southern Field Service of the
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
November, 1963

Substantial foundation grants secured by the National Catholic Conference have enabled me to cover a much larger area of the South in the past 12 months. The successful breaking of the bottleneck in the Southern Catholic community; that is, the desegregation of the Catholic schools of New Orleans, has also permitted me to shift my emphasis so that we have not had to concentrate on one particular area as I had in the previous 12 months. You will probably recall from my last report that many of the Southern Bishops were reluctant to move as long as "Catholic" New Orleans hadn't.

Although I have traveled extensively during the last 12 months -- approximately 120 days -- it still has been insufficient to meet the needs of the 14 states which I have been assigned. This was true several years ago and has become increasingly acute during the stepped-up Civil Rights program of the last six months. What is needed is additional staff working out of the New Orleans office or dividing the present territory. Half of the territory would still be larger than any other Civil Rights organization covers.

We maintain communications in a number of ways with the other Civil Rights organizations working in the South, but primarily through the Southern Interagency meetings which are held three times a year. At these, approximately 40 Civil Rights agencies are represented. Our influence has been increased by my election to the Steering Committee of this organization. I have also been invited to meet with Dr. Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Jim Farmer, Oscar Lee, Jim Forman, Whitney Young, Jean Fairfax, Glenn Smiley, Bill Oliver and Frank Graham, to help plan over-all strategy for the South.

EFFECTS OF NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

There is an increased awareness and desire on the part of many of the leading clergymen of the three faiths to work to ameliorate the South's racial problems. The simultaneous desegregation of the Knoxville, Tennessee hospitals is an excellent example of what can be done when the three faiths work together. It is unnecessary to say that this kind of effort has increased cooperation, ecumenism and goodwill among the various faiths.

The National Conference on Religion and Race has some solid accomplishments in the South, and there is an even greater potential which is being tapped. However, in most of the deep South, the predominant Protestantism has not been able to achieve the results which can be effected in the Catholic community because of its administrative system and the authority of its Bishops. Some race relations experts, such as Father McManus, a Josephite priest, believe that substantial additional progress can be made in the total community by concentrating our own efforts on the Catholic community.

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

This Conference has been scheduled April 30, May 1, 2, and 3 at the Hilton Inn in Atlanta. Archbishops Cody (New Orleans), Lucey (San Antonio), and Hallinan (Atlanta), have given their blessings to the Conference. Archbishop Hallinan has followed up our invitation to Bishops to send their administrators, priests in charge of church related construction, directors of

diocesan organizations -- with an invitation of his own to the Southern Bishops.

Not only have approximately half of the 28 Bishops of the South agreed to send administrators, but thus far 8 of them have indicated a willingness to attend themselves. When we first started talking about this Conference a little over two years ago, we didn't even feel we had enough recognition to ask the Bishops to send lay representatives.

Since this will be the first Conference and since it is extremely important that it be successful, much of our time in the next four months will be consumed in preparations for it.

AIMS OF THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

1. To supply resources and encouragement to Bishops and to their administrators; either to desegrate all their facilities, or to speed up the pace if they have already started to desegregate. The example set by these dioceses is expected to have beneficial effects in the total community.

2. To supply the techniques to bring change to Southern Catholics and interracial councils already motivated.

3. To involve more deeply the missionary religious orders serving Negro Catholics in order that they might train Negroes for leadership roles and for full participation in the activities of their communities.

4. To hold workshops and panels on the problems of the Spanish speaking. These people comprise a substantial group within about a third of the area which we cover.

The Conference Program Planning Committee felt that our thinly staffed organization would make the most effective contribution in the total community by accelerating the strides to racial justice in all Catholic institutions, but especially in those with broadest community influence, such as hospitals, schools and general employment practices. And, the Committee has emphasized the need to work particularly in metropolitan areas with heavy Catholic population such as Houston, San Antonio, New Orleans, and Miami.

In addition to the institutional approaches mentioned above, we will strive to motivate and to provide information on techniques for action to Catholic businessmen, politicians, labor leaders, professional men and to the white power structure in order to implement principles of racial justice in their own spheres.

The Program planning Committee is composed of leaders of Civil Rights organizations in the South. Its chairman is Clarence Laws, Southwestern Director of NAACP and member of the Board of Directors of the National Catholic Conference.

SOUTHERN CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCILS - FORMAL AND INFORMAL

There are approximately five new areas -- Memphis, Tennessee; Birmingham, Alabama; Shreveport, Louisiana; Louisville, Kentucky; and Charleston, South Carolina, -- which are interested to some degree or other in forming Catholic Interracial Councils, and at least this many informal groups which are working on a particular project.

We believe in the long run that our efforts to get the Bishops to act vigorously in all areas of the Church and total community will eventually result in a greater enthusiasm on the part of the Catholic clergy and laity to participate in church and community interracial programs. Perhaps in Texas, which has a favorable climate, more resources, and a large number of Catholics, we may even aim at trying to staff a Council.

Most of my efforts have been spent trying to build a base upon which Councils could be established. In order to do this I have been trying to make racial justice as respectable as possible in as short a time as I could by reducing the number of dioceses in which no changes have been made. Now that this has been done in all except the dioceses of Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Lafayette, Louisiana; Alexandria, Louisiana; Jackson, Mississippi; and Mobile, Alabama; we hope to be able to devote more fruitful effort to develop Councils. Incidentally, these areas mentioned will be the most difficult in which to effect changes.

We are using as a guideline the method of operations which our Executive Director expressed in his August, 1962 report to the Board of Directors: "In the history of our movement there has been an assumption that we were committed to the creation of local organizations with relationships with the dioceses. I think that some of the work we have done in the last two years or so indicates that we can program in some areas without local organizations. A close look at our history, and at the recent work we have done also indicates to me that local organizations are not always called for; that even the form of local organizations can and in some places should vary from place to place; and that local organizations, especially in the South, might more readily grow out of other programs of ours than a deliberate effort to create a Council."

EMPLOYMENT

In my last report, one of our major aims was to encourage at least two Southern Ordinaries to adopt affirmative hiring policies in their Church related construction contracts. We have been successful in doing this with Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio and Bishop Reed of Oklahoma. They were actually the second and third Bishops in the entire nation to do this. At the moment these do not have the meaning that they would if a strenous effort on our part were made to implement them. However, we do know that in the Diocese of Oklahoma the attitude of an affirmative policy has caused the diocese to hire a Negro Catholic school teacher and a Negro secretary in the diocesan newspaper office. Questionnaires returned recently for the Southern Councils indicate a greater interest in this area than any other, except the regular publication of a newsletter to keep them informed.

CRISIS AREAS

Visits to areas in the midst of crisis haven't resulted in any accomplishments regarding the solving of the crisis, but there have been some desirable side effects, and we have had an opportunity to learn certain techniques which, in some future cases, will be helpful. There is one rule that is fairly applicable to these situations: where the diocese itself has begun to move in any way, there is a likelihood that the diocese will have appointed representatives to attempt to act as bridge-builders between the white and Negro communities and to try to effect changes in the total community.

Another important factor is that the Church in most of the South represents a very small percent of the population, and the prestige of the Church and the ability of its numbers to influence the community is somewhat in proportion to size. However, in some of the older sea coast cities, which are the seats of dioceses, such as, Savannah, Charleston, etc., prestige is greater than numbers alone would indicate. Keeping these factors in mind it might be well to review some of the more critical areas which we have visited either prior to or during crises.

Priests appointed by the dioceses or acting on their own in Charleston, South Carolina; Savannah, Georgia; Shreveport, Louisiana; and Mount Sterling, Kentucky have played fruitful roles in crises situations. I am in the process of gathering facts on what they have done to publish a pamphlet which I will then distribute to all Southern Bishops, Catholic Interracial Councils, etc.

Birmingham, Alabama

The helplessness felt by all of the Southern Intergroup agencies which met in September of 1963 regarding this particular area can be expressed by the minutes of their last meeting which read,

> "In a special evening session of discussion of the Birmingham situation, there were strong arguments to the effect that the usual intergroup relations don't apply; they have been employed in Birmingham without success for years."
>
> "Among actions deemed advisable by the Intergroup people for the federal "establishments" are: vigorous FBI activity -- "plants" in hate groups, for example -- to apprehend dynamiters and prevent further crimes; the ordering of federal troops into the area; tough, straight talk from the President to the area's key economic leaders, involving the use of economic thumbscrews. It was speculated that recent events are merely the prelude to the coming season, which South-wide will be one of new militancy and leading to violence. Segregationist reaction in Birmingham, Americus, Albany, Danville, Selma, is of a new breed; in countering it, neither moral nor economic approaches work."

Although our efforts in this area seemingly contributed little or nothing to the solution of the crisis, some beneficial results have accrued. I have met with clergymen working with white and Negro groups and encouraged them to form interracial councils to discuss these problems. According to latest reports from Birmingham, there were over 50 Negroes and whites of all faiths present at a regular weekly meeting, including six priests. Father Downey, SSJ, of Our Lady of Fatima parish, has invited the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee to meet several times in the parish. This has created a better understanding between this action group and the Church. I have also met with a member of the white Catholic power structure of Birmingham and have established a working relationship with him. Unfortunately, Archbishop Toolen did not respond to the request of the Catholic Negroes whom we encouraged to seek admission to the all-white Catholic schools either here, or in Mobile.

University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Violence seemed most likely to break out at this spot in the South immediately prior to the opening of the University. We called a meeting of the Steering Committee of the Southern Interagency Council and were responsible for representatives of each of the three faiths being present on opening day. The plan of action on which we decided was to have the representatives of each of the three faiths contact the chaplain or clergyman who was most closely connected with the University. As it turned out, the deciding factor in the situation was President Kennedy's decision to federalize the National Guard units so that Governor Wallace would not interfere with the Negro students.

In contrast to places like Birmingham with its hard core prejudice, Savannah, Georgia and other Southern towns have always been more tolerant and offer more possibilities for change.

Savannah, Georgia

Bishop McDonough impressed me as a man who was seeking guidance and felt a strong force of conscience to do something when I visited him in August of 1962. At my suggestion he evidenced a desire to move at the same time as Bishop Reh of Charleston, South Carolina, the adjoining diocese. I also met several times with a group of spirited Catholic Negroes in the area and encouraged them to seek admittance to all Catholic institutions.

Evidence of Bishop McDonough's desire to do something and the activity on the part of the Catholic Negroes can be seen by the fact that Bishop McDonough has opened his schools in all grades and his hospitals this Fall to all races. Not the least among his actions has been extremely constructive role as bridge-builder when Savannah experienced a series of demonstrations and outbreaks of violence this Summer. He appointed his secretary, Monsignor McDonald, and Monsignor Toomey to devote much of their time to try to persuade the white power structure to desegregate hotels, theatres, etc. and try to get Josiah Williams, leader of the Negro demonstrations, out of jail. Obviously he would not have been inclined to want to assume such a role if he weren't moving in his own institutions.

Albany, Georgia

I originally met with this group in the Spring of this year and supplied them with information as to what had been done in other areas and encouraged them to take a similar step in their own. When the diocese of Savannah, of which Albany is a part, announced its school desegregation policy this Summer, the Catholic schools in Albany admitted 15 Catholic Negroes despite the difficulties which the area had experienced.

This informal Catholic Interracial Council has many weaknesses in that all of its members have not developed the convictions which we would like to see. But despite this, some of these very people are continuing to work in this group even though they have been warned by their employers that they are in danger of losing their jobs should their interracial activities bring any difficulties to the businesses for which they work.

Charleston, South Carolina

Bishop Reh invited me to visit with him in August of 1962 after his elevation to a Bishopric. He was extremely interested in moving with Bishop McDonough at my suggestion in order to obtain as much support as possible when he desegregated the Catholic schools. This Fall he began desegregation of his Catholic schools and intends to complete it by next fall. His Chancery office has shown a great amount of interest in our Leadership Conference and has invited us to supply resource people for a Clergy Conference they are having this Spring, and to help with the formation of Catholic Interracial Councils throughout the diocese.

Again we see evidence of the Bishop's willingness to work constructively in crisis situations when he himself is moving in his own institutions. This Summer, Father Friend, appointed by the Bishop to handle crisis situations in the diocese, contacted me for information in regard to this.

Shreveport, Louisiana

Despite the fact that no changes are taking place in Catholic institutions in this diocese (Alexandria), Monsignor Bordelon of St. Joseph's parish, who is highly regarded by the Bishop and the community, has played a leading role in efforts to bring peace and achieve progress. Last February I visited him before a crisis erupted and urged him to try to organize the community. Since then an informal biracial committee has been formed and recently, when high school students demonstrated, Clarence Laws was able to call on Monsignor Bordelon and arrange three meetings with white and Negro leaders in Catholic institutions to discuss approaches to the problem. By the time you read this report, more serious trouble may have broken out in Shreveport and perhaps nothing short of the recommendations which were made for Birmingham and other areas will be the solution to the problem; however, we at least have the satisfaction of knowing that a leading Catholic clergyman is working with other religious leaders to promote peace and progress in the community.

Last month when I visited Shreveport again, I met with a group of white and Negro Catholics. Some of these people have been involved in Friendship House work. They promised to become more actively involved in interracial activities both within the total community and the Catholic community.

Mississippi

From the very beginning of our operation we have been working in Mississippi primarily with Auxiliary Bishop Brunini, who has been on the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council. He had encouraged us to try to find Catholics in Mississippi whom we could inform and encourage to work for interracial justice. He introduced us to several people with whom we have kept in touch and supplied information. One of these is the lady who is in charge of Catholic lay activity for the diocese. Because the climate has been so hostile in Mississippi, it has been very difficult for these people to find other Catholics with whom to work.

This Spring I met with a group of Catholic Negroes from the Mississippi Gulf Coast where the climate is somewhat more permissive than in the rest of the State. There were many Negroes in the group eager to do something. Our suggestion to attempt to register Negroes in Catholic schools and to seek admittance to other Catholic institutions was seized upon eagerly and 15 to 20 of them attempted this. Unfortunately, Bishop Gerow learned what we had done and the following letter indicates his feelings towards my working in his diocese. He also complained to NCWC, and it is possible that this has had some effect on our relations with NCWC.

BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
237 East Amite Street
Jackson, Mississippi
July 7, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

I have your letter of July 5.

I want to say first of all that I resent your coming into the Diocese and giving talks without consulting myself and without having learned from me what my policy is in the race question.

Secondly, I resent the fact that you spoke as you did. Immediately after your talk I have received several applications from colored people to enter our white schools. While eventually we are going to admit them I do feel that our white people should have a period of preparation beforehand, and this period of preparation we are going through now.

Since I feel that you have been imprudent in the past, I feel that I cannot trust you further, and therefore I ask you to stay out of Mississippi.

With every best wish, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Most Reverend R. O. Gerow
Bishop of Natchez-Jackson

Although we have not been given permission to resume work in the diocese, Mr. Ahmann had a very fruitful visit in Jackson, late in July, with Bishop Gerow, and many of his top administrators and officials.

We look forward to working again in the diocese of Natchez-Jackson.

OTHER AREAS OF INTEREST

Atlanta, Georgia

Reports from the Anti-Defamation League representatives who attended the last Ku Klux Klan meeting in Atlanta on August 31st indicated that the tone of the meeting was more anti-Catholic than anything else. Probably Archbishop Hallinan's vigorous actions on his schools and hospitals and President Kennedy's identification with the Civil Rights Bill have resulted in this. Unfortunately, the white Protestant community of Atlanta hasn't responded to pleas from the Catholic and Jewish communities to stand up more on the race issue. It is my understanding that there isn't a white Protestant minister in Atlanta who is willing to recommend, even confidentially, to his most select parishioners such things as Home Visits. Recently, when a Negro Baptist minister attempted to enter a white Baptist church in Atlanta and was prevented from doing so, he picketed the church. The white minister and the congregation brought charges against him and had him sentenced to 18 months in jail for disturbing the peace.

Archbishop Hallinan's desegregation of Catholic hospitals hasn't had the catalytic effect on the whole community it would have had if there were a substantial Catholic population. Even so, a representative of the American Jewish Committee in Atlanta has stated that Archbishop Hallinan's action has proven to the entire community that this could be done successfully in private hospitals.

Huntsville, Alabama

This year 22 white children enrolled in a formerly all-Negro Catholic school with a total attendance of 120. Two of the four PTA officers are white. The reason given me by the white parents, none of whom are from the South, for sending their children to the Catholic school is that they wanted to give them a Catholic education and this was the only school open to them.

Pensacola, Florida (part of the Mobile-Birmingham Diocese.)

You will undoubtedly remember the unsuccessful efforts of a Catholic Negro to register his child in a white Catholic school in my last report. Despite this discouraging outlook, Jack Sisson, with the cooperation of Dr. Boyd, a prominent Negro dentist, led a group which was successful in meeting with the white Catholic power structure. Eventually, Sisson and Boyd got the group to write a letter in January of this year to Archbishop Toolen requesting an audience to discuss racial justice in the entire Catholic community. Since then the Catholic schools of Pensacola have opened to all races and several Negro students attend Catholic High there, and one student is in a formerly all-white parochial grade school.

Lafayette, Louisiana

Even though Bishop Schexnayder told me over two years ago that he would welcome more complaints from the Catholic Negro community to give him an excuse to do something, I have had an extraordinarily difficult time getting this sort of action. Because, in Lafayette, there is a great amount of tolerance for a Deep South community, the Negro community didn't feel sufficiently motivated to start trying to improve their situation until very recently. After making many attempts to encourage various groups in Lafayette to start attempting to gain admittance to Catholic facilities, I finally found a priest, Father Kichak of Opelousas, Louisiana, who met with me and six Negro Catholics to discuss what they can do. Shortly after this, I received an invitation from the Opelousas NAACP, which is forming, to speak at a general meeting.

The Grail movement, which has a house and six girls in Lafayette, has been most eager to do something. I have been cooperating with them and have been instrumental in helping them secure a small foundation grant to assist with their Voter Registration Project. Because there are more Catholic Negroes (80,000) living in the diocese than any other diocese of the country, this is extremely important. Not only do we hope to encourage a large number to register in order to create a better political climate in the state, but there are prospects that some of the interest and energy will spill over into all Civil Rights fields in the area.

North Carolina

The National Conference on Religion and Race stimulated Bishop Waters into inviting me to North Carolina for a week to go with him to the five largest cities throughout the diocese to address the clergy and laity on Civil Rights. We addressed audiences of 50 to 125 in Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Asheville, and Charlotte, and talked to a group of his young priests. We encouraged them to form and strengthen the existing Councils in Raleigh and Durham and to work for racial justice in the total community.

Nashville, Tennessee

A spirited group of white and Negro Catholics skillfully brought together by George Barrett, our Board member from this area, have been meeting for more than six months quietly behind the scenes to effect changes. Despite the fact

that Nashville Catholic schools have been desegregated in principle since 1954, Negroes still have difficulty in gaining admittance to some. When Bishop Adrian was approached by a group about this subject, he rebuffed them. Taking the matter into their own hands, they wrote the Apostolic Delegate about the situation. Shortly after this Bishop Adrian apologized to those he had refused admittance and since then they have been admitted. This group is also responsible for the opening of the Catholic hospital and getting one of the Catholic high schools to permit Negroes to play on its basketball team.

Memphis, Tennessee

Here we find a group started originally by Catholic Negroes who have followed the same pattern as those in Nashville. When refused admittance to white Catholic schools by Bishop Adrian, they wrote the Apostolic Delegate, sending Bishop Adrian a copy. Shortly after this, all Catholic schools began desegregation from the first to the fourth grades. The same group then asked the pastor of a white church who was known to be sympathetic to interracial activities to start a Catholic interracial council. The pastor of this parish was able to involve some of his leaders in the project and this group has invited me to Memphis on several occasions.

New Orleans, Louisiana

This city continues to be one of contradictions. Whereas on one hand continued progress in the community is being made, efforts by the opposition have redoubled to interfere with further progress.

During the past year lunch counters have been desegregated, merit employment has begun in department stores and city administration, "Jim Crow" signs have been removed from all city buildings, and the desegregation of some hotels has begun. Tulane University has been desegregated; both public and Catholic school desegregation has been increased substantially and strife was eliminated at the opening of schools this year. Most of the above changes took place after Archbishop Rummel's dramatic move in opening the Catholic schools. This gave heart to others in the community to make changes.

On the other hand, the most versatile, imaginative segregationist in the whole South continues to pour talent, time and money into weekly radio programs, automatic telephone answering devices, the printing of his own newspaper entitled "The Catholic Warrior", the distribution of handbills and other attacks on the New Orleans Catholic Council -- including a threat to sue for having his segregationist organization, Parents and Friends of Catholic Children, banned from the air -- and, exhibiting of sympathy for those who bombed a school in Buras, Louisiana. Leander Perez is indeed a formidable opponent. In addition to this, although it was not directly his work, a priest was beaten up in Perez's parish (county) for instructing an integrated confirmation class. He exploited the publicity Archbishop Cody received by attending the National Conference on Religion and Race and has made it difficult for Archbishop Cody to effect changes.

Archbishop Cody continues to permit the Council to remain in existence but act only as a gatherer of information for him and as a source of information to interested Catholics, such as the one who called recently for techniques for

desegregating his three Frostop Stores. Nevertheless, the Council has been active behind the scenes in doing such things as being instrumental in getting the Chancellor to give the invocation for the largest peaceful demonstration to date in New Orleans, acting as a bridge between the white power structure and the Negro leaders, encouraging the officers and members to participate in other interracial activities, and initiating efforts to get Catholic Negro leaders to urge Archbishop Cody to open all Catholic institutions immediately. We predict that the Catholic hospitals will be desegregated within six months.

In his latest book, "The Negro Leadership Class", Dr. Daniel Thompson says that he believes that much of the credit for the desegregation of Catholic schools was attributable to the New Orleans Council. He states, "This summary action on the part of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, desegregating all of its schools, stands as the most significant gain Negroes have made in their all-out bid for equal, unsegregated education. It is particularly noteworthy that this decision was reached solely as a result of diplomatic negotiations between the Negro and white laymen and the Catholic hierarchy." Negro Civil Rights leaders are urging the Mayor to extend public school desegregation based on the successful efforts of the Catholic schools.

Jack Nelson, our vice-chairman, continues to stand out by his courageous actions. The most notable of these included being the first white in the South successfully to initiate and obtain the desegregation of a private, non-sectarian university (Tulane), and obtaining a court order permitting the Indians of Houma, Louisiana to attend formerly all-white schools.

CURSILLOS

We have sent literature about Cursillos to all Southern Catholic Interracial Council chaplains and residents, and to all Southern bishops, and replies from them indicate that they have begun to explore the possibilities of conducting Cursillos.

My own experience with a Cursillo earlier this year leads me to recommend them highly. It packs the same kind of punch as a successful Home Visit program but adds above this a strong spiritual motivation.

THANKS

We want to express our thanks and appreciation to Father Twomey, S.J. and the Institute of Industrial Relations without whose help we couldn't have gotten started. They gave us office space and clerical assistance without the expectation of any return.

(signed) Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

Special 1963-1964 Southern Field Service Program Goals
Adopted by the Board of Directors of the
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
November 17, 1963

1. Continued travel and mail service to Southern Catholic dioceses, as well as to Catholic Interracial Councils and similar organizations. Efforts will be made to expand the Conference organizational base in the South. Service and consultation will continue to be provided to ad hoc groups of Catholics interested in racial integration.

2. The SFS has scheduled a South-wide Leadership Conference in race relations for Atlanta in April/May, 1964. In addition to servicing affiliate Council leadership, the Conference will provide to administrators of all Catholic institutions -- hospitals, retreat houses, schools, diocesan organizations, social service programs -- opportunity to share information on successful desegregation. Workshops and clinics will present the success stories of administrators who have carried out vigorous programs for interracial justice, and develop program ideas to be implemented in Catholic institutions and organizations throughout the South.

   The leadership conference will provide special workshops for Bishops, administrators of diocesan programs, labor leaders, businessmen, professional men, politicians. These workshops will be conducted by those in the various leadership groups who have already provided leadership in race relations, as well as leaders of civil rights groups.

   Special efforts will be made in SFS programming to follow up the leadership training conference so as to produce the maximum results for racial integration. Services will be implemented, according to the needs expressed at the conference.

3. Concentration on the desegregation and implementation of interracial programs in Catholic hospitals, schools, Church related employment, as well as the use of the purchasing power of the Catholic Church; particularly in heavily Catholic metropolitan areas such as Houston, New Orleans and Miami. In these communities, particularly, action in the Catholic community will have a catalytic effect on the total community.

4. Continued provision of services to extend parochial school desegregation throughout the South. Four dioceses still maintain policies of school segregation, though impending change has been announced in one, and there are indications of movement in another. Parochial school desegregation has frequently touched off deeper commitment by the Catholic population to interracial justice, and affected the civil community as well.

5. Preparation of a report on Catholic action in racial crisis areas. A simple report detailing a range of possible actions, depending on resources, as well as a brochure or pamphlet on examples of successful Catholic initiatives in creative mediation will be developed.

6. Efforts will be expanded to work with Negro Catholics in the South, through parochial networks and heavily Negro fraternal organizations, in an effort to encourage Negro Catholic leadership to assist in the successful integration of the dual (separate Negro and white) parish system of the Catholic Church in parts of the South. The SFS will attempt to help those missionary orders of priests doing extensive Negro parochial work define specific program goals in this regard.

7. We will continue to seek out a priest to travel the South to provide race relations consultation.

8. Preparation of a special organizational, educational, fund-raising brochure for the Southern Field Service.

9. Preparation of a report on the dual parish system in the South, and the caste social system within the Church, with attention to program suggestions for breaking these patterns.

10. Increased public relations efforts designed to communicate success stories of Catholic involvement in securing racial integration in the South.

* * *

February 3, 1964

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Director, Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Thanks for your long and good letter re T2W. As to your questions, certainly it is never good to get a group of "hysterical parents" together anywhere. And the New Orleans decisions related generally to a unique situation at a unique time after an impressive array of hysterical women had dominated the scene. In general, a "head in the sand" approach seems to me unwise. Little Rock proved the classic example of this and new Tuskegee follows as an example of where some of us really goofed.

I quite agree with your comments about the broad spread, getting as much to happen as possible. I hope this is where you can make a unique contribution, bringing these special interests to bear in communities under question. Which reminds me, I hope we can have the school conference immediately after the Washington meeting.

We only have one copy of the report of the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee report. But you can get one by requesting it from them at Baton Rouge.

Look forward to seeing you on the 12th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

La. H Cab

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

January 28, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Congratulations on your "Transition without Tragedy". It is difficult to suggest anything which would improve on this as far as preapring a community to accept school desegregation or for that matter any type of desegregation.

There are a few comments which I would like to make which you have covered in your note that of course each area is different. In the desegregation of the remaining areas which are primarily hard-core, do you think it is desirable to get a group of hysterical parents together to escalate their fears? We found in the New Orleans Catholic school desegregation that our Public Relations committee, who were composed of members, public relations officers for corporations and hospitals and psychologists, recommended that there be no discussion of this prior to the opening of schools.

Unquestionably there are differences in the Catholic and public school systems, however what you might expect from a relatively enlightened parents group in Chattanooga would not necessarily apply to a group in Jackson, Miss. Perhaps I am mistaken in this and such meetings might be benefical.

Another thought that comes to my mind and I am sure that you are aware of it but were not able to put in such a book is that religious organizations should be encouraged to at least begin desegregation in their congregations, hospitals, schools, etc., rather than just ask for law and order. The broader this thing is spread, the better it will be, and it's pretty difficult to bring this point home on religous grounds if a particular faith only talks and doesn't act. I know this very well from some of the

unfortunate experiences which our own Church has had in similar circumstances. I realize, of course, that the degree of authority that can be exercised by those who wish to do this varies considerably according to their faith.

Paul, is it too difficult for you to send me copies of the Louisiana Unamerican Activities report on SCEF?

See you February 12.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

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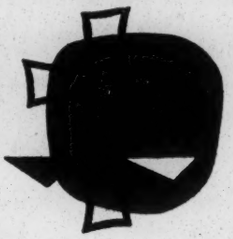
Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 • 523-2901



March 13, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

You are probably aware of the National Conference on Religion and Race's meeting April 13-15 in St. Louis. Originally I had intended to attend this conference, but because I will be visiting some of the key areas selected by the Southern Inter-agencies, it will be impossible for me to do so at that time.

However, would it be possible for us to appoint a representative from one of the religiously oriented agencies to attend this meeting to co-ordinate our plans with whatever the agencies attending the National Conference on Religion and Race are planning? If this is feasible, we might want to discuss at our meeting what information we should disclose and, even more important, what we should ask agencies outside of the South to do or not to do. Not that they would agree to this, but it might be well to at least inform them.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

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March 11, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Representatives of the Southern Inter-agencies present at our last meeting have asked me to investigate the possibility of including either Lafayette or Baton Rouge among the key cities for public accomodations. I contacted both Msgr. Sigur of Lafayette and Wade Mackie of Baton Rouge and feel the prospects are good in both places. However, the Negro community of Lafayette has been extremely docile and hasn't made the advances which the Negro community of Baton Rouge has. After giving the matter thorough consideration and discussing it with both of them, we decided that Baton Rouge, not Lafayette, should be included as a key city and subject to the approval of his organization, Wade Mackie has agreed to serve as the Co-ordinator.

You are probably knocking youself out preparing the material which you promised us, so it won't do much good for me to request that you send it out immediately. However, I have wired both Bishop Waters of Raleigh and Bishop Reh of Charleston for an appointment next week and I would like to be able to give them something on this, if possible, at that time.

See you at our Co-ordinators meeting.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

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National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 • 523-2901

March 5, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

You will find enclosed a copy of Business Week's Washington Outlook commenting on Civil Rights. It is in complete agreement with the information we have and the conclusions we reached at our last two meetings. Do you think that it might be beneifcal to send a copy of this to those who were at our meetings to re-enforce the convictions and the decisions?

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

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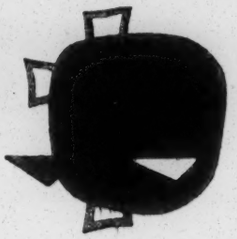

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

March 4, 1964

Rev. Mark Sterbenz, S.D.S.
St. Joseph's Mission
2300 Beasley Ave., N.W.
Huntsville, Ala.

Dear Father Mark:

Southern human relations agencies have selected a dozen key city where they think that the chances are best to implement a policy of public accomodations. Huntsville is one of these cities.

Mr. Monroe Schalctus of the Atlanta Anti-Defamation League was appointed Co-ordinator of all efforts for the Huntsville area and will probably contact you in the near future.

May I call on you alone or with some of the leaders of your parish, whichever you think is preferable to discuss what might be done in the Huntsville Catholic community to help this effort, the night of March 31?

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

Henry Cabirac

fl

cc: Mr. Monroe Schlactus

Washington outlook BW

February 29, 1964

Civil rights: looking ahead at enforcement

Key Administration officials and even leaders of the coming filibuster in the Senate generally assume that Congress will approve a broad, tough civil rights bill this year.

Opponents will fight hardest against the public accommodations and hiring regulations approved earlier this month by the House [BW Feb.15 '64,p28]. The House bill could be softened.

But the odds now favor strong legislation in both of these sensitive areas. Established business practices seem likely to be outlawed and not just in the South.

Officials who will be in charge of enforcement of any new law are already thinking about the problems they—and businessmen—will face after enactment.

One meeting with chain store executives, operators of chain hotels, motels, and others already has been held with Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy and his civil rights aides. Other informal conferences are scheduled to follow.

Business will be asked to take the lead

What officials fear most is widespread business defiance of new regulations, accompanied by stepped-up Negro militancy. The result could be new racial outbreaks, a flood of legal actions, an overload on enforcement agencies, serious losses to some businesses, and a hardening of attitudes generally.

One official puts the problem this way: "Transition can be smooth or it can be tumultuous and agonizing. We hope businessmen will help us make it smooth."

The Administration wants to avoid the development of a Prohibition-type psychology toward the law—the feeling that enforcement will be lax and violations easy.

Here are some of the ideas that will be suggested to businessmen in Southern and border states: Take down any "white only" signs that may still be up in their establishments; abolish segregated restrooms; use titles of respect such as "Mr." and "Mrs." in dealing with Negro customers; impress on local news media the importance of a smooth transition; establish direct contact with Negro students of college age who are most likely to become leaders of demonstrations.

Adjusting to new anti-bias hiring rules

The fair employment practices part of any new law will probably affect businesses in every part of the country, not the South alone.

It will be suggested that businessmen can aid the adjustment by taking such steps as these: Abolish separate job classifications for Negroes; break up all-Negro work units; be sure unions do not practice discrimination regarding seniority and promotion lists; appoint qualified Negroes as foremen; closely supervise executives responsible for personnel practices; organize or join community antidiscrimination committees.

A special effort will be asked of businessmen to place qualified Negroes in white-collar jobs.

Top management will be urged to take a blunt "no-nonsense" attitude when ordering subordinates to make changes in existing practices.

NCCIJ

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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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April 22, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

You will find enclosed a copy of my resume which you requested. I would appreciate you keeping me in mind for a job which you think might fit my skills.

Thanks for your interest.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

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HENRY A. CABIRAC, JR.
6211 South Tonti Street
New Orleans, La. 70125

I am presently employed as the Executive Director of the Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and of the Southern Field Service of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Both of these are race relations organizations. The former is the offical organization of the New Orleans archdiocese and the latter is the national lay organization working in the field.

My job experience is unusual because it combines race relations with business where for 13 years I dealt with owners, architects, engineers, contractors, sub-contractors and material suppliers. I would like to continue in human relations work where I could make the maximum use of my past experience.

As Executive Director of the New Orleans Catholic Council, with whom I have been associated since February 1961, I have been responsible for initiating and implementing programs to promote racial justice in the total community and in Catholic Church facilities such as schools, hsopitals, employment, retreat houses, and parish and diocesan organizations. I work with religious leaders of all faiths, business and professional men, labor leaders, public officals and Civil Rights leaders. My duties with the Southern Field Service, by whom I was employed in July 1961, are similar to those with the Council and cover 14 Southern states.

I am responsible in part for the acceleration of the desegregation of Southern Catholic institutions. This includes the Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New Orleans and persuading several Southern Bishops to be the first Southern churchmen to make use of the Church's purchasing power for merit employment.

Prior to working for my present employers, I was Vice-president of a mechanical contracting firm from 1948 to 1961. My duties were: (1) labor negotiations and personnel management; (2) sales; and (3) purchasing and awarding contracts.

Personnel management and labor negotiations--My job was to screen and hire engineers, clerical personnel, plumbers, steam fitters, refrigeration mechanics and warehousemen. Our total labor force at times reached 50.

I served on contractors committees negotiating new contracts with the union. I ironed out labor disputes in a 3 state area and a dispute which arose with the national headquarters of one union. It was necessary to go to Washington to settle this dispute.

Sales--I was responsible for promoting and selling contracts for the installation of plumbing, heating, air conditioning, refrigeration, ventilation, industrial piping, power houses, sewer disposal plants, etc, in a 3 state area. This required a knowledge of the market and maintaining favorable contacts with owners, architects, engineers, and general contractors. During the 9 year period annual sales increased from $100,000 to $900,000. The largest single contract I sold was $440,000.

Purchasing--It was my job to secure the most favorable prices and delivery on plumbing, heating, air conditioning, ventilating, sewerage disposal equipment and services and to award purchase orders and subcontracts for these.

Presently I am a member of the Steering Committee of the Southern Interagency Committee which is a clearing house for 50 regional and national human relations organizations working in the South. President Kennedy invited me to the meeting called in the summer for religious leaders to discuss approaches to achieving racial harmony in Southern communities.

Military Service

U.S. Navy, 1944-1946, Classification and Demobilization interviewer. My job as classification interviewer was to classify and assign men to jobs best suited to their interests and aptitudes. As demobilization interviewer, I was responsible for explaing the benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights to men being discharged and counseling them on their applications.

Education

Grammar school--Public schools in New Orleans

High school --St. Aloysius of New Orleans

College --Tulane University, B.A. of Business Administration, 1947
Human Relations & Group Dynamics, National Training Laboratories, U. of Southern Utah, 1963.

Personal

I am married with 3 children, 39 years old and a Catholic. My wife is a graduate of Loyola University School of Medical Technology. I served a term as a member of the American Cancer Society Board of Directors.

Social

Member of Alhambra Carnival organization and Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity.

BP-?

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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he was active 1/4/64 - arrested

SNCC - Selma -

May 22, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

In your listings of Southern violence, have you included the shooting and death of James Austin in Selma, Alabama in January, 1964?

Will see you next time I am through Atlanta.

Yours sincerely,

Jack

John P. Sisson
Director

fl

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

May 25, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Just a reminder to you to write to Bishop Gerow urging the integration of Catholic schools and giving some evaluation of the possible effect which that might have on the school situation and race relations in general in Mississippi. You might point out the experiences of other desegregations in the South, perhaps especially that of the parochial schools in Alabama.

The letter doesn't have to be long. It is meant to be one of a series of urgings to Bishop Gerow to make up his mind to go ahead with his desegregation.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson
Director

fl

May 27, 1964

Mr. John P. Sisson
Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Jack:

Your note re James Austin is confusing. Our research department reports that Austin was arrested in Selma on January 4, but that he is very much alive, still in Selma working for SNCC.

Could it be someone else?

Was good to see you in Mississippi.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

La NCCIJ

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street · New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 · 523-2901

July 13, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

I will be in Atlanta on the evening of June 28th to take part in a meeting with John Morris. It appears that we will have some time free on the morning of the 29th and on the afternoon of the 30th.

Confidentially, I was disappointed in the meeting of the La. CHR in Baton Rouge on Saturday. The meeting was held in spite of the fact that the nominating committee had not done its work. Personally, I felt that the meeting should have been called off. About 50 people attended and most of them were interested in what they could do in their local areas rather than in a 3 hour reading and adopting of the constitution. I had gone primarily to meet the Board and Officers and so was disappointed at the outcome of the meeting. The election will be on Sept 12th, I believe

Please let me know, if you can, whether you will be in town and when so that I might make some appointments to meet some of our people up there.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson
Director

fl

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La - NCCIJ

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street · New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 · 523-2901

July 18, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Benjamin Muse sent me a summary of his visit with Bishop Gerow. Although his own impression, as you told me, was that he did not feel convinced that Gerow would move to open the schools this Fall, I still feel that it is necessary to continue to supply Bishop Gerow with information and contacts which will urge him, with all prudence, to formulate a plan for the Fall. To this end, I have continued to try to get the right kinds of people to call on the Bishop or write.

I feel that it is helpful for him to hear from various sources what his expectations might be if he opens the schools at the same time the public schools are opened. For example, in Alabama Governor Wallace went on record saying that the Catholic schools are private and that the state had no right to interfere with their decisions and actions. In both New Orleans and Alabama, I think there had been some fear of government reprisals in taking away free lunch programs, textbooks and in other ways causing financial loss to the parochial schools. Anything that you can say to Gerow which would evaluate the possibility of this threat with his institutions would be helpful.

Then too the usual plea of Church action in helping the rest of the community is a valid one, particularly coming from a reliable source such as Southern Regional Council.

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

Anything that you can do to keep reliable information and encouragement going to Bishop Gerow will be of decided help to the whole state of Mississippi. As you know, the decision rests with the Bishop.

If you are going to Mississippi anytime within the next six weeks, by all means plan to set aside time to see Gerow. It is as simple as asking either his appointment secretary or Father Bernard Law to arrange an appointment time.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson

fl

P.S. As you probably know, either from a letter that I wrote (or from John Morris), I will be in Atlanta on the evening of the 28th to draw up an agenda for our meeting starting about noon on the 29th. I will have some time, as I believe I indicated, on the morning of the 29th or on the afternoon of the 30th if you will be available.

NCCIJ

July 20, 1964

Mr. John P. Sisson
Director
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Jack:

It looks as if July 29--all day--will be fine for me. I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

MY

July 28, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

In looking at a copy of your report on Memphis, I was reminded that we have a Catholic Interracial Council there which got going last Fall and is doing a very good job.

Enclosed is a list of our Catholic Interracial Councils over the country, including the South, and a list of our key contact people which should be very useful to you as you travel about the South. The degree of commitment of these key contacts as well as the intimacy of our relationship varies considerably, but I am sure that any of them would be approachable by you.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

John P. Sisson, Director

fl

enc

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Mr. Mathew Ahmann

#578

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCILS May, 1964

Issued by
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago, Illinois 60610

* non-affiliated

Washington, D.C.

Dr. C. Joseph Nuesse, Pres., Dept of Sociology, Cath. U. of Amer. 265-0011
Rev. George V. Joyce, Chap., 1357 E. Capitol

* ARCHBISHOP'S COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS
Most Rev. John S. Spence, Dir., 1721 Rhode Island Ave.,N.W.
AD 4-8000

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Rev. Joseph Quinn, Chap., 2630 Ridge Rd.

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Walter Hook, Pres., 1860 Altamira Place
Rev. J. Walshe Murray, Chap., 1002-18th St., Imperial Beach

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James McDonald, Pres., 2 Pine St. DO 2-3497
Rev. Eugene J. Boyle, Chap., 250 Oakgrove, Menlo Park DA 5-0515

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* CATHOLIC HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF LOS ANGELES
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Rev. Francis Deevy, Chap., Fairfield Univ., Fairfield, Conn. CI 9-8313

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Rev. Leonard Tartaglia, Chap., 5 Clark St. 522-3864

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Rev. Peter J. Gerety, Chap., 136 Dixwell Ave. 624-9944

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Albany

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Rev. Marvin LeFrois, Chap., P.O. Box 1088, HE 6-3394

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCILS - 2

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IOWA	
Clinton	* Edwin Michl, Pres., 734 5th Ave.,S. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Ambrose Burke, Chap., 516 Ninth Ave., S.
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Topeka	* Rev. John Quinlan, Chap., 3601 W. 17th St.
Wichita	* Rev. Eugene J. Roble, Chap., P.O. Box 216, Cunningham, AX 8-2821
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Columbus	Leon Ransom, Pres., 210 Sherborne Rev. Augustine Winkler, Chap., 1054 Oberlin Drive
Lorain County	* Thomas Peters, Pres., Box 255, Palace Theatre Bldg. CH 4-1889
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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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Mathew Ahmann

DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

August 3, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Last week I discussed with you my deep concern over the situation in St. Augustine, based primarily on a visit there July 22-23. This concern is based primarily on the open activity and co-operation of a number of "hate" organizations and the absence of any apparent leadership in the community to reduce the tension within which the "hate" groups operate.

The Daytona Beach paper of July 22 told that "St. Augustine has become the unoffical headquarters for the National States Rights Party...". The NSRP candidate for President is John Casper; for Vice-president, J.B.Stoner of the KKK in Atlanta; and the "prime mover on behalf of the NSRP in (the local counties) is Hoss Manucy, leader of the Ancient City Gun Club and other organizations involved in recent racial disorders in St. Augustine. He heads a tight knit group of members armed with two-way radios, an internal police force, and a secret service organization, which, until now, has defied detection."

"Stoner and his associates are apparent determined to make St. Augustine an example of how they would 'handle the Negro situation'."

Stoner as well as Connie Lynch of California, a firey segregationist speaker, have been meeting regularly in St. Augustine. In addition to the above, Leander Perez of Louisiana, we know from local sources, has been invited to speak in St. Augustine and would have already been there had he not injured his foot.

It seems to me that special efforts should be made to reduce the conflict there and to make the place as unattractive for these anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish organizations as is possible.

One hopeful sign which I have read of in the last week, is the arrest of certain of the KKK leadership there on charges of holding unathorized public gatherings; but more than this, I am afraid, is necessary.

Sincerely yours,

Jack (fl)

John P. Sisson
Director

fl

PHONE 866-6649

HENRY A. CABIRAC JR.

6211 SOUTH TONTI STREET NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

October 20,1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

How have you been? Since I haven't visited Atlanta recently I miss seeing most of my friends working in the intergroup field.

Paul I'm still looking for the right job in human relations. I turned down a job for the Youngstown, Ohio Commission and the Catholic Council in Omaha, Nebraska largely because I didn't want to brave the harsh winters.

Do you know of any openings in the South, the Southwest or West coast? Tell everyone hello for me.

Yours sincerely

Henry

Henry A. Cabirac,Jr.

November 12, 1964

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
6211 South Tonti Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Your letter of October 20 has gone unanswered until now because I was out of the office during most of October.

Certainly I will keep your needs in mind.

While I doubt your interest, you should know the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is looking for a director. Besides being a very rough spot, the position could offer little security (a guarantee of only one year) and not a great salary ($8,000 probably). But, should you be interested you might write the president, The Rev. Duncan Gray, Jr., P. O. Box 266, Oxford, Mississippi. As you know, Father Law of Jackson is also very involved in the direction of MCHR.

Keep me informed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

L WP
BP

BP in the mail

December 29, 1964

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D.C.

RE: 1964 Staff Report on Public Education

Gentlemen:

Upon perusing the 1964 Staff Report I notice that Escambia County, Florida is not included although the schools there in Pensacola were ordered desegregated after four years of legal delay in 1962. And the Catholic parochial schools were integrated there in 1963. I have noticed this lack of infomation in Southern Regional Council reports as well as in other places and would like to "straighten the record."

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson, Director
Southern Field Service
Member, La. Advisory Committee
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Paul, pretty snippy, eh?

fl

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council

May 18, 1965

Mr. Jack Sisson
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Jack:

Many thanks for your listing of Councils in the April newsletter. I hope each state Counnil got a copy.

Good to know you will be here Monday.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 • 523-2901

DIRECTOR
John P. Sisson

April, 1965

"Let us quit working for our Negro brother. Let us start working with him. It is not enough that we ourselves have not discriminated against our neighbors; we must take positive action to break down the vast, accumulated machinery of discrimination which has, to our shame, been built into the institutions of our contemporary American society."

BISHOP JOSEPH A. DURICK
Auxiliary, Diocese of Nashville
March 21, 1965

Speeches and presentations like those given by Bishop Durick, Msgr. Josiah Chatham, and Father Harold Perry highlighted the convention sponsored by NCCIJ, held in Memphis in mid-March. Enthusiasm ran high at this first convention of its kind to be held in the South. All Southern states were represented. The 225 attendees included 30 nuns and 50 priests.

The proceedings of this convention including workshop presentations and a special institute for nuns will be printed in the next issue of SOCIAL DIGEST. Copies may be obtained for fifty cents (payment in stamps acceptable); bulk rates will be available. Send your order now to the above address so that enough copies may be printed.

* * *

VISTA — Volunteers In Service To America — is one of the programs under the Economic Opportunity Act. Volunteers will spend a year of service in rural and urban areas, helping people to help themselves. For information in the New Orleans area phone 945-5556; or nationally, write Mr. Leo Kramer, Director of the Division of Recruitment for VISTA, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20506.

* * *

An excellent way to participate in bettering human relations in your state is to become a member of your state Council on Human Relations (CHR). Listed below are the chairmen:

Nat Welch
Alabama CHR
2809 Governors Dr., S.W.
Huntsville, Ala.

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Florida CHR
356 S. Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dr. James Oliver
Louisiana CHR
P.O. Box 2992
Lafayette, La. 70501

Dr. T. Franklin Williams
North Carolina CHR
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N.C.

Martha Ragland
Tennessee CHR
1106 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tenn.

Rev. Walter B. Clancy
Arkansas CHR
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Ark.

Dr. Joe Hendricks
Georgia CHR
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Rev. Duncan Gray, Jr.
Mississippi CHR
306 First Federal Bldg.
Jackson, Miss.

Rev. Fred Reese
South Carolina CHR
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, S.C.

David Scull
Virginia CHR
17 East Cary Street
Richmond, Va.

* * *

Summer Educational Opportunities:

June 14-July 23, 1965. Human Relations Workshop. Springhill College, Mobile, Alabama. For information: Rev. Albert Foley, S.J., Springhill College, Mobile, Alabama.

June 26-August 21, 1965. Project on Voter Registration and Citizenship Education. Louisburg, North Carolina. Fee $150; minimum age 18. For information: American Friends Service Committee, Inc., 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

June 28-July 10, 1965. Human Rights in the Great Society. 22nd Annual Institute of Race Relations. Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. Fee $80. For information: Fisk University.

July 26-July 31, 1965. The Community and Human Relations. 7th Annual Human Relations Seminar. Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies, Oklahoma Center for Continuing Education, Norman, Oklahoma. Fee $20. For information: Human Relations Center, 1700 Asp Avenue, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.

August 1-August 20, 1965. 8th Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky. Sponsored by the National Student Association, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303. Registration closed.

August 26-August 29, 1965. The Human Face of Poverty . . . Challenge to Interracial Action. Omaha, Nebraska. For information: John Butler, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, 21 West Superior Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

JOIN A LOCAL CATHOLIC HUMAN RELATIONS GROUP BY CONTACTING:

William Bell
1515 E. Osborn Road
Phoenix, Arizona

W. T. Kelly
5423 Maryland
Little Rock, Arkansas
Fr 5-7334

Rev. John Kiernan, S.S.J.
1301 N.W. 71st Street
Miami, Florida
759-2369

Rev. Paschal Bante, O.S.B.
St. Leo Abbey
St. Leo, Florida

Gerard E. Sherry
2699 Peachtree Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.
231-1281

George Miner
612 Elm Street
Covington, Ky.

Dr. James Oliver
P.O. Box 2992
Lafayette, La.
Ce 4-7321

C. C. Jaubert
536 Kirby Street
Lake Charles, La.

Charles Driscoll
309 Sunshine Bldg.
Albuquerque, N.M.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Hugh Dolan
2210 N. Elm Street
Greensboro, N.C.

J. C. Kennedy
Security Bank Bldg.
Lawton, Oklahoma

Carl B. Shelby
Route 3, Box 10-B
Muldrow, Oklahoma
(CIC of Fort Smith, Ark.)

Dr. Louis Bernard
2218 N. Eastern
Oklahoma City, Okla.
Ga 7-2488

Mrs. C. M. O'Brien
1238 Lenevar Drive
Charleston, S.C.

Wm. J. Starr
7225 Wellswood Lane
Knoxville, Tennessee

Miss Margaret Dichtel
P.O. Box 4524
Memphis, Tennessee
525-1681

George Barrett
618 Stahlman Bldg.
Nashville, Tennessee
244-2202

Herman Neusch
3706 N. Lamar
Austin, Texas

Rev. Charles Ternes
P.O. Box 4091
Beaumont, Texas

J. H. Kultgen, Jr.
4121 Normandy
Dallas, Texas
La 6-0278

Mrs. E. L. Dorsey
607 Jones Street
Fort Worth, Texas

Rev. Vincent Rizzotto
1700 San Jacinto St.
Houston, Texas
Ca 4-5461

Bill Kernan
9411 Nona Kay
San Antonio, Texas
Ta 2-9683

Joseph S. Wholey
4419 N. Vacation Lane
Arlington, Va.

John B. Jonak
328 Middle Street
Portsmouth, Virginia

Jack D. Etz
P.O. Box 3123
Richmond, Virginia

* * *

In late July a workshop open to all on rural cooperatives and credit unions will be held at the Loyola Institute of Human Relations, New Orleans, Louisiana. Sponsored by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference and the United States Department of Agriculture. Write NCRLC, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C.

* * *

The Deep South Writers and Artists Conference will be held at the University of Southwestern Louisiana in Lafayette, Louisiana, June 12-13, 1965. Attendance of artists and writers in the South is encouraged. For information, write Dr. Mary Dichmann, English Department, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette, Louisiana.

* * *

On May 7, 1965 the United States Commission on Civil Rights will sponsor a one day meeting on Title VI (Non-Discrimination in Federally Assisted Programs) of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This meeting, to be held in Dallas, will be for the Southwest Region, involving Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas. Those invited are urged to attend.

* * *

The New Orleans branch of the NAACP will hold a one day conference on Title VII (Equal Employment Opportunity) of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Xavier University May 15, 1965. For information, contact Ernest N. Morial, President, New Orleans NAACP, 1821 Orleans Avenue, phone 947-3027.

* * *

Organizations interested in civil rights would do well to subscribe to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights MEMO, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., $3 annually.

* * *

"The shape of tomorrow's world depends on our conduct . . . the world has grown too small for racial segregation."

VERY REVEREND HAROLD R. PERRY, S.V.D.
Memphis, March 20, 1965

Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans, La. 70113

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Atlanta Ga 30303

Rec'd 6/7/65

Nat'l Cath Conf.

PA

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
1046 BARONNE STREET, SUITE 2
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70113
JUNE 4, 1965

Committee:

Mr. Gerard Sherry
Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S.
Rev. Andrew Young
Mr. Mathew Ahmann
Mr. Harold Hunton
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edw. W. O'Rourke
Very Rev. Harold R. Perry, S.V.D.
Rev. Eugene P. McManus, S.S.J.
Rev. Bernardine Patterson, O.S.B.
Miss Margaret Roach
John P. Sisson

cc: Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan

From: John P. Sisson

Re: Program Planning Committee meeting on Thursday, June 3, 1965 held in Southern Regional Council office, Atlanta, Georgia for Southern Catholic Leadership Conference

Absent: Dunbar, Rev. Young(Miss Cotton represented him), Msgr. O'Rourke, Miss Roach.

Father Cronin reported that NCWC could not cosponsor this meeting.

Miss Margaret Roach has been freed from her duties with the National Council of Catholic Women to act as conference coordinator starting June 21.

Invitations to the conference will be sent to Ordinaries (by Archbishop Hallinan) to diocesan officals and policy makers (lay and religious) of various religious organizations and in the civil community. A special effort will be made to assure that Negro Catholic leaders come from as many dioceses as possible.

The main speakers and panelists will be contacted before the next program committee meeting on Monday, June 14 (details below).

The committee completed consideration of five major presentation areas, the selection of main speakers and alternates, and panelists. The next meeting will deal with the structuring and handling of work groups, clinics, and the time schedule of the convention.

It was suggested that Archbishop Hallinan would be the ideal keynote speaker. However he was also first choice to give the paper in the opening presentation (Sherry will persuade with His Excellency).

Presentation #1 - The Church in Society would consider at least the following: pastoral concerns; working with the Negro and not for him; race relations in its ecumencial aspects; relation of the church to society; reaction of other denominations to Catholic activity in the public sphere; the double parish system; some evaluation of the usual diocesan structure and policy and their adequacy in meeting the present problems of human relations; it should suggest some necessary special measures and emphases. Speakers in order of preference:

1. Archbishop Hallinan
2. Father Bernard Cooke, S.J.
   (Father Bernard Haaring)
3. Father Gremillion

Father Leonard, S.S.J.
Father Fichter, S.J.
Msgr. Higgins, NCWC
Father Joe Connolly, Baltimore
Msgr. Tracy Ellis
Msgr. Roy Rihn, San Antonio
Msgr. Marvin Bordelon, Shreveport

Panelists in order of preference:

1. Father Bernard Cooke
2. Jean Fairfax
3. Mary Varilla

Rev. John Morris, ESCRU
Father Leonard, S.S.J.
Les Dunbar, SRC
C. T. Vivian, SCLC
Father Ouellet, S.S.E.
Sister Jacqueline, St. Louis

Presentation #2 - Understanding of change. This will deal with change in economics, civil rights legislation, the Negro movement itself, and poverty programs as well as the basic conditions which brought about the unrest and need for change.

Suggested speakers in order of preference:

1. Ralph McGill, The Atlanta Constitution
   (or Eugene Patterson)
2. Whitney Young

Leslie Dunbar
Vivian Henderson, Fisk economist and new president of Atlanta University
Governor Leroy Collins
Virginia Dabbs, president SRC
Robert Penn Warren
Percy Walker
Martin Luther King
Dr. Herman Long
Leon Keyserling(controversial)

Panel members in order of preference:
1. Les Dunbar (Frances Pauley)
2. Msgr. O'Rourke (rural)
3. Hyman Bookbinder (economics)
4. Andy Young (movement)
Dr. Earl Williams
Dr. Whitney Young
Norman Francis
R. Sargent Shriver
Jack Conway
Father McKnight
Dave Dennis, CORE
Dr. Silver (Closed Society)
Mrs. Joe Yancey (Sherry)
Sister Mary Leo
Dr. Banjamin Mays

(In talking with Les Dunbar after the meeting, I gathered these observations: Patterson was probably more up to date than McGill; that Dabbs is an effective speaker; and that he would recommend Frank Smith (Six times Mississippi U.S. Representative now with TVA in Knoxville or Chatanooga) over anyone we had listed).

Presentation #3 - Presentation of various structured approaches dealing with human relations demands in various localities (it may be wise to have a second presentation on this topic). The basic aim here is the explication of needed diocesan policies; and the idea of teamwork or helpful organization to implement policy; also to examine what resources exist within church and community to be harnessed. The question of the double parish system might be raised but would be better dealt with fully under presentation #5.

Speakers in order of preference:

1. Bishop Coleman Carroll, Miami
2. Archbishop Hallinan

Panel members in order of preference:
1. Father Francis Doyle(Chairman of St. Louis Archdiocesan Commission on Human Rights)
2. Father John McCarthy, Houston, Chairman of Community Relations Committee
3. Ahmann or Sisson
4. Father John Cronin

Presentation #4 - Communication of the Negro movement for civil rights and human dignity especially in the South and covering the ideas of legalism, psychology of activism, motivation, why are the people and the leader the way they are, theories of non-violence vs. violence,

examination of the unrest and frustration that characterizes the Negro community, the relationship of Negroes to the church, an explanation of the different civil rights groups and how their strategies vary. We would also like to cover what produces Negro leadership, who picks the leaders, and racism in general.

Major speakers would be:
Rev. James Bevel (why we can't wait)
Bayard Rustin (philosophy of non-violence)
Ahamann and Sisson will investigate the possibility of having C. T. Vivian speak on tactics.

In this particular presentation it was felt that a panel was not needed if you have two or three main speakers. However, other names suggested to cover various aspects of the topic were:
Dr. Kenneth Clark (unrest and frustration of the Negro)
Julian Bond
John Lewis
Jim Foreman
Dr. King
James Farmer
Roy Wilkins
Rev. Andrew Young
Howard Zinn

Presentation #5 (this had not been considered in previous discussions about program) deals with problems of segregation in the church, perhaps especially relating to religious orders (male and female) and would deal with vocations, the clarification of policy as regards race relations within orders and the actions that have been taken or might be taken to implement these policies. Undoubtly involved in this is the consideration of the relationship of orders to dioceses.
Presentation by:
Father O'Dea, S.S.J.
Father Perry, S.V.D.
Perhaps someone to make a presentation for female religious

Panelists might include someone from Houston (where they are abolishing non-territorial parishes), Father Bernard Law, Jackson, Mississippi and a white diocesan pastor who is facing the problems of a parish changing from white to Negro.

Ahmann and Sisson will arrange to have all Negro civil rights organizations represented at least in clinics.

While the clinics undoubtedly will not be able to go into adequate detail (for example, schools, hospitals) the idea will be brought into the work groups (or into the abbreviated clinics) of planning for another conference to deal specifically with the interest of these groups.

Sherry is holding a meeting of the local arrangements committee on June 7 and Sisson will supply them with the necessary outlines to guide their work. 140 rooms have been reserved for July 29/31 at the Atlanta Hilton Inn(at the airport).

The program committee will meet next on Monday, June 14, 10:30a.m. to 5:00p.m. at St. Augustine High School
1911 Law Street
New Orleans, Louisiana
Phone: 943-6593

If you want me to make reservations for you I would be glad to do so.

fl

SOUTHERN CIC PRESIDENTS AND CHAPLINS

Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Frank Duff
6205 H Street
Little Rock, Ark. 72005

Rev. William Galvin
6300 Lee Street
Little Rock, Ark.

New Orleans, La.

Mr. C. Ellis Henican
1831 Octavia St.
New Orlean,s, La.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles Plauche
1307 Louisiana Ave.
New Orleans. La.

Raleigh, N.C.

Rev. Jerome Tierney, O.P.
St. Monica's Rectory
1109 New Bern Ave.
Raleigh, N.C.

Albany, Ga.

Mr. Philip Farkas
P.O. Box 549
Albany, Ga.

Fr. Marvin LeFreis
421 Edgewood Lane
P.O. Box 1088
Albany, Ga.

Richmond, Va.

Mr. Robert Clarke
305 Overbrook Road
Richmond, Va.

Rev. John J. McMahon
St. Jospeh's Villa
Richmond, Va.

Pensacola, Fla.

Dr. William Boyd
~~10~~ 1700 North Davis St.
Pensacola, Fla.

Mobi le, Ala.

Dr. C.J. Hazuer
474 East Creek Circle Drive
Mobile, Ala.

Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. & Mrs. Virgil Harris
1056 West First St.
Birmingham 4, Ala.

Fr. Paul A. Downey
1327 Sixth Avenue South
Birmingham, Ala.

Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. G. Albert Lawton
Georgia Interantional Life Ins. Co.
P.O. Box 6036
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Fr. Albert Foley, S.J.
Springhill College
Mobile, Ala.

San Antonio, Texas

Miss Theresa Staudt
111 Hot Wells Blvd.
San Antonio 10, Texas

Miss Katherine Beverly
1010 Wyoming St.
San Antonio, Texas

Rt. Rev. Msgr. James Boyle
120 Arcadia Place
San Antonio, Texas

Lafayette, La.

Dr. James Oliver
USL
Lafayette, La.

Rt. Rev. Msg.r Alexander Sigur
USL Station Box 532
Lafayette, La.

Houston, Texas

Mr. Vincent Williams
5307 Austin, St.
Houston, Texas

Charleston, S.C.

Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph L. Bernadin
119 Brae d St.
Charl eston 4, South C^rolina

Oklahom City, Oklahoma

Mr. A. W. Kavanaugh
P.O. Box 3868 N.W. Station
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Rev. John P. Vrana
St. Francis de Sales Seminay
Route 10, Box 766
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Greensbore, N.C.

Mr. Robert C. Ford
910 North Elm St.
Greensbore, N.C.

Rt. REv. Msgr. Hugh Dolan
2210 North Elm St.
Greensbore, N.C.

Charlotte, N.C.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Gable
Our Lady of Consolation Church
P.O. Box 10604
Charlotte, N.C.

Dallas, Texas

Mr. Arthur Horkum
c/o Mr. Clarence Laws
2600 Flora St.
Dallas, 4, Texas

Msgr. William F. O'Brien
2215 Ross Avenue
Dallas, Texas

Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. & Mrs. Robert Haragan
713 Greenridge Lane
Louisville, Ky.½

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alfred F. Horrigan
Bellermine College
Louisville, Ky.

Memp his, Tenn.

Mr. Dino J. Chiozza
1019 Avalon St.
Memphis, Tenn.

Fr. Jospeh Leppert
1644 Jackson Boulevard
Memlhis 7, Tenn.

Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. George E. Barrett
Stahlmann Building
Nashville, Tenn.

Alexandria, La.

Mr. Douglas Brockhurst
Maryhill Retreat House
Route 2
Pineville, La.

Bilexi, Miss.

Dr. J.O. Tate, D.D.S.
3108 Nineteenth St.
Gulfport, Mississippi

COPY

THE CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

OF

THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS

PRESENTS

A PLAN FOR ACHIEVING CHRISTIAN RACIAL JUSTICE AND CHARITY

A PLAN FOR ACHIEVING
CHRISTIAN RACIAL JUSTICE AND CHARITY

I. Objectives:

a. To promote good relationships among peoples of all races in the Archdiocese of New Orleans;

b. To make known the teachings of the Catholic Church on matters of interracial justice and charity, particularly as summarized by all of the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops throughout the United States in their statement issued in 1958 and entitled "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience"; and the application of these principles to everyday living experiences;

c. To work in cooperation with public and responsible private agencies, in strengthening the fabric of America's Democratic way of life through the promotion of good human relations and;

d. To exhort all of the clergy, religious and laity to offer their daily prayers, good works and sacrifices for the peaceful and charitable solution of all problems of human relations.

For a more complete explanation, please read attached Statement of Purpose.

COPY

II. How the above is being accomplished:

This organization is run by the Officers (Executive Committee) Directors and the various committees with the assistance of the Executive Director in accordance with the attached Charter and By-Laws. Some of the outstanding citizens of both the white and Negro community are listed among the Officers and Directors. C. Ellis Henican, President, is a prominent man in the community and has been involved in many civic and religious activities. Francis Doyle and James Gilly are Vice-Presidents of the National Bank of Commerce and Whitney Bank respectively. James Gilly was selected by the Times Picayune in 1960, as a citizen who had contributed most to the welfare of the community. Doctor Leonard Burns, second Vice-President, Negro physician, is first Vice-President of the Urban League, a Knight of Peter Claver and is involved in many civic and religious activities. Dr. Paul M. Hebert, our First Vice-President, is the Dean of the L.S.U. Law School.

Functions of the Executive Director, Henry Cabirac, Jr. - C. Ellis Henican has advised someone in another area interested in forming a Catholic Council on Human Relations "a competent Executive Director is absolutely indispensable to our operations.

In my own opinion, our own Council would be doomed to failure were it not for the fact that we have an Executive Director who dedicates most of his time and almost all of his efforts to the success of our undertaking.

The project should be adequately financed and it is not likely that sufficient funds can be obtained from dues to meet the expenses. We pay our Executive Director $600.00 per month and he is worth every cent of it!

The job of the Executive Director for the Council is basically the same as any other social service organization—that is, as a community organizer, he is to act as a catalyst to supply ideas and to initiate and encourage the officers, directors and members to carry out the objectives of the organization. Some of the ways he does this is to attend all committee meetings in a liaison capacity, meet weekly with the president, and corresponds regularly with the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in Chicago.

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice has selected him to serve as a resource person for the Diocesan Seminar on School Integration with Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and Benjamin Muse, author of Virginia's Massive Resistance and on the clinic on Planning Better Programs, at the National Convention at the University of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan, August 24 - 27.

In order to accomplish the above objectives, the Council's main functions are to do research, mediate difficulties and to present pertinent information to both clergy and laity in various ways. In other words, our job can be compared favorably with the research and public relations department of a large business. Securing information and presenting it to management enables it to make decisions which, in time, influence the customers of the organization. Perhaps the best way to illustrate the effectiveness of this is to look at the enclosed chart. (See page 3)

III. What has been done?

The information contained in the chart was obtained by writing six other arch-

CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

CHART SHOWING CATHOLIC FACILITIES DESEGREGATED AS OF JULY 1, 1961
(X indicates desegregated facility)

DIOCESE	PARISH ORGANIZATIONS	DIOCESAN ORGANIZATIONS	HOSPITALS	ATHLETIC PROGRAM	ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	HIGH SCHOOLS	COLLEGES	CATHOLIC POPULATION OF AREA
Charleston, S.C.		X	X		X[1]			14%
Galveston-Houston		X			X			19%
Miami, Fla.		X			X			18%
Nashville, Tenn.					X			2%
Raleigh, N.C.					X[2]			1%
St. Louis, Mo.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	28%
San Antonio, Tex.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	35%
Washington, D.C.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	19%
NEW ORLEANS, LA.	X	X						40%

1. Only one school
2. Msgr. Plauche thinks parochial schools desegregated

dioceses and two border states in order to determine what had been accomplished and how it had been accomplished. You can readily see from looking at the chart that where there is a Catholic Interracial Council or a Catholic Council on Human Relations, such as in St. Louis, Washington, D. C., and San Antonio, there has been far more accomplished than in cities where one doesn't exist. The effect of the accomplishments on the entire community is indicated by the statement the public school officials of St. Louis who have publicly admitted that the successful integration of their schools, in 1955, was due in great measure to the good example of the Catholic Church. Undoubtedly, in New Orleans, where the Catholic population is 50%, whatever is accomplished in the Catholic community will have a tremendous effect on the entire community. This fact is clearly demonstrated when we consider the discriminatory laws passed by the State attempting to discourage the parochial schools from integrating.

Learning what has been done in other southern archdioceses has made us realize just how little has been accomplished here and strengthen our convictions and determination to do everything in our power to change this situation to correct the mistaken image of the Church.

The following Committees of the Council have proposed various projects which the Board of Directors approved at their last meeting, July 7.

a. Priest Advisory Committee - Chairman, Monsignor Gordon Raine - 1. A fund-raising drive will be started among the Pastors to raise $2,000 to reprint 10,000 copies of Father Guste's pamphlet "For Men of Good Will", which probably shows the keenest insight into our interracial problem in the Archdiocese of New Orleans and does an excellent job of persuasion to change attitudes in light of Christian principles. This $2,000 will be a revolving fund and will be used to have additional copies reprinted as soon as the existing ones are sold. 2. A Sub-Committee composed of Monsignor Bezou, Superintendent of parochial schools; Father Yamauchi, S. J., Loyola University; and Father Costello, instructor at Notre Dame Seminary has been appointed to draw up a course on racial justice for the teaching nuns and brothers.

b. Membership - (at present there are approximately 250 members) - Chairman, Greater New Orleans Committee, Winter Trapolin; Baton Rouge, Hermann Schluter, Jr.— This committee's work has been aided considerably by the meeting called by the Archbishop on June 20 at Notre Dame Seminary for all pastors at which the Archbishop, Monsignor Plauche, and C. Ellis Henican addressed the pastors and told them of the need of the Council and urged them to cooperate in the membership drive. Since then, the Membership Committee has swung into action and is in the process of delivering 10,000 copies of the 1958 Bishops' Statement "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience" and 10,000 membership applications, a copy of which is attached, to the pastors. They are urging the pastors to comply with the Archbishop's order to call a meeting of the leading parishners and all right-thinking Catholics in every parish to explain the Bishops' Statement to them, answer any questions they might have and urge them to sign the membership application.

c. Public Relations—Chairman, M. F. Everett; Vice-Chairman H. Charbonnet—This committee is composed of 16 people, 14 of whom are professionals in their respective field of news media—that is, radio, television, newspaper, colleges and universities, etc. Thus far the committee has urged the Archbishop to invite Cardinal Rawgumba of Africa to address a general membership meeting while he was in this country. His Excellency did this, but the Cardinal was unable to attend because of an overcrowded schedule. A sub-committee will issue a monthly newsletter, the first of which will be mailed to the members this week. A blank copy is attached showing the heading for the newsletter. The committee has also urged the showing of a film strip with sound, entitled "The Advance of Communism and Turning the Tide," devoted to spelling out the dangers of communism and also the causes, which include racial discrimination. They have also advocated that Catholic Action, the official diocesan organ, carry factual account of successful stories of integration in southern cities, which is considered even more effective than editorials. The Speakers Bureau, which is a division of this committee, has already received two invitations from parish Holy Name societies to speak

and have done so. The entire committee has scheduled another meeting to be held in ten days to do the following: 1. Determine what literature the Council should stock and distribute. 2. To discuss the possibility of having informed educated Negroes appear on television as experts in their particular field; law, medicine, education, etc. to change the image of the Negro in the community. 3. Invite the Archbishop of Ghana to address a meeting of the general membership committee when he is here in September and 4. To discuss the feasibility of a column on racial justice in Catholic Action.

d. Schools - Chairman, Mrs. Clara del Marmol - This committee has made arrangements with the Cenacle Retreat House in New Orleans, which is well known for their fine stand on Christian racial justice, to conduct retreats designed to promote racial justice for the 500 lay teachers in the parochial schools and the teachers in public schools. They are also preparing a kit to be distributed in all Catholic schools this fall on racial justice.

e. Finance - Chairman, Francis Doyle - His Excellency, Archbishop Rummel has promised $2500 donation. Our membership campaign is expected to net a minimum of at least a 1,000 new members which will mean $3000 to $3500. In addition to this, the fund-raising drive in New Orleans is about to begin and the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is attempting to secure funds from several foundations for us.

Budget Requirements-

Salaries:

Executive Director	$7500.		
Secretary	4200.		
Total:		$12700.	
Pay-roll taxes		1270.	
Rent		2500.	
Telephone		1000.	
Travel		400.	
Postage		500.	
Office Supplies		700.	
Miscellaneous		500.	
Total:			$19670.

Budget Requirements - (Continuation)

	Brought forward	$19670.
Schools - Literature for Catholic Elementary & High School students - 90,000 x .20	$18000.	
Public Relations - Literature for Adults in Parish Organizations - 10,000 x .20	2000.	
Priest Advisory - Literature for Teachers, religious and laity - 2600 x .50	1300.	
Total Budget requirements for one year -		21300.
		$40970.

V. Conclusion - This organization's chances of success would seem to be far greater than the average Council of Human Relations which was organized and supported by a group of public-spirited citizens because our Council is the official organization of the Archdiocese. It reflects the attitude of the Archdiocese and, therefore, it means this organization's desire for racial justice probably will soon be translated into concrete action.

COPY

P. O. Box 4366 New Orleans 18, Louisiana Phone 866-4455

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

I apply for membership in the Catholic Council of Human Relations of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and subscribe to its objectives which are:

(a) To promote good relationships among peoples of all races in the Archdiocese of New Orleans;

(b) To make known the teachings of the Catholic Church on matters of interracial justice and charity, particularly as summarized by all of the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops throughout the United States in their statement issued in 1958 and entitled "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience"; and the application of these principles to everyday living experiences;

(c) To work in cooperation with public and responsible private agencies, in strengthening the fabric of America's Democratic way of life through the promotion of good human relations; and;

(d) To exhort all of the clergy, religious and laity to offer their daily prayers, good works and sacrifices for the peaceful and charitable solution of all problems of human relations.

_____
Name

_____
Address

_____
Telephone

_____
Parish Church

_____
Occupation

Annual Dues: Single $3.00
Married couple $4.00

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED UNDER THE GUIDANCE AND DIRECTION OF THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP OF NEW ORLEANS.

ACCORDING TO ARTICLE II OF THE CHARTER OF THE CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS, THE OBJECTS AND PURPOSES ARE STATED TO BE:

(A) TO PROMOTE GOOD RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PEOPLES OF ALL RACES IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS;

(B) TO MAKE KNOWN THE TEACHINGS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON MATTERS OF INTERRACIAL JUSTICE AND CHARITY, PARTICULARLY AS SUMMARIZED BY ALL OF THE CARDINALS, ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES IN THEIR STATEMENT ISSUED IN 1958 AND ENTITLED "DISCRIMINATION AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE"; AND THE APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES TO EVERYDAY LIVING EXPERIENCES;

(C) TO WORK IN COOPERATION WITH PUBLIC AND RESPONSIBLE PRIVATE AGENCIES, IN STRENGTHENING THE FABRIC OF AMERICA'S DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE THROUGH THE PROMOTION OF GOOD HUMAN RELATIONS; AND

(D) TO EXHORT ALL OF THE CLERGY, RELIGIOUS AND LAITY TO OFFER THEIR DAILY PRAYERS, GOOD WORKS AND SACRIFICES FOR THE PEACEFUL AND CHARITABLE SOLUTION OF ALL PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RELATIONS.

WE HAVE BEEN MOTIVATED TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF THIS COUNCIL OUT OF A DEEP SENSE OF THE DEMANDS OF THE GREAT CHRISTIAN LAW OF LOVE OF NEIGHBOR AND RESPECT FOR HIS RIGHTS, TAUGHT TO US BY CHRIST BOTH BY DEED AND WORD. THESE DEMANDS HAVE BEEN SPELLED OUT FOR US BY THE AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF ALL THE CARDINALS, ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF THE UNITED STATES ISSUED IN 1958, AND ENTITLED "DISCRIMINATION AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE." NO DOCUMENT CAN BETTER EXPRESS BOTH THE REASONS FOR THE FORMATION OF THIS COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS, AND ITS GOALS. HERE IS THE OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THIS NEWLY FORMED WORK IN CHRIST'S CHURCH. AND IT IS ONLY RIGHT AND PROPER THAT IT SHOULD BE SO, FOR AS CATHOLICS WE BELIEVE THAT BY THE DISPOSITION OF CHRIST HIMSELF, THE ROMAN PONTIFF FOR THE WHOLE CHURCH, AND THE BISHOPS FOR THE FAITHFUL ENTRUSTED TO THEIR CARE, ARE THE PROPERLY CONSTITUTED SHEPHERDS OF THE FLOCK OF CHRIST; TO THEM HAS BEEN DIVINELY GIVEN THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO TEACH, RULE, GOVERN AND SANCTIFY THOSE IN THEIR CHARGE. AS PIUS XII STATED, IN HIS ALLOCUTION OF MAY 31, 1954: "BESIDES THE LAWFUL SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES, NAMELY, THE ROMAN PONTIFF FOR THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH AND BISHOPS FOR THE FAITHFUL ENTRUSTED TO THEIR CARE, THERE ARE NO OTHER TEACHERS DIVINELY CONSTITUTED IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST." (THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH IN TEMPORAL MATTERS, NCWC, WASHINGTON, P. 2). AS LOYAL AND FAITHFUL CATHOLICS WE MUST, THEN, ACCEPT THE AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING OF THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY AND RESPOND TO THEIR CALL TO ACTION.

THE BISHOPS HAVE TAUGHT US THAT "DISCRIMINATION BASED ON THE ACCIDENTAL FACT OF RACE OR COLOR, AND AS SUCH INJURIOUS TO HUMAN RIGHTS REGARDLESS OF PERSONAL QUALITIES OR ACHIEVEMENTS, CANNOT BE RECONCILED WITH THE TRUTH THAT

GOD HAS CREATED ALL MEN WITH EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL DIGNITY." (PARAGRAPH 12). THEY HAVE FURTHER STATED THAT: "LEGAL SEGREGATION, OR ANY FORM OF COMPULSORY SEGREGATION, IN ITSELF AND BY ITS VERY NATURE IMPOSES A STIGMA OF INFERIORITY UPON THE SEGREGATED PEOPLE. EVEN IF THE NOW OBSOLETE COURT DOCTRINE OF 'SEPARATE BUT EQUAL' HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT TO THE FULLEST EXTENT, SO THAT ALL PUBLIC AND SEMI-PUBLIC FACILITIES WERE IN FACT EQUAL, THERE IS NONETHELESS THE JUDGMENT THAT AN ENTIRE RACE, BY THE SOLE FACT OF RACE AND REGARDLESS OF INDIVIDUAL QUALITIES, IS NOT FIT TO ASSOCIATE ON EQUAL TERMS WITH MEMBERS OF ANOTHER RACE. WE CANNOT RECONCILE SUCH A JUDGMENT WITH THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF MAN'S NATURE AND RIGHTS." (PARAGRAPH 16). FINALLY THEY ADD THAT: "IT IS A MATTER OF HISTORICAL FACT THAT SEGREGATION IN OUR COUNTRY HAS LED TO OPPRESSIVE CONDITIONS AND THE DENIAL OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS FOR THE NEGRO. THIS IS EVIDENT IN THE FUNDAMENTAL FIELDS OF EDUCATION, JOB OPPORTUNITY, AND HOUSING." (PARAGRAPH 17).

FACED WITH SUCH AUTHORITATIVE TEACHINGS, THE CATHOLIC LAYMEN, FORMING THIS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, WILL TO ANSWER THE CALL TO ACTION OF THE AMERICAN BISHOPS. TOGETHER WITH THE BISHOPS, WE AS CATHOLICS AND SOUTHERN CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, REALIZE THAT THE PROBLEMS WHICH FACE US IN THE DOMAIN OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE ARCHDIOCESE "ARE ROOTED IN DECADES, EVEN CENTURIES, OF CUSTOM AND CULTURAL PATTERNS" AND THAT "CHANGES IN (SUCH) DEEP-ROOTED ATTITUDES ARE NOT MADE OVERNIGHT." (PARAGRAPH 22). WE KNOW THAT OUR ACTION MUST BE BOTH PRUDENT AND COURAGEOUS, QUIET, PRAYERFUL AND DECISIVE. BUT ACT WE MUST. WE EQUALLY DEPLORE "A GRADUALISM THAT IS MERELY A CLOAK FOR INACTION" AND A "RASH IMPETUOSITY THAT WOULD SACRIFICE THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF DECADES IN ILL-TIMED AND ILL-CONSIDERED VENTURES." (PARAGRAPH 23). WE MUST "SEIZE THE MANTLE OF LEADERSHIP FROM THE AGITATOR AND THE RACIST," (PARAGRAPH 24), "ROOT OUT OF OUR HEARTS BITTERNESS AND HATRED. THE TASKS WE FACE ARE INDEED DIFFICULT. BUT HEARTS INSPIRED WITH CHRISTIAN LOVE WILL SURMOUNT THESE DIFFICULTIES." (PARAGRAPH 25). IT IS OUR PRAYER THAT THIS COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS WILL, WITH GOD'S GRACE, MEET FULL FACE THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIMES AND UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP OF NEW ORLEANS YIELD FRUIT A HUNDRED-FOLD.

WHILE THIS IS A CATHOLIC LAYMEN'S ORGANIZATION, WE INVITE ALL CITIZENS OF GOOD WILL TO CONSIDER THE APPROVAL OF THE OBJECTS OF THE NEWLY CREATED COUNCIL AND TO JOIN WITH THE COUNCIL IN THIS COMMUNITY WIDE UNDERTAKING.

. . .

BY - LAWS
of the
CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS

ARTICLE I.

This organization shall be operated exclusively for religious and educational purposes, in accordance with the tax-exempt provisions of Section 101(6) of the Internal Revenue Code.

ARTICLE II.

The Council shall maintain and conduct its program and be directly responsible therefor. However, in order to assist the Council in this undertaking, the Council may establish and dissolve, from time to time, one or more committees provided that no committee shall have the right to take any final action on behalf of the Council, unless it be specifically authorized to do so by the Executive Committee, or the Board of Directors, or the membership, at a proper meeting.

There shall be the following standing committees, with the following responsibilities:

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE. This committee shall consider prospective members, shall investigate application or proposal for membership and shall assist the Council in setting up affiliated councils throughout the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

RESEARCH COMMITTEE. This committee shall examine pertinent questions and shall advise the Council with respect thereto.

SCHOOLS COMMITTEE. This committee shall acquaint itself with conditions in all schools with respect to human relations and shall keep the Council informed of developments from time to time .

FINANCE COMMITTEE. This committee shall advise the Council on all matters which involve the fiscal affairs of the Coun and which are referred to it by any officer, the Executive Committee, Board of Directors, or the membership, and it shall also assume the responsibilities and authority vested in it by the Board of Directors in connection with any fund raising efforts that may be exercised.

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. This committee shall keep itself informed of developments throughout the Archdiocese of New Orleans with respect to human relations; and shall advise the Council with respect to such matters from time to time.

PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE. This committee shall assist the Council in having the Council's activities accepted by the public through all available media.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE. This committee shall function in an advisory capacity to the Council, particularly on matters of policy.

PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE. This committee shall suggest to the Council ways and means for the development of the entire program.

The membership of all committees shall be selected by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE III.

Nominations for officers and members of theBoard of Directors shall be made by a nominating committee appointed by the President at least four (4) weeks prior to the annual meeting. This committee shall consist of five (5) members who shall present their report to the membership at the annual meeting. At least one candidate shall be nominated for each office and each Board membership. However, further nominations may be made, in writing, by any five members of the Council, provided said nomination is made at least seven days before the annual meeting. Any personl so nominated shall be included in the voting at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1. The President shall preside over all meetings and shall have such further duties as ordinarily pertain to said office.

Section 2. The First Vice-President shall perform the duties of the President during the latter's absence and shall have any additional duties that may be designated by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. The Second Vice-President shall perform the duties of the First Vice-President during the latter's absence and shall have any additional duties that may be designated by the Board of Directors.

Section 4. The Secretary shall fulfill all duties appropriate to that office.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall collect all dues, keep an accurate account of all of the Council's financial transactions, have custody of the funds, render a monthly report to the Board of Directors and render an annual report at the annual meeting. The Treasurer shall also see that all bills and other obligations are paid , shall sefve as a member of the Finance Committee, and perform such other duties that ordinarily pertain to that office.

ARTICLE V.

Chapters of the Council shall submit annual budgets for approval to the Board of Directors , together with suggested programs for the ensuing year. Chapers may maintain their own bank accounts, subject to the approval of the Council's Treasurer.

ARTICLE VI.

Each member of the Council shall be issued a membership card which shall be signed by the President and the Treasurer.

ARTICLE VII.

Meetings of the Board of Directors shall take place at least once each month. Emergency meetings may be called by the President or other designated officer of the Council. Committees shall be prepared to report on their activities at both the meetings of the Executive Committee and of the Board of Directors. When requested , reports of all committees shall be in writing . Committee chairmen shall determine the meeting days for their respective committees.

ARTICLE VIII.

Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be at the discretion of the President.

ARTICLE IX.

The Board of Directors may, for good cause, relieve any member or prospective member from the payment of dues, but such relief may be given only on an annual basis.

ARTICLE X.

These articles may be amended or repealed at a meeting of the Board of Directors provided that the proposed amendment or repeal is proposed at the meeting immediately preceding the meeting at which the said amendment is considered for adoption.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION : : UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

of : : STATE OF LOUISIANA

THE CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS : PARISH OF ORLEANS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS

: :

::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::

BE IT KNOWN that on this 23rd day of the month of March, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty-one;

BEFORE ME, JOSEPH V. BOLOGNA, a Notary Public in and for this Parish and State, personally came and appeared:

C. ELLIS HENICAN
DR. PAUL M. HEBERT
DR, LEONARD BURNS
MRS. THOMPSON B. BURK; and
JOHN P. NELSON

all of age and residents of the Parish of Orleans, State of Louisiana, with the exception of Dr. Paul M. Hebert, who is a resident of the Parish of East Baton Rouge, State of Louisiana, whose signatures are subscribed, who declared in the presence of the undersigned competent witnesses that, availing themselves of the provisions of Louisiana Revised Statutes (1950) 12:101 through 12:155, as now or hereafter amended, they do hereby organize a non-profit corporation for religious and educational purposes, as defined in L.A. R.S. 12:101(8) under and in accordance with the following Articles of Incorporation:

I.

NAME

THE NAME OF THIS CORPORATION IS:

THE CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON HUMAN
RELATIONS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE
OF NEW ORLEANS

II.

OBJECTS AND PURPOSES

The objects and purposes for which this corporation is organized are hereby stated to be:

(a) To promote good relationships among peoples of all races in the Archdioces of New Orleans;

(b) To make known the teachings of the Catholic Church on matters of interracial justice and charity, particularly as summarized by all of the Cardinals , Archbishops and Bishops throughout the United States in their statement issued in 1958 entitled

"Discrimination and the Christian Conscience"; and the application of these principles to everyday living experiences;

(c) To work in cooperation with public and responsible private agencies , in strengthening the fabric of America's democratic way of life through the promotion of good human relations and

(d) to exhort all of the clergy , religious and laity to offer their daily prayers, good works and sacrifices for the peaceful and charitable solution of all problems of human relations

ARTICLE III.

DURATION

This corporation shall enjoy corporate existence for a period of 99 years from the date hereof. However, the Archbishop of New Orleans shall have the absolute and unconditional right to dissolve this corporation at any time by appearing before a Notary Public and two witnesses and stating that the corporate existence of this corporation shall cease.

ARTICLE IV.

REGISTERED OFFICE

Location and post office address of its registered agents is:

7845 WALMSLEY AVENUE, NEW ORLEANS ,25, LA.

ARTICLE V.

REGISTERED AGENTS

The full names and post office addresses of its registered agents are:

(1) RT. REV. MSGR. CHARLES PLAUCHE
NAME

7845 WALMSLEY AVENUE, NEW ORLEANS,25, LA.
ADDRESS

(2) CHARLES I. DENECHAUD, JR.
NAME

1236 STATE STREET, NEW ORLEANS, 18, LA.

ARTICLE VI.

BASIS OF ORGANIZATION

A. This Corporation shall be organized without capital stock and membership shall be evidenced by certificates of

membership signed by the President and the Secretary.

B. The issuance of certificates of membership to each of the incorporators and to each member shall be conditioned upon the acceptance in writing of the objects and purposes of this corporation and the payment of the minimum dues established by the Board of Directors or in the By-Laws from time to time. This corporation shall be authorized to begin business as soon as this charter has been filed in the records of the Mortgage Office for the Parish of Orleans.

C. Membership in this corporation shall be limited to all Catholic men and women of good will within the Archdiocese of New Orleans, La., who pay the minimum dues and accept in writing the objects and purposes of this corporation. There shall be only one class of membership and each member shall be entitled to one vote, in person or by written proxy at all meetings of the Membership, general or special.

D. Membership certificates shall not be transferable by assignment, sale , or otherwise.

E. Persons shall be elected to membership by action of the Board of Directors only, and the action of the Board may suspend or expel a member for cause.

F. Any members may resign by submitting a written resignation to the Board of Directors.

G. It shall take 15 members to consitute a quorum for any meeting of the membership, general or special. However, where a quorum is present, action may be taken by a majority of those who are actually present at a meeting.

ARTICLE VII.

DIRECTORS

A. The names of the first directors and their post office addresses, are, as follows:

FRANCIS C. DOYLE
NAME

5816 PITT STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

HARRY CHARBONNET
NAME

2210 CALHOUN ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

SHELLY SCHUSTER
NAME

316 AVENUE B, METAIRIE, LA.
ADDRESS

DR. NICK J. ACCARDO
NAME

6309 PARIS AVENUE, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

MISS IONA BERTEAUX
NAME

2027 N. GALVEZ ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

WILLIAM JOSEPH ROUCHELL
NAME

1724 DESIRE ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

CHARLES DE BLIEUX
NAME

100 LENNOX COURT, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

JAMES GILLY
NAME

1234 CONERY ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

MOREY SMITH
NAME

1765 N. TONTI ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

NUMA ROUSSEVE
NAME

4636 WILLOW STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

BASIL MOSS
NAME

4003 CARONDELET ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

T. BEN CANADAY
NAME

1114 ROYAL ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

CHARLES DENECHAUD
NAME

1236 STATE STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA
ADDRESS

ELLIOT KEYES
NAME

7462 BENJAMIN ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

SENATOR J. D. DEBLIEUX
NAME

105 Court House Bldg. 233 St. Ferdinand St.
Baton Rouge, La.

DR. B. V. BARANCO
NAME

1210 MAXIMILLIAN ST. BATON ROUGE, LA.
ADDRESS

FRED BAHLINGER
NAME

2101 PARKER ST., BATON ROUGE, LA.
ADDRESS

A.A. LENOIR
NAME

c/o SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY, BATON ROUGE, LA.
ADDRESS

HERMANN SCHULTER, JR.
NAME

11454 MOLLYEN DRIVE, BATON ROUGE, LA.
ADDRESS

DR. MYRON WALKER
NAME

1529 LONGWOOD DRIVE, BATON ROUGE, LA.
ADDRESS

DR, JOHN FISHER
NAME

CUT-OFF, LA.
ADDRESS

THOMAS RAGUSA
NAME

HAMMOND, LA.
ADDRESS

FRANK CUCCHIARA
NAME

HAMMOND, LA.
ADDRESS

DR. CHARLES DAUNIS
NAME

VACHERIE, LA.
ADDRESS

J.R. SCHOEN
NAME

COVINGTON, LA.
ADDRESS

DR. RICHARD DAWES
NAME

GRAMERCY, LA.
ADDRESS

LANCASTER W. COLLENS
NAME

2220 KLEINERT AVE., BATON ROUGE, LA.
ADDRESS

MRS. ROBERT PASCAL
NAME

2159 CLOVERDALE AVE., BATON ROUGE, LA.
ADDRESS

C. ELLIS HENICAN
NAME

1831 OCTAVIA ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

PAUL M. HEBERT
NAME

2331 KLEINERT AVE., BATON ROUGE, LA.
ADDRESS

LEONARD BURNS
NAME

4721 NEW ORLEANS ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

MRS. THOMPSON B. BURK
NAME

1421 WEBSTER STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

JOHN P. NELSON
NAME

4123 WALMSLEY AVE., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ADDRESS

B. The direction and administration of this corporation shall be vested in a Board of Directors of 33 members, of which five shall be the five officers of this corporation and the remaining directors shall be elected at the annual meeting of the membership (except the members of the first Board above named, who shall serveuntil the first annual meeting of the Board of the membership and until their successors shall have been elected, according to the following specifications:

Fourteen(14) of said Directors shall be selected from within the Metropolitam area of the City of New Orleans and there should be, if possible, at least one representative from each of the six districts as established by His Excellency, the Archbishop of New Orleans, in his letter to the Rt. Rev. Very Rev. and Rev. members of the clergy of the Archdioces of New New Orleans, dated January 15, 1960; and fourteen(14) members

shall be selected from outside of the Metropolitan area of the City of New Orleans, and there should be, if feasible, one from each one of the seven deaneries, as outlined in His Excellency's aforesaid letter.

C. At the first annual meeting the successors of eight (8) of the Board of Directors shall be elected for three-year terms and the successors of eight(8) additional board members shall be selected for two-year terms and the successors of the remaining eight(8) board members shall be selected for a one-year term. Likewise, the officers shall be elected for a one-year term.

Thereafter, as the term of each board member expires, it shall be filled by a director whose term shall be three years, but no member of the Board of Directors after the end of the first year of this corporation shall be eligible for election to the Board after having served six consecutive years until after the lapse of one year.

D. A vacancy in the office of a director or officer may be filled for the unexpired term by the Board of Directors.

E. The Board of Directors shall have the right to:

(a) Create the office of Executive Direcotr, selecting the person to fill said office, supervise and dismiss said person, and to establish his rights and responsibilities and fix his compensation

(b) Establish an Executive Committee, composed of five persons, including the president, first-vice-president, secretary, treasurer and one member to be selected by and from the Board, the said executive committee to have the power and authority to act in the place and stead of the general membership and of the Board of Directors on any and all matters, which, in the discretion of the President,require immediate and forthright action. Any action taken by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Board of Directors at its next meeting following the taking of such action; and such action shall also be reported to the membership at the next general meeting of the members following the taking of such action. Meetings of the Executive Committee may be called at any time by the President, or in his absence, by any three(3) members of the Committee. No specified time for the notice of such meetings shall be required .

F. It shall take nine members of the Board of Directors to constitute a quorum, but when a quorum is present

a majority of those present shall have the right to take action.

G. The corporation shall have a president, a first vice-president, a second vice-president, a secretary and a treasurer, the duties of each of said officers to be fixed by the by-laws.

H. The first officers shall be :

C, ELLIS HENICAN - PRESIDENT
DR. PAUL M. HEBERT -FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
DR, LEONARD BURNS- SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS THOMPSON B. BURK- TREASURER
MR. JOHN P. NELSON - SECRETARY

I. The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Council for the term of one year.

J. The Archbishop of New Orleans, upon the request of the Board of Directors, shall have the right to appoint a Chaplain and an Assistant-Chaplain, who shall serve at the pleasure of the Archbishop of New Orleans, shall be ex-officio members of the Board of Directors, and shall advise the Executive Committee, Board of Directors and membership on all matters considered at any meeting and shall have the right to delay action on all such matters until the Archbishop of New Orleans shall have had an opportunity to consider and act upon such proposed action.

ARTICLE VIII.

DUES AND ADMISSIONS

Each member of this corporation shall pay annual dues of $3.00 , except where a husband and wife are members their annual dues shall be $4.00. There shall be no special assessments.

ARTICLE IX.

MEETINGS

A. The regular annual meeting of the corporation shall be held in January of each year on a date to be fixed by the Board of Directors.

B. Special meetings of the Membership shall be called at such times and may be held at such places within the Archdiocese of New Orleans as the Board of Directors may determine.

C. The Board of Directors shall meet at least once a month on the call of the President..

D. Special meetings of the Board may be held at any time on the call of the President or when a request for a meeting is made in writing by at least five Board members.

E. For a membership meeting there must be at least seven(7) days written notice.

F. For a Directors' meeting only reasonable notice is required.

ARTICLE X.

BY-LAWS

The Board of Directors shall have the power to make, amend and repeal by-laws, to govern this corporation, provided they are in accordance with and do not conflict with these articles.

ARTICLE XI.

AFFILIATED UNITS

The Board of Directors may establish one or more affiliated units within the Archdiocese of New Orleans and may delegate to such units such power and authority as it shall consider necessary or desirable.

ARTICLE XII.

STAFF

The Board of Directors shall be authorized to employ such staff personnel as it may desire, the said staff personnel to be responsible to the Board of Directors; but no officer or director shall serve as a paid staff member.

ARTICLE XIII

AMENDMENTS

A. These Articles may be amended either by the Archbishop of New Orleans or by a 2/3 vote of those present at any meeting of the membership called for that purpose on at least 10 days prior written notice, followed in each instance by a formal notorial set of amendment, the same to be executed either by His Excellency , the Archbishop of New Orleans or by one or more representatives designated for such purpose, at the meeting at which any such amendment is adopted.

THUS DONE AND EXECUTED by the incorporators

in the presence of the undersigned competent witnesses on the date aforestated.

SIGNATURE OF INCORPORATOR	ADDRESS OF INCORPORATOR
C.ELLIS HENICAN	1821 OCTAVIA ST., NEW ORLEANS,LA.
~~PAUL~~-M. HEBERT.	2331 KLEINERT AVE., BATON ROUGE,LA.
LEONARD BURNS	4721 NEW ORLEANS ST, NEW ORLEANS 22, LA.
MRS. THOMPSON B. BURK	1421 WEBSTER ST., NEW ORLEANS,18,LA.
JOHN P. NELSON	4123 WALMSLEY AVE., NEW ORLEANS,LA.

WITNESSES:

ADA E. HAHN KORFF

JULIA DILLON

JOSEPH V. BOLOGNA
NOTARY PUBLIC

A TRUE COPY:

JOSEPH V. BOLOGNA

Community Council of the Atlanta Area inc.

A. H. STERNE, *Chairman of the Board of Directors*
JAMES P. FURNISS, *Vice Chairman*
MRS. MALCOLM H. BRYAN, *Secretary*
J. W. JONES, *Associate Secretary*
JAMES M. SIBLEY, *Treasurer*

215 PALMER BUILDING, 41 MARIETTA STREET, N.W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA TELEPHONE 525-7695

~~VJ - advice?~~

VJ - pls reply

January 12, 1965

TO: Friends of the Community Council

In June 1961, the Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc., in conjunction with the National Association of Social Workers, sponsored a workshop on "Solving Our Problems Through Responsible Participation." It was an attempt on the part of both lay and professional personnel to work together more co-operatively to meet the health, welfare and recreation needs of the people in metropolitan Atlanta.

Over 200 people attended, and problems were defined and recommendations made as to how the community could cope with these problems. Since then, progress has been made toward implementing some of these recommendations. To list a few of the accomplishments:

- There is a Protective Service Unit in the Fulton County Department of Family & Children Services.
- Visiting Nurses Association is in the process of applying for a grant to establish a Homemaker Service.
- The Hospital and Health Study, through sub-committees, completed reports on Voluntary and Public Health Services, General Hospital Services, Education and Research in Health, Nursing Home Services and Rehabilitation Services.
- An Advisory Committee on Alcoholism has been formed to act as a medium of communication for everyone concerned with the problem.
- The Community Council has a professional full-time executive director.

However, there is still a great deal to be done, new problems have arisen, and there are still gaps in and duplication of services. We, in the Permanent Conference of the Community Council, feel that it is time for another workshop.

As an individual in the community who is aware of the problems that exist, and who has been involved in trying to solve them, you can be of help to us in planning our workshop. Send us your ideas as to some of the areas you feel should be included in such a workshop on the attached form. From the replies received, a planning committee will select the topics to be included.

Sincerely,

J. Winston Huff

J. Winston Huff, Chairman
The Permanent Conference

JWH:re
Attachment

File

Community Council of the Atlanta Area inc.

A. H. STERNE, *Chairman of the Board of Directors*
JAMES P. FURNISS, *Vice Chairman*
MRS. MALCOLM H. BRYAN, *Secretary*
J. W. JONES, *Associate Secretary*
JAMES M. SIBLEY, *Treasurer*

215 PALMER BUILDING, 41 MARIETTA STREET, N.W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA TELEPHONE 525-7695

It will be of great help to us if you would fill out this sheet and return it to: Mrs. Marian Glustrom, Planning Associate
Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.
215 Palmer Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

* * * * * * * * * *

I feel that the following are problems which are of concern to the community and would be appropriate to be included in a workshop.

1. School desegregation

2. Housing - Private and Public

3. Need for a Public Defender

4. Neighborhood Tutorial Programs similar to NASH

I would be interested in participating in a workshop. Yes____ No____

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Signature

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Agency or Organization

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

File

May 3, 1962

Miss Charlotte Devree
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Charlotte:

Here are the estimates of total civil rights arrests made in the South since February, 1960, as per your telephone call today:

Freedom Riders	500
Sit-in and other protest movement demonstrators	4681
ESTIMATED TOTAL ARRESTS	5181

If you want or need a break-down for years, I estimate:

Freedom Riders	500
February, 1960 - September, 1961	3600
October, 1961 - May, 1962	1081

These figures include demonstrations which have occurred up to the date of this letter. I want to emphasize again that they are only approximations based on our newspaper clipping files, but I am sure that any errors are on the side of modesty.

Did you get the copy of the Talladega injunction I sent you?

Best luck on your preparations for the hearing, and if there is anything more I can do for you, please don't hesitate to get in touch.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Miller

Core

April 26, 1962

Air Mail Special Delivery

Miss Charlotte Devree
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Miss Devree:

In reponse to your telegram we have made the following estimate of civil rights arrests in the South since May, 1961, based on our file of newspaper clippings:

Freedom Riders	500
Sit-in and other protest movement demonstrators	1377
Total Arrests	1877

We want to emphasize that this is an approximation, but it does represent a minimum figure for arrests of this kind in the period you designate.

Yes, white racists were arrested for violence in places where mass demonstrations occurred. Since your need for a reply was urgent, we could do no more than skim the accounts of these events, but even this rapid survey revealed that the number of demonstrators arrested was overwhelmingly greater than was that of the white racists.

We hope this information will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Miller
Research Assistant

DM:jl

Memo from **JEAN T. LEVINE**

4/26/62

Janet

Jim wants the basis for this estimate - what sources?

We will require a near estimate of whites - not "some".

Jan

News paper clippings -

racists

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1246P EST APR 23 62 AH208
NSD 167 NS NA 104 PD AR NEW YORK NY 23 1222P EST
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ATLA 5 Forsyth
VERY ANXIOUS TO OBTAIN FIGURE OR GOOD ESTIMATE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF CIVIAL RIGHTS ARRESTS IN SOUTH SINCE BEGINNING OF FREEDOM RIDES MAY 1961. CAN YOU HELP? FIGURE NEEDED FOR HEARING IN WASHINGTON LATE MAY BEFORE MRS ROOSEVELT'S AND CORE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO ADMINSTRATION OF JUSTICE IN FREEDOM STRUGGLE. PLEASE REPLY TO CHARLOTTE DEVREE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY 38 PARK ROW NEW YORK 38 NY. OF COURSE NEED FOR FIGURE URGENT THANK YOU. ALSO WISH TO KNOW IF ANY WHITE RACISTS ARRESTED CHARLOTTE DEVREE.

Yes - Chattanooga
Birm
Atl

Memo from **JAMES A. MOSS**

basis of sources
2 c/p
c whites

Janet –
I think Doctor (see p/c 6)
may have a
running figure on
this. Would you
please secure figure
& return to me
for reply?

~~500 (approx) Freedom Riders.~~

We estimate
Freedom Riders
plus sit-ins, etc.,
at 2170 since
May, 1961. (over)

Some white,
very few —

Monroe, NC (included)

FR →	5.00
~~Alb~~	7.75
~~Talladega~~	29
~~Baton Rge~~	72
~~Huntsville~~	20
~~McComb~~	1.15
~~Jackson~~	30
~~Starkville~~	30
~~New Orleans~~	25
~~Atlanta~~	50
~~Knoxville~~	1.50
~~Edenton, NC~~	21
~~Salisbury, NC~~	16
~~Houston~~	~~44~~
	18.77 T

7.75
50
72
21
44
20
30
1.50
30
25
16
2
1.15

13.50 T
27 T
18377

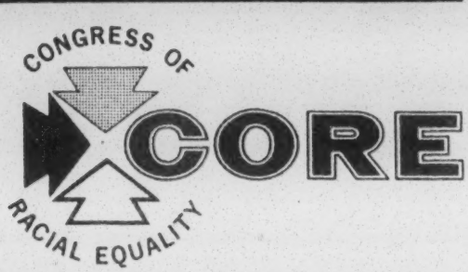
3600

7R	500
Alb	725
Tall.	29
Huntsville	18
Atlanta	50
Edenton	21
Salisbury	16
Houston	44 ?
Batonlge	72
Mary	150

4681
3600
1081

5225
×4
8181
500
4681

a national organization with affiliated local groups working



to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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RELATIONS
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director
Bob Gore
assistant to the director

Rec'd 1/11/63

SB - pls handle - done

January 10, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les Dunbar:

The reprint from the December 14th Atlantic Constitution was really quite valuable. I wonder if you could send me 25 copies so that we can distribute them to our staff members with the suggestion that they do similar studies in the communities in which they work.

I hope to see you soon.

Cordially,

Marvin Rich

Marvin Rich

MR/jb

Sent L-39 (25 copies)
BOC

February 7, 1963

Mr. James T. McCain
Director of Organization
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. McCain:

In response to your request for the latest information on public school desegregation in the South, I am enclosing a selection of materials pulled together by our research staff. They include the most recent statistics from the Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville, two magazine articles, and an SRC pamphlet on the first six years of school desegregation.

I might also add that we are planning to publish a study OF tokenism in the South early this spring, and we will certainly see that you receive a copy.

Please let me know if you want further specific information on this vast and somewhat vexing question.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:nm
Enclosures

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

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national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
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Eugene Tournour
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field secretaries

January 17, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Can you please send us the latest information that you have on public school desegregation in the South. If there is a charge for this material please bill us.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

James T. McCain

James T. McCain
Director of Organization

msm

RHA

McMATH, LEATHERMAN, WOODS & YOUNGDAHL
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW
SUITE 1330, TOWER BUILDING
TELEPHONE FR 4-8293
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
72201

SIDNEY S. McMATH
LELAND F. LEATHERMAN
HENRY WOODS
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

JOHN P. SIZEMORE

July 17, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

In response to your letter of July 10, 1964, I am sorry that I follow the policy with my clients of not submitting receipts; it just gets too involved with all the travelling I do and so far they have taken my word for it.

I automatically followed this policy in this case, I am sorry to say, so I do not have any receipts. I suppose I can get duplicates from the hotel, etc., and/or itemize my expenses in more detail. Let me know.

Thanks for the prompt reimbursement, and I look forward to seeing you next week or so.

Sincerely,

James E. Youngdahl

JEY/ob

July 10, 1964

James E. Youngdahl, Esq.
Attorney at Law
Suite 1330 - Tower Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $88.72 for expenses incurred during the CORE Convention in Kansas City, in behalf of the Southern Regional Council.

Mrs. Alexander, our Secretary-Treasurer, is giving me a fit about your receipts. So, if at all possible, if you have stubs or receipts for your travel and hotel accommodations, please let us have them at your earliest convenience.

Thanks a lot Jim, for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure
(Ck. $88.72)

LWD

McMATH, LEATHERMAN, WOODS & YOUNGDAHL
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW
SUITE 1330, TOWER BUILDING
TELEPHONE FR 4-8293
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
72201

SIDNEY S. McMATH
LELAND F. LEATHERMAN
HENRY WOODS
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

JOHN P. SIZEMORE

July 6, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Rogers. Hope it doesn't hurt more than help.

I had an interesting time in Kansas City. I tried to make clear that the Southern Regional Council has a fraternal interest in CORE activities, and to get some of the flavor of the proceedings. In general, I felt old and worn out in the face of the enthusiasm there. Let me know if you wish a more detailed report of my acitvities.

As to expenses, I spent $65.34 for transportation (including limousine, airport parking, etc.), $14.88 for hotel, telephone and telegraph, and $8.50 for meals, tips and miscellaneous, or a total of $88.72.

Let me know if you have any further questions about these matters. We look forward to seeing you when you come for the bar examinations, and I hope you will be able to have a couple of days of fellowship in addition to the work that will be involved for you.

Sincerely,

James E. Youngdahl

JEY:jb

Enc.

oeiul05aflcio

Transportation - 65.34
Hotel - 14.88
Meals - 8.50
total $ 88.72

I. JAMES GRADY CASE:

James grady, a Florida resident, has been indicted by a Georgia grand jury for manslaughter. It is immaterial as to whether or not he is guilty or innocent, but what is material, is that James Grady, while home in Florida, Gadsden County, was abducted by the Sheriff of Grady County, Georgia, with the assistance of the Florida Sheriff of Gadsden County. Against his will and without his consent, James Grady was not "extradicted", wherein he would have the right to petition to the Florida Courts a Writ of Habeas Corpus, but was instead, taken to jail in Georgia where a warrant for his arrest was then issued by the Justice of the Peace in Georgia and was released only on bond after his indigent father was able to scrounge up the funds. James Grady was arrested in June, 1964. He was told to appear in September, 1964 for Arraignment. James Grady did appear in September, 1964, but at that time he was not proceeded against. The sheriff then told James he could go and stay until "next time".

In March, 1965, another "warrant" was issued against him and again he was "required" to return for the September Arraignment on September 15, 1965. James Grady did appear under force September 15, but again there was no court in session. The grand jury returned an indictment September 21, 1965 and then the bondsman, from Georgia, "arrested" James Grady and brought him back to Georgia, where there he remains to be "arraigned" in March, 1966. The Civil Rights or Civil Liberties issue here is that James Grady, in violation of the Federal kidnapping law, was abducted from the State of Florida by the Georgia Sheriff in collusion with the Florida Sheriff.

Unfortunately, the Federal Writ of Habeas Corpus, which is the obvious remedy, is not simple. Frisby vs. Collins 342 U.S. 519, a case which is similar, seems to establish that a Writ of Habeas Corpus would not lie even if the petitioner was unlawfully arrested, imprisoned and abducted, contrary to Extradiction, Due Process Clauses of U.S. Constitution. Also Section 2254 of a Federal Writ of Habeas Corpus requires one to "exhaust state remedies". Of course a Writ of Habeas Corpus will lie, if there were a systematic inclusion or exclusion of Negroes on the Grand Jury. Also regarding exhausting state remedies, we have found that exhausting state remedies is not required under exceptional circumstances. In our exceptional circumstances, James Grady is an indigent and cannot afford costs, fees, and legal expenses - such as affording an attorney. The Seals Case, of course, will help us here. However, the exhaustion of state remedies doctrine meets us again in the rule that a federal writ of habeas corpus will not lie in advance of a trial in a State Court. Exparte Royalle, 117 U.S. 241. The anticipated arguement is that even an indigent can assert Constitutional issues before arraignment, there being no costs and expenses necessary. (in a motion to Quash?) I believe even the Seals Case can except this arguement, but I am in process of doing more original research before I file this petition this week.

We also propose to file a suit for the unlawful abduction under the Civil Rights Laws. I had a conference with Judge Carswell, U.S. District Court Judge in the Northern District of Florida, regarding the Pauper's Affidavit and the Complaint, which I had planned to file then. He stated that he would assume jurisdiction regarding the question of damages, but, of course, he advises that we should proceed in the U.S. District Court in Georgia. We are accepting Judge Carswell's advice and shall file both actions, the Writ of Habeas Corpus and the suit for damages, in the U.S. District Court in Georgia. Of course we want to file a warrant against the Sheriffs in Georgia and Florida for violating the Federal Kidnapping Law, 18 U.S. C.A. Section 121.

I have been further advised by Tony Amsterdam, Haveas Corpus and Removal expert, to file concurrent actions in State Court and Federal Court regarding Habeas Corpus proceeding, as was done in Shuttlesworth and Dresner cases.

II. ALEX H. WALTON CASE:

W. T. Edwards Tuberculosis Hospital officials admitted having segregated facilities to CORE and promised to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Law. One of the things which they promised to do was to desegregate the restaurant facilities and to show that the facilities were desegregated by posting signs.

Then Mr. Alex H. Walton, the head cook at the Food Service Department and supervisor of cooks, complained to Mr. Winge, the Food Service Department Director, protesting his dismissing Negroes who ate over the former all-white side, and gave notice that he was going to sit on that side. Of course, Mr. Walton got a letter stating that he was going to be terminated on the grounds of reduction of force required by the lessening patient population.

The State Tuberculosis Board is giving Mr. Walton an opportunity to appeal the decision at the meeting to be held in Tampa, on Sunday, December 5, 1965. We have sent notice that we are appearing for Mr. Walton, and we are retaining a Court Reporter to record the proceedings.

III. MARVEL D. ZIMMERMAN CASE:

This is one of several cases and complaints which are coming into our office, demonstrating how the State fails to protect Negro citizens whose children are attending the newly integrated schools. One from Madison and one from Monticello are in the hopper, but the Zimmerman case is the furthest along in investigation work. Mr. Zimmerman has a young son attending the previous all-white Leon High School, in Tallahassee. The young Zimmerman boy has always been followed by a white youth who wanted the Zimmerman boy to fight. One day, this particular youth saw a friend in a Mustang Ford. He cried, "Hit the Nigger with your car." His friend did.

Mr. Zimmerman then retained Attorney John Rudd, who Tobias Simon of the ACLU probably remembers, Mr. Rudd being formerly a city judge in CORE cases. The City Prosecutor, Mr. Ed Hill, was also contacted. To this date there has been no prosecution of the youth who hit the Zimmerman boy.

The physical injury to the Zimmerman boy was very slight, not amounting to $10,000.00 in damages. But, the injury to the Zimmerman boy's dignity is immeasurable, this flowing from the State practice of not protecting Negro Citizens who are asserting their civil rights. We therefore, propose to file a suit against the City, similar to the Young vs. Davis Case, 1964 St. Augustine Case, if justified by complete investigation.

IV. THE GAINESVILLE BOYS CLUB CASE:

This was an easy one. The Boys Club in this city is a United Fund operation, but it receives funds from Gainesville and the city held the mortgage to the building out of which the Boys Club is operating. Despite the fact that they pledged to comply with the Non-discrimination in Federal fund-raising programs, (which means soliciting Federal employees and soliciting private persons on Federal Property) the Boys Club refused to take membership applications from Negroes on the same basis as they were taking applications from White persons, and were issuing membership cards to Negro applicants to use a Negro Boys Club which was not even in existence. But in the process of investigating the complaints, affidavits, etc., the "rumor of our suit" forced them to hastily comply and Negroes now have the same opportunity to belong to the Boys Club as Whites do. Our investigation and work there was on behalf of the Negro Plaintiffs, The Gainesvill Women forEqual Rights, and the Gainesville ACLU.

V. JAMES FORTSON CASE:

James Fortson was arrested for public intoxication and is serving 60 days for it on the work gang. Not only is this a Civil Rights case because there is no scintilla of evidence of his guilt, James Fortson was not provided an opportunity to have a counsel, being arrested late at night and being convicted early the next morning in the Justice of the Peace Court, Mr. Fortson is also suffering cruel and unusual punishment in that he is incarcerated in a segregated jail.

From the office of Tobias Simon, I just received his James Furgeson vs. T. A. Buchanan Complaint and order which he was successful in desegregating the Dade County Jails, which we can apply in this particular matter.

VI. MARY A. GREEN CASE:

It was released by the Office of Education, Washington, D.C., that Florida is the only State which has complied in all its Counties with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Law. I am sure this is objected to by the Legal Defense Fund for the NAACP who were to handle the cases of the Negro Teachers who were terminated in Holmes County, Florida, on the grounds that their school was closed. Here in Madison County, Mrs. Mary Green is a Counselor to the Ninth grade students at Greenville Training School. Although Madison County is "in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Law" as far as the Office of Education is concerned, orientation day was held for all the County's Negro teachers and staff at Madison Training School last August. The only white person there was was Mr. Bishop, the County Superintendant, and a couple of white members of the School Board, who "condescended" to be with their "Negro friends". Also on the program, was a Dr. R.W. Green, no relation to Mrs. Mary Green, who is president of the "Public Relations Council" which is suppose to enclose Alabama, Florida and Georgia. Dr. Green is a Negro who is alleged to have several doctoral degrees (from his own mouth) but by reliable information, whose main business is to pastor a small church in Columbus, Georgia. Dr. Green was the main speaker on the program. At first his remarks were innocuous, and pertained to the technical aspects of teaching, but soon he entered into a the question of integration of the schools. Green condemned the whole process of desegregation of Madison County Schools for the first time, because, he said, "You are not capable of it yet." He warned the people that they had better stay where they are, saying that they were not ready for it because they were still dirty people. He said that "You need to clean yourselves, powder your faces and shine your shoes." You need to learn to do all these things before you expect to be equal. Dr. Green stated that they are better treated in Negro schools. He reflected how he went to an integrated school in Ohio and therefore was deprived of the warmth and attention which Negro students get from Negro teachers. Therefore, indicating that he was sending all his children to segregated schools.

CORE and SCLC for their last program for the summer were assisting the student group for the boycott of the schools, so these remarks only added more ginger to the cooking. It goes without saying that Dr. Green impressed the School Board officials and he was scheduled to speak at all the Negro schools about the cause of integration. Dr. Green was scheduled to speak early at Madison Training School, before the Negro youths, but with the crash of the school boycott, the School Board officials backed down in sending Dr. Green to Madison Training School.

Dr. Green then was also scheduled to speak at Greenville Training School, but only after the school boycott had ended and things had quieted down again. This was a program originating in the Superintendant of the School Boards Office.

Mrs. Mary Green was scheduled to be on the program. Then at the last moment, everyone knew that the 9th graders were going to create havoc during Dr. Green's speech. Mrs. Mary Green was then told that she was to administer a 9th grade achievement test during the same morning of the speech by Dr. Green. Mrs. Green, who was to be assisted by other teachers who were also on the program, decided to give the test after the speech on the same morning. Dr. Green was hooted out of the auditorium, the students not allowing him to speak. The Principal then accused her of inciting the students to create the disturbance and also accused her of being insubordinate by not giving the test at the "same time".

Mrs. Mary Green was brought before the Superintendant of the County School Board and was found guilty, and he said that for punishment that he was going to advise the County School Board Officials to take her from her continuing Contract and place her on an Annual Contract.

We know exactly what shall happen and so do all the Negro teachers in the county who are supporting Mrs. Green. They know that once you are put on an Annual Contract, she can be terminated in the sense of not being "rehired" without cause or without a hearing. We know that if we idly stand by and allow her to be placed on an Annual Contract, we will have no Federal remedies under the Federal Civil Rights Law. The wife of Dr. Aaron Henry, a Mississippi NAACP leader, was not able to assert any federal remedies when she was on an Annual Contract, when she was not "rehired".

VII. ARAGO LEROY WELCH and MELVIN COLSON CASES:

At the request of the Gainesville ACLU, I received complaints from one Negro youth who spent time in the city jail for running a red light on a bicycle, and a complaint from another Negro youth who spent time in the County jail for writing a check with insufficient funds. Both of these institutions were also segregated, as they want us to apply the James Ferguson vs. T.A. Buchanan case to desegregate these institutions. However the facts may differ substantially. In the Miami case, there was an unlawful arrest in that the city was enforcing a statute "permitting" descrimination in public accomodations. Also the Ferguson complaint shows "present incarceration" in jail, and that shall affect us in the Gainesville complaint because of mootness of the issue since the two youths are longer in jail. Some original research is required to aviod the "mootness" defense, but it would seem that in a class action, "mooting" would not be a defense. Then too, if mootness is a valid defense here, it would be a valid defense in the publib accomodation cases and the 1964 Civil Rights Law which would be a mere annulity.

VIII. ARCHIE BRENTON, JOE LEE STARK, SAM CURTIS WARREN CASES:

These are cases referred to our office from the Tallahassee ACLU regarding state prisoners who were not provided the assistance of an attorney at the time of their arrest, investigation, and trial & therefore, in violation of their civil liberties. Although these cases are, of course, within our guidelines of civil rights and civil liberties cases, we expect to be swamped with these types of Gideon and Escobedo cases. I am drawing up questionaires to be mimeographed to be sent to these persons so that we can efficiently assist them to assist themselves.

As a sidelight, it was the FCLU which, during the first 5 years of this decade, came to the assistance of the CORE program of direct action, and ACLU cases helped lead to the 1964 Civil Rights Law.

CORE gave birth to CORE - SEDF, which was established to enforce these new Civil Rights principles and new Civil Rights laws in the community. Because there are no ACLU cooperating attorneys in Florida, Except in Southern Florida, we are very happy to cooperate and to assist the ACLU in their program, in appreciation for what the ACLU has already done in cooperation with CORE and other civil rights groups.

finis

FLORIDA CORE-SEDF REPORT
VOL. 1 #14 DECEMBER 4,1965

REVIEW OF COMMUNITY ACTION ACTIVITIES--FALL REPORT

A. Migratory Workers South Florida

In cooperation with the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, and the National Sharecropper Fund, CORE-SEDF has acted to investigate Domestic Workers who have been displaced by Foreign Agricultural Workers and to work to better working conditions for Domestic Workers. NSF has a contract with the U.S. Department of Labor, and Sidney Daniels, before he resigned to work as a CORE task force worker, assisted Jac Wasserman of NSF to find Domestic Workers who would go work in the fields in South Florida. We have since found how the producers and growers have broken their contracts with the domestic workers, summarily and arbitrarily, terminating and firing them with the only purpose in mind to show the "need for foreign workers." We had hoped to go down to Palm Beach County to talk to Mr. John Margolis, who has done a series of exposing articles for the Miami Herald, but have not done so because of limited staff. CORE, with few staff people, has not been able to extend into this area. However, SNCC has shown an interest, and has sent a worker last October into these areas with the purpose in mind to determine whether or not they could assist the workers down there to organize on principles similar to the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union Movement. We have given them assistance such as giving them the names of contacts, field ministers, newspaper reporters and labor officials in that area, along with providing them with information regarding labor laws and regulations.

B. Labor Organizing:

At our invitation, the American Federation of State, county, Municipal Employees Union sent an organizer up to North Florida to talk with representatives from the Florida State Improvement Association and the Chattahoochee Hospital Improvement Association, groups CORE-SEDF formed.

Because of their Modus Operandi as a lobbying group, it has in its constitution "not to strike" and also "appears" to support Gov. Haydon Burns, the incumbant. The people we are working with are not at all enthusiastic about the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Union. In September, we were visited by the National Executive Vice President of the Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union, Mr. Arthur Cohen and Harry Bush, the State President of that particular Union, and I tried to set up a meeting at which representatives of the other groups would be present. But, this particular meeting was a failure. The Retail Union, of course, is operated differently from the State County Municipal Employees Union, in that the latter uses the "agency" method. In other words, employees at the Chattahoochee State Hospital would in a sense "hire" that particular Union to represent them, that particular union already having its own professional experts to do representation. The Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union, says Mr. Cohen, is a "people's" Union and that the employees elect their own representatives to do their own representation.

CORE-SEDF is to educate, to inform, to advise, and to assist. But I see no place in the guidelines for us to represent a Union in organizing for them, which both unions seem to want us to do. Community action includes economic development and unions and civil rights groups need each other on the local level. It is hoped that both groups will learn this.

C. Anti-Poverty Assistance

We have incorporated CIG in Gadsden County, along with groups in Taylor, Liberty, and Calhoun Counties. None, as of yet, receive Federal Funds, except Taylor County, cooperating with the already established and to be established groups (which otherwise would have been all white Community Action Agencies if we had not formed these groups). The groups we have formed have sought our assistance because they would like to act independently of "power structure" groups. But since August, this has been one area where we had to limit our activities because of our case load, much to the

chagrin of the CORE total program,

Gadsden County CIG might be able to become a model community action group in that county. Where CIG used to be composed of a few people in the city Quincy area, the steering committee which was assisting CORE's N. Fla. Voter Education Campaign Program, it is now a large group. To organize, we proceeded to incorporate CIG and then provide that it be constituted of Local Improvement Associations. Each local Improvement Association has a representative on the executive board of CIG.

Although there is supposed to be only one Association in one local community, this has not been defined, and now, for instance, in Havanna, a town in Gadsden County, there are three different associations from the one community, each having a representative on the CIG board. Since we have "formed" these groups, CORE and these groups have demanded that we assist them to prepare programs. But with our case load, we can't with our present staff (two people).

One of the things CIG wants to do is to build low-cost housing for poverty-stricken people. I have just received statutes and laws regulating this area from Congressman Claude Pepper, so I might be able to do something in this area next year.

D. Independent Schools Talent Search Program

I am a member of the local committee in Tallahassee, representing CORE-SEDF, seeking promising High School youths so that they might be able to enjoy the opportunities to seek scholarships and attend preparatory schools in the East, as as to be ready for the "good" university. I have contacted all of our people in the CORE counties and there are fine, promising, qualified kids, especially those who have served as Plaintiffs and who have been active in Civil Rights.

April 28, 1964

Mr. Samuel Adams
Reporter
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Sam:

We read with interest your CACEP piece of January 26 in the magazine section of the Times. We are much impressed by the project and interested in its success. Can you furnish us with whatever materials are available on the formation and operation of CACEP for our files?

A similar program is in process in Norfolk, Virginia, sponsored by the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education. We are in close touch with them and moved by their plans.

Susanna McBee wrote a piece on CACEP in the Post in early February. Assuming that you have not seen it, we are enclosing same. I was pleased to see that you first proposed the program last fall.

Sam, we would really appreciate any materials you have on CACEP. Please let us hear from you soon.

My regards to Elnora and your kids and my best to Peggy and Frank Peterman.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordon, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:slw
Enc.-1

October 13, 1964

Dr. Thomas P. Hardeman
Project Director
Community Service Foundation
125 Harbor Bluff Drive
Largo, Florida

Dear Dr. Hardeman:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 9, and the brochure on "Continuing Academic and Cultural Enrichment Program," (CACEP). We highly appreciate this borchure, and will be looking forward to receiving other materials upon completion. They will be very helpful to us in our work here at the Council.

Please relay out thanks to Samuel Adams for thinking of us in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

584-6007 (CLEARWATER)
361-5961 (ST. PETERSBURG)

Community Service Foundation

125 Harbor Bluff Drive, Largo, Florida, 33540

October 9, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St. N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Attn: Vernon Jordan, Jr.

Dear Mr. Jordan:

~~At the request~~ of Samuel Adams we are enclosing our brochure on CACEP. Other materials are being prepared at ~~this time.~~ As soon as they are completed we will forward them on to you.

Original in research

If you have any questions, we will be happy to answer them.

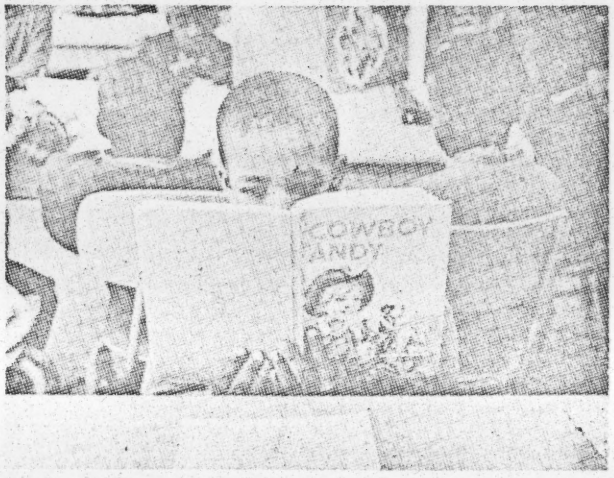
Sincerely,

COMMUNITY SERVICE FOUNDATION

Pat Hardeman HC

Thomas P. Hardeman, Ph.D.
Project Director

TPH:hr
encl.



VOLUNTEERS

One of the great advantages of CACEP is that this extra teaching has been by Negro and white volunteer teachers and other competent people. This is the only way such a program can be carried out without high cost to the taxpayers.

CACEP in Pinellas County is operated by the following Steering Committee and Board of Trustees:

Board of Trustees	Steering Committee
Raleigh Greene	Emanuel Stewart
Floyd T. Christian	Rose Hemingway
Donald Baldwin	William Thompson
James Healey	Louis W. McCoy
Bette Wimbish	Frederick D. Burney
Willis T. Spivey	Louis D. Brown
	Sallye Davis
	John H. Hopkins
	Joseph A. Johnson
	E. H. Bowen
	Samuel Adams
	Thomas P. Hardeman

For further information write or phone

COMMUNITY SERVICE FOUNDATION
125 Harbor Bluff Drive
Largo, Florida

What is

CACEP?

CACEP means "Continuing Academic and Cultural Enrichment Program".

This project is helping thousands of Negro students of St. Petersburg to "close the educational gap" that has prevented their gaining first-class citizenship.

The same elements that have made this program successful in St. Petersburg will work in any community:

1. The interest of Negro principals and teachers in improving their schools and communities,
2. A school board that supports such aims,
3. A newspaper that is willing to help this project.
4. A philanthropic foundation to help in coordinating this program.

ACADEMIC IMPROVEMENT

The chief reasons for CACEP in every Negro community are:

1. Those who are behind in school must run faster to catch up in the race for equal opportunity.
2. This means that they must spend more time under competent instruction after school and on Saturday.
3. Because they will be working with white employees, Negro children should spend more time with white people.

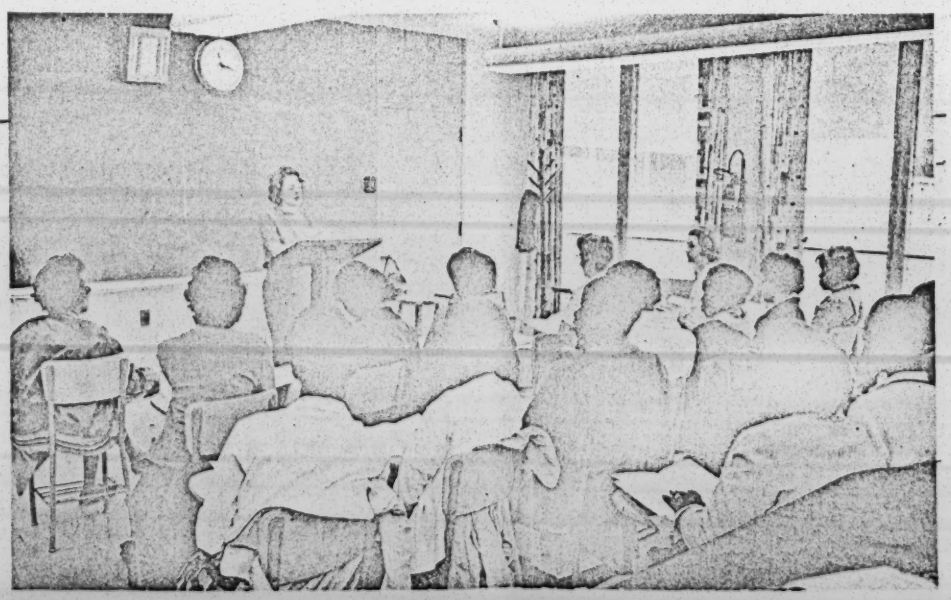
Some of the remedial and additional subjects:

art
mathematics
biology
chemistry
creative writing
dramatics
English
French
science
social studies
literature
music
Negro History
photography
reading
Spanish

CULTURAL ENRICHMENT OF SCHOOL, HOME AND COMMUNITY

In St. Petersburg, the Steering Committee has approved the extension of CACEP into the entire home and community environment by means of the following projects:

Community Survey and Planning
Negro Contributions to American Life
Cultural Assemblies
Better knowledge of agencies available to help children and adults
Home improvement for higher living standards and incentive to better education
Universal literacy and reading ability
Better use of schools as Community Centers for adult education, reading and other community activities
Better use of books for cultural and economic improvement
More children in Nursery-Kindergartens for better education of children
Creative activity to prevent juvenile delinquency
Talent Search -- (1) for better jobs; (2) for advanced education
Personal work with parents for better education of children



September 7, 1965

Mr. Leonard Summers
Coordinator
Cultural Enrichment Program
Gibbs High School
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Deonard:

I understand you are very close now to getting federal funds to help your program, so perhaps you now have time to follow-up a request of me. Enclosed is a letter seeking information on C.A.C.E.P. with a view toward getting something similar started in Charleston, South Carolina.

Do whatever you can for this man. I imagine you have, by now, prepared handout material to make requests such as this easy.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

236 Ashley Avenue
Charleston, S.C. 29403
July 14, 1965

C.A.C.E.P.
Mr. Sam Adams
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Dear Mr. Adams:

Mr. Hugh A. Brimm, Chief, Equal Employment Opportunity Office, suggested that I write to you.

I am Chairman of Labor and Industry for the Charleston Chapter of NAACP, and as such am constantly confronted with the task of trying to get local employment agencies, industries, both private and government to place qualified Negroes and to upgrade same. We find that we are facing the same type of problems that I understand you have had to cope with there. Simple manual tests that applicants often fail, not because of their difficulty, but because of a lack of experience and of familiarity with this type of thing and a consequent failing in dexterity and speed. Mr. Brimm has told me that you have been most successful in the establishment of a training center, so much so, that industry and management of such have begun to assist you in this project. He further stated that he believed that you may be willing to give to me all of the necessary information as to methods etc. towards proceeding to institute the same kind of program, here.

Though I hate to trouble you in this respect, it is needless to say how very much your help in this matter would be appreciated, for the guidance of one who has knowledge acquired through the accumulation of invaluable information and experience often determines whether a similar program will succeed or fail. I am, therefore, earnestly in hopes that you will assist us by passing on any and all information, or the means of acquiring same, that can aid us in "lining up a like set-up". Kindly let me hear from you as soon as your time will permit, for we are urgently in need of immediate action in this area, and have been for some time.

Very truly yours,
Delbert L. Woods
Delbert L. Woods
Chairmen of Labor
and Industry, Chas.
Chapter, NAACP

September 14, 1965

Corinne Latta
Assistant Director
Lane Bryant Annual Awards
465 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Ms. Latta:

Enclosed are prints of CACEP in action for your booklet, as requested in your letter to Mr. Samuel Adams.

The Times is proud to have one of its staffers among the nominees for the Lane Bryant award.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mary C. Beck
Public Service Department

/mb
encl.
cc: Samuel L. Adams

TO: THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH'S 60TH GENERAL CONVENTION, DETROIT, MICHIGAN
FROM: THE CLERGY ON THE PILGRIMAGE FROM NEW ORLEANS TO DETROIT, SEPTEMBER 12-16, 1961

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. As priests of the Church, we have prepared this statement that it might accompany the message we bear to the General Convention by our pilgrimage and through the placard we shall unveil at the convention hall. We speak only for ourselves, but, in a deeper sense, we represent the concern of many more Churchmen: the laity and clergy who gave of their substance to make the journey possible and of their prayers to sustain us, and the still more innumerable body of faithful persons who serve that the Church might be more truly itself in its struggle for inner integrity.

Believing that the Church is one, even as the nation is one, indivisible in essence, we rejoice that our number includes clergy from one ocean to the other, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. As members one of another, in Christ Jesus, we recognize our responsibility for the health of His Church wherever the Gospel is planted; and as citizens of one country, we reject sectionalism that would limit the active expression of love for oppressed brothers. At neither our starting point or our destination, nor in the larger areas they symbolize, have we any reason for complacency over the tenor of Church life or its effect in the community at large. Obedient to the commandment of Christ to go into all the world, we are acting in this instance upon our involvement in the needs of His children everywhere. We remain aware of and will return to the critical problems and latent opportunities in our own primary fields of work.

Our chief message to the Church is set forth on the placard which convention delegates will pass as they go to and from their deliberations. It presents alternatives for the life of the Church in symbolic form. One part depicts the crucified Christ with His Body pierced through by barbed wire and two words: Segregation and Separation. On either side of the aweful fence a figure kneels. Strangers to each other, one is black and the other is white. An implicit question has been asked before: "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" The other part of the placard shows Our Lord in resurrected form, blessing two men who kneel before Him. As in the first scene, they are of different color, but here they recognize one another as brothers. With the Psalmist we may say: "Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!"

This message is for Churchmen everywhere, and for all the imperative is the same: The Church must become, in every phase of its life, that which by nature it is - a holy fellowship where race is of no account. In a particular place, one aspect of the task may be dominant, while elsewhere more advanced levels of realizing the goal may be reached. None may rest until every trace of racial segregation and separation is expunged from the Body of Christ in all places. Responsibility for immediate and direct steps in the implementation of absolute principle bears a relationship to individual circumstances, but there should be no hindrance anywhere to full treatment of the principles and a foreshadowing of the steps to follow, with the first step begun. Each is accountable for decisions that fall short of the perfect Will of God. Usually we move far more slowly in the necessary steps than we ought, basing our choices on undue caution and faithless fear, rather than on either reasonable prudence or Christian courage.

At the beginning of our pilgrimage, we will look at segregation in the Body of Christ as found at some of the educational facilities we will visit. There are many other institutions where the policy is the same. We believe it to be a tragedy that they should have been closed ever, and a tragedy of immense proportions that Church schools and colleges have lagged behind others in the removal of racial restrictions. Before the courts ruled on legal questions at state-operated facilities, the Church had a theological and moral imperative to clean its house. Now the law has instructed us for seven years in what is just, right, and necessary, and still there are Church schools that are segregated. Our failure is magnified in those areas where public schools have opened, while Church schools remain closed. We share in this failure and are justifiably chided by the irreligious for the ineffectiveness of our lofty pronouncements. As members of the Body of Christ, concerned for the welfare of all its parts, we should have made our visits earlier. We pray that our coming may help the Church to view this matter with renewed urgency, so that previously closed doors may be opened with a penitent and beckoning hand extended to those so long denied entrance.

At the end of our journey, we shall consider the more subtle and difficult question of separation. In a suburb of Detroit we will confer with local clergy on the role of the churches in overcoming discriminatory housing practices. This is the most crucial need in areas which have discarded the more blatant forms of segregation. After the old barriers are gone, men may meet as strangers and equals before the law. They live in separated housing areas, and they go to separate churches. Our "separate-but-equal" parish system is not only a product of the housing pattern but a contributor to it. Too often parish life is an adjunct to some cultural, economic, or racial separation of God's children, when it should be a unifying force within the community. We have had "Negro churches" and "White churches", perpetuating the system by our attitudes and our approach to clerical appointments. Let those who were first set apart by the old barriers, and then separated by customs and covenants, become brothers now before parish altars. Let their diversity testify to their unity in Christ Jesus. This is the opportunity before Churchmen in many parts of the land, and ultimately everywhere. We pray that the General Convention will help the Church commit itself to what it must do regarding parish life and in the community to support open occupancy patterns in housing.

Whether with the dying forms of segregation or the elusive, but equally fragmenting, devices for the separation for Christ's Body and the community, Churchmen everywhere have work to do. We are making our journey that the Church might focus for awhile on the needs, and gain a renewed vision of the goals and fresh understanding of its task. In places where our coming may evoke hesitancy or regret among local clergy, we will seek opportunities to confer with them. We trust that such occasions will lead to greater understanding on the part of all. We sincerely hope to conclude our pilgrimage without interruption, but we cannot enjoy the luxury of being exempted from consequences born out of our conviction that the Church is one and that we, as priests of the Church, cannot be divided according to the ways of the world. If anyone feels we do harm to the cause of Christ, we pray that this may not be so; and we earnestly suggest review of the nature of our mission as His disciples. It is in His Name that we go forth, and to Him we offer our selves, our souls and bodies for what we pray may be used for the spread of His Kingdom. In such days of world crisis, with dark signs of world destruction, may His Church, at least, be found faithful. Amen.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

September 9, 1961

FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

Enclosed is a copy of the proposed message to the Episcopal Church's 60th General Convention, meeting in Detroit, September 17-19, from the participants on the Prayer Pilgrimage to Convention sponsored by this Society. The message will be considered by the approximately thirty Episcopal clergy going on the pilgrimage, when they meet in New Orleans on Monday evening, September 11th.

By the time you receive this, we should be on our way. It has not been sent earlier because we hope to leave New Orleans unnoticed. It is our desire to give no cause for alarm within that city which is adjusting to its recently desegregated schools. Accordingly, we will board a bus at a point other than the terminal. During the course of our journey in the deep South, we will not reveal in advance what school or college we will stop at next.

I hope you will note carefully our interpretation in this message of what we are doing - that our primary concern is with conditions within the Church at the parish and institutional level. As far as our demonstrated interest in conditions in the general community, it should be noticed that we will consider with the local clergy of a Detroit suburb the problems there connected with segregated housing practices. Increasingly the racial problem (or opportunity!) is understood in its national proportions, and we hope our venture will lessen regional animosities as, together, we work at a matter that is common to all.

Should you have questions about the pilgrimage, I shall be glad to answer them after we get to Detroit. I can be reached at this Society's exhibit booth in Cobo Hall which will be tied in with the central switchboard.

Yours faithfully,

John B. Morris

(Rev.) John B. Morris
Executive Director

JBM: jlw

Encl.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

FOR YOUR INFORMATION
JOHN B. MORRIS

(COPY)

July 3, 1963

The Very Rev. Alfred Hardman, Chairman
Board of Trustees, The Lovett School
St. Philip's Cathedral
2744 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Dean Hardman:

The Church is stricken and wounded by the decision of the Lovett School's Board of Trustees not to admit Negroes. The fourteen Episcopalians who serve thereon, including yourself, have opposed both the teaching of the Church and the advice of the Bishop of the Diocese. Children who are innocent of the prejudices of the Board members are distraught now that they must be withdrawn; older ones understanding somewhat the immoral condition from which they must be removed and yet not wanting to believe that men they thought were respected community and Church leaders could have made such a decision. Certainly, seldom have so few injured so many by their faithlessness, nor done such great harm to the Church itself. Our Lord must have wept for the Church in Atlanta when the decision to bar certain of his children was made by men who probably consider themselves to be steadfast members of His Church. How have we, the pastors and teachers in the Church, failed so miserably to communicate the Gospel of Jesus Christ which knows no distinctions of color?

Surely, with all of the efforts of the Bishop and others to obtain a different decision, the Lovett Trustees have made their decision conscious of how it stands in opposition to the Church and accepted morality. Is it because they have been told by someone in priestly office that there is no sin involved? I understand from several persons to whom you have talked recently that you fully agree with the decision and, indeed, have claimed that no moral question was involved. Then, how has the whole Church failed so that one of its priests could support segregation, as reportedly you have? The decision of the Trustees places all of us under an awful judgement for past failures and present disobedience.

I have consulted the President of this Society and it has been decided that steps will be taken in the fall at the opening of school to protest the Trustees' decision which leaves some doubt as to the faithfulness of both Episcopal clergy and laity. Encouragement and support will be given to direct action protest aimed at both the school itself, as well as to the members of the Board who are Episcopalians. Most likely this will include the placing of pickets at the school and at other points appropriate to the respective Trustees, as well as some form of mass pilgrimage to either the school or the Cathedral for the saying of the Penitential Office.

May God have mercy upon His whole Church, and now upon both those who have made this decision for Lovett and those who must protest it.

Yours faithfully,

John B. Morris

The Rev. John B. Morris
Executive Director

cc: Lovett School Trustees, Parents and Teachers
Episcopal Bishops
ESCRU Personnel

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

STATEMENT BY THE REV. JOSEPH A. PELHAM, PRESIDENT
The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
Atlanta, Ga.

June 7, 1963

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity commends the Rt. Rev. Randolph R. Claiborne, Bishop of Atlanta, for his recent statement urging the elimination of discriminatory admissions practices at the Lovett School. We strongly hope, as Bishop Claiborne implied, that the school will be desegregated no later than the start of the academic year, 1963-64. We support the Bishop in his decision to sever the Church's ties with Lovett School in the event that such change is not accomplished.

We further hope that any change in practices undertaken by the School's Trustees will include the reconsideration of their rejection of Martin Luther King, III, on the basis of race.

The school's rejection of the child of such widely known parents has seriously compromised the Church's witness before the entire world. However, the wrong done would be as great had the child been from a less eminent family.

When such happens anywhere, the whole Church must acknowledge responsibility. However, as we are all weakened when there is failure in one place, so we are all made strong when we are called to action in such unequivocal terms as those of the recent Whitsuntide Message from the Episcopal Church's Presiding Bishop. Calling for support of the Negro protest movement, Bishop Lichtenberger pointed also to the need for action within the Church and stated that the Church must sever itself from facilities which fail to conform to its teaching on race.

While we watch for the desegregation of the Lovett School, we know that it is but one of many like conditions within the South and elsewhere. It must be of concern to Churchmen that the number of Church-related primary and secondary schools in the South has increased since 1954 at a far greater rate

than elsewhere. We can only conclude that the expansion of Church-related schooling has often been a means of providing refuge for those who wish to avoid desegregat. public schools. Also, many Church schools in the North have been segregated until recently, and some remain so through devious means of discouraging Negro applicants.

In overcoming the resitance of tradition, it may be necessary to establish a positive policy for integrated schooling through purposeful recruiting of members of minority groups, so that the educational experience of all may be enriched and made relevant to the contemporary world in which segregation and separation are fading.

In many situations throughout the country the necessary changes in Church school admissions policies will come only through the active concern of local Churchmen. The Presiding Bishop has called upon us "to take action" against the "intolerable scandal" of discrimination within the Church, its schools and other institutions. To assist Churchmen in taking action the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity will begin immediately a national survey of admissions practices in all schools having any relationship to the Episcopal Church. The project will be headed by a Churchman, Dr. Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan. Episcopalians in areas in which Church schools are located will be asked to help in determining the practices of schools in their locale. The results will then be circulated within the Episcopal Church. The report will assist Churchmen from minority groups in selecting a school for their children, and will provide guidance to Churchmen in their financial support of such institutions. The information thus gathered will also indicate the need for action in situations in which Church school authorities and/or diocesan officials fail to act to eliminate discriminatory practices. The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity will seek the assistance of local Churchmen in initiating a program of sustained protest in a manner appropriate to the circumstances.

The Presiding Bishop has declared, "The entire Christian community must pray and act." The time for both is now. For the Church to support the discredited ways of gradualism becomes more offensive every day.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

FOR YOUR INFORMATION
JOHN B. MORRIS

MEMORANDUM

August 22, 1963

TO: Key ESCRU Personnel & Other Concerned Churchmen

FROM: The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director, ESCRU

RE: Episcopal Services at the Lovett School.

This is to supplement references to the continuation of Episcopal services at the Lovett School contained in our newsletter of August 6th. Since issuance of the newsletter the cooperation of the Diocese of Atlanta in the perpetuation of the weekly Segregated Eucharist at Lovett has been substantiated from two sources.

On July 23rd the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Atlanta prepared this Statement: "In answer to the resolution presented to the Standing Committee by a Committee appointed at the meeting of the Clergy of the Metropolitan area of Atlanta, which was held at St. Luke's Church on July 21, 1963, it is the opinion of the Standing Committee that the participation of the Clergy in official worship and exercises at Lovett School would not be detrimental to the interest of the Church. However, the Standing Committee feels that the question should be left to the conscience of the individual clergyman as to whether he should accept or decline an invitation to participate."

In a letter dated August 8th and sent to Lovett parents, Mr. J. A. Rabbe, Director of Administration for Lovett (and also a Trustee of the Cathedral of St.Philip), said: "Since the Bishop has stated that "The Lovett School is not to be considered an Episcopal School" and that he "has withdrawn approval for any priest of the Episcopal Church to act as headmaster", the rumor is rife that there will be no more daily chapel, no Wednesday morning communion services, no teaching of religion and an abandonment of all religious emphasis. Nothing could be farther from the truth and all of these will be continued just as in the past and have the approval of the Bishop."

The assertion by the Bishop of Atlanta that there may be no "implied or official support for the Lovett School by the Episcopal Church" is threadbare when the background maneuvers designed to placate prominent Churchmen are brought to the surface. In addition, then, to the question of a segregated Church-related school (which Lovett has always been and remains), the issue of complicity in permitting and encouraging the holding of Episcopal services in such a setting rests clearly with diocesan authorities. Protest directed to the Diocese of Atlanta seems in order, especially during the time of each weekly Segregated Eucharist at the school.

Apart from the main issues it should be noted here that I asked of the Bishop and Standing Committee on July 23rd (at the same meeting mentioned above) an opportunity to fairly present our understanding of what has transpired with regard to the Lovett situation, to be compared with their account of the same proceedings. There has been no response to this nor reconsideration of the terms they had offered for the continuation of my license to officiate in this diocese. Others in the Church concerned for this situation should be advised that, while our primary interest is not in defending our role in the Lovett issue, we are quite prepared to spend as much time before any group in the Church to which Atlanta diocesan authorities have addressed themselves.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

September 17, 1963

STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
ON THE LOVETT SCHOOL SITUATION

On June 14, 1963, the Board of Trustees of the Lovett School, Atlanta, Georgia, "unanimously adopted resolutions denying applications of Negro students for admission." This fact was the major concern of a meeting of the Executive Committee and Chapter representatives of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, held in Atlanta, Georgia, September 15-17, 1963. The Society consists of persons who have committed themselves to establish total participation in the Church of all persons without regard to race, class or national origin, and to express this concern at parish levels and in a more creative witness throughout the community at large.

As a result of the decision of the Board of Trustees, the Bishop of Atlanta announced during the past summer that he had severed all official or implied ties with the Lovett School. The Society commends the Bishop of Atlanta for his efforts and actions in this matter. However, in light of the following facts, it is an inescapable conclusion that the Episcopal Church is still an integral part of the school's life. The charter of the school requires: 1) That seven members of the Lovett School's Board of Trustees be communicants of and approved by the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip; 2) That seven other members of the Board of Trustees be Episcopal residents of the State of Georgia; 3) That the Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip shall always be a member of the Board of Trustees; and 4) That the Lovett School is committed to furthering the "Episcopal faith as contained in the Book of Common Prayer."

At present, with the full knowledge of the Standing Committee of the Diocese, worship services of the Church continue at the Lovett School, including a weekly celebration of the Holy Communion. The Society is shocked that the Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip continues to serve as Chairman of the Board of Trustees. This fact and his present involvement at the Lovett School worship services clearly identifies the Episcopal Church with the school's segregationist policy.

Lovett's Director of Administration, J. A. Rabbe, obviously does not consider the school as presently outside the orbit of the Episcopal Church. This is evidenced by Mr. Rabbe's letter to parents on August 8, 1963. At that time he reassured them that daily chapel, Wednesday morning Communion services, the teaching of religion, and all other religious emphases "will be continued just as in the past and have the approval of the Bishop."

Following a thorough and prayerful consideration of the facts of the Lovett School situation, the Society feels constrained to protest in the following manner: 1) sustained inter-racial participation in the school's services of worship; 2) sustained picketing of the school by concerned Churchmen; 3) expressing our common guilt in the sin of segregation through the recitation of the Penitential Office at the Cathedral of St. Philip; and 4) regularly offering prayers throughout the whole Church in order to help heal the deep wounds, both personal and social, which the Lovett School has created.

(OVER)

The Lovett School situation is all the more grievous because it is symptomatic of the widespread compromise of the Church's teaching. The Society commends those people at Lovett School and in this community who recognize the injustice of segregation and who continue to suffer and labor in obedience to Jesus Christ.

****

Atlanta members of ESCRU and other Churchmen were consulted at the meeting of the Executive Committee. The following are those persons from elsewhere who attended:

*The Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, Farmington, Mich. - ESCRU President
*The Rev. John W. B. Thompson, Jr., Mobile, Ala. - ESCRU Secretary
*The Very Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Indianapolis, Ind. - ESCRU Director (C)
*The Rt. Rev. Chandler W. Sterling, Helena, Montana - ESCRU Director
The Rev. James P. Breeden, Boston, Mass. - ESCRU Director (C)
Mrs. George Edwards, Detroit, Mich. - ESCRU Director (C)
Mrs. John Fountain, Riverside, Conn. - ESCRU Director
Dr. Van S. Lawrence, Minneapolis, Minn. - ESCRU Director (C)
The Rev. Richard Cadigan, St. Louis, Mo. (C)
The Rev. Albert Ettling, Houston, Texas (C)
Mrs. Donald Frey, Chicago, Ill. (C)
Mr. Wendell Erwin, Cleveland, Ohio (C)
Mr. Lloyd A. Johnson, Brooklyn, N. Y. (C)

Astericks (*) indicate Executive Committee members. Other Directors are designated. Chapter representatives are indicated by a (C).

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

FOR RELEASE IMMEDIATELY October 15, 1963

LOVETT SCHOOL PROTEST BEGINS

Picketing of the Lovett School in protest of its policy of segregation begins today. Episcopal laymen and laywomen from the Atlanta area will initiate the protest action that will be continued on an indefinite and periodic basis so long as it remains a Church-related school that segregates. The concern of the entire Episcopal Church for the Lovett situation will be demonstrated in succeeding weeks by the participation of clergy and laity from all parts of the country. A statement by the Executive Committee of the Episcopal Society, which has been previously released, is attached as background information on the protest now beginning.

This is not a protest action that seeks to encourage Lovett faculty and students to refrain from crossing the picket line. Rather, as the attached statement suggests, those who walk in protest before the school recognize that many within "suffer and labor in obedience to Jesus Christ" notwithstanding the policy of the Lovett Board of Trustees to bar Negro applicants. Neither do those who protest claim any immunity from the agony of the Church nor the common failure that involves everyone in the Church.

Tuesday's action, beginning at approximately 2:30 P.M., will be conducted by a small interracial group of Atlanta Episcopal laity. Other Atlanta Churchmen will assist with picketing later. In succeeding weeks various prominent Churchmen will join them. All will protest in dignified fashion through carrying signs that show a Crucifixion scene where Christ's Body is pierced by the words SEGREGATION and SEPARATION emblazoned on a barbed wire fence that bisects His Body and separates two kneeling figures of different color.

STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
ON THE LOVETT SCHOOL SITUATION

On June 14, 1963, the Board of Trustees of the Lovett School, Atlanta, Georgia, "unanimously adopted resolutions denying applications of Negro students for admission." This fact was the major concern of a meeting of the Executive Committee and Chapter representatives of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, held in Atlanta, Georgia, September 15-17, 1963. The Society consists of persons who have committed themselves to establish total participation in the Church of all persons without regard to race, class or national origin, and to express this concern at parish levels and in a more creative witness throughout the community at large.

As a result of the decision of the Board of Trustees, the Bishop of Atlanta announced during the past summer that he had severed all official or implied ties with the Lovett School. The Society commends the Bishop of Atlanta for his efforts and actions in this matter. However, in light of the following facts, it is an inescapable conclusion that the Episcopal Church is still an integral part of the school's life. The charter of the school requires: 1) That seven members of the Lovett School's Board of Trustees be communicants of and approved by the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip; 2) That seven other members of the Board of Trustees be Episcopal residents of the State of Georgia; 3) That the Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip shall always be a member of the Board of Trustees; and 4) That the Lovett School is committed to furthering the "Episcopal faith as contained in the Book of Common Prayer."

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Following a thorough and prayerful consideration of the facts of the Lovett School situation, the Society feels constrained to protest in the following manner: 1) sustained inter-racial participation in the school's services of worship; 2) sustained picketing of the school by concerned Churchmen; 3) expressing our common guilt in the sin of segregation through the recitation of the Penitential Office at the Cathedral of St. Philip; and 4) regularly offering prayers throughout the whole Church in order to help heal the deep wounds, both personal and social, which the Lovett School has created.

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REPRINTED FROM

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

November 15, 1963 Vol. 82 No. 20

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EPISCOPALIANS

Faith & Prejudice in Georgia

What role should the church play in the bitter fight for Negro equality in schools? In Atlanta last week, the question was very much in the public eye as pickets bearing anti-segregation placards marched outside the fashionable, privately run Lovett School. It was a kind of civil rights protest that the South has grown used to—except that this time the pickets included Episcopal priests, and their protests were aimed at a school with Episcopal ties.

The pickets were objecting to Lovett's whites-only admission policy, which pits the practice of some wealthy supporters of the church squarely against the desegregationist preaching of their bishops. Atlanta's crusading Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., a Baptist, raised the issue last February, when he asked the school to admit his son. The school said no to him, and later to two Negro children from Episcopal families. The ground for rejection was purely racial, and the arguments have been echoing across Atlanta ever since.

Communion Every Wednesday. Lovett's trustees obviously felt that their church connection was not involved, since the school is, technically, an autonomous corporation without church affiliation. But in fact, 14 of Lovett's 21 trustees are required to be Episcopal communicants; their chairman is the dean of St. Philip's Cathedral; and, in keeping with the school's chartered purpose of furthering religion in accordance with "the Episcopal faith as contained in the Book of Common Prayer," Holy Communion is celebrated by the dean each Wednesday morning for the student body.

This was connection enough for Lovett's headmaster, the Rev. James McDowell. He promptly resigned, saying, "The church has spoken on the matter of segregation, and it is my duty, so long as I am a priest, to adhere to its teachings." At the same time, the Rt. Rev. Randolph Claiborne, Jr., Bishop of Atlanta, declared that the trustees' actions "have forfeited the right of implied or official support for the Lovett School by the Episcopal Church." But to many, the bishop's words seemed hollow, since he had hardly exhausted opportunities for bringing pressure on the school. He presumably could ask St. Philip's dean to resign as head of the trustees, or even forbid the holding of Episcopal services at Lovett.

He did none of these things, causing the Atlanta Constitution's Publisher Ralph McGill, himself an Episcopalian, to resign from the cathedral, snorting "Utter hypocrisy" to an interviewer from the Atlanta church's monthly newspaper The Diocese. McGill's words never got into print, for a right-hand man of the bishop rushed to The Diocese's print shop after the press run was over, gave orders that the entire issue be destroyed and a new one distributed without the interview.

Pillars of the Church. Behind the bishop's reluctance to take tougher action, no doubt, was the fact that among Lovett's staunchest supporters is a group of Atlanta's richest and most influential people who also happen to be pillars of the Episcopal Church. An example is wealthy Lawyer Philip Alston Jr., a senior warden of St. Luke's parish. Since 1959 he has personally been responsible for raising more than $350,000 for Lovett's building program—including one gift of $100,000 that was contingent upon the school's remaining closed to Negroes.

Whether or not Lovett ever caves in to the pickets and desegregates, the diocese has already been bitterly divided by the situation, and it may take years for the ill will to dissolve. To one priest in the diocese, the Lovett School has become "the Little Rock of the Episcopal Church." It is in fact a small-scale but authentic Christian tragedy.

As their years of service and support for the diocese indicate, the supporters of the Lovett School are in many respects dutiful and loyal members of the church who simply cannot accept this one summons to obedience on the question of desegregation. Yet the Episcopal bishops have made it unmistakably clear that in 1963 the real test of Christian service is whether a man lives up to this specific application of Jesus' command, "Love thy neighbor."

Reprinted By

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

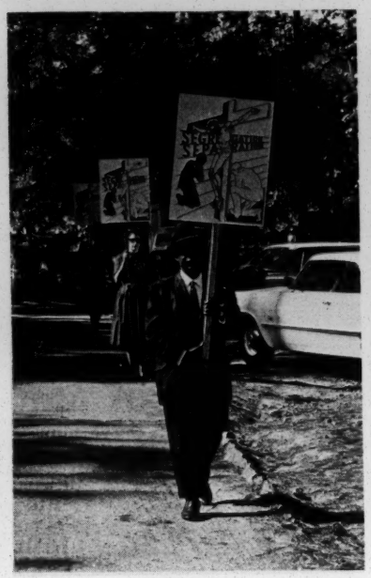
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

STILL SEGREGATED AND CHURCH-RELATED

The TIME account above is accurate and fair. Pictures and captions (from school yearbooks and news stories) on the other side of this sheet have been prepared by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. They show Atlanta Episcopalians and others who have come to Atlanta to demonstrate the concern of the entire Church. Other Atlanta groups have indicated they would join the protest. As of March 1, 1964, this was the situation at Lovett:

- Segregation prevailed with no sign of change in sight, notwithstanding the appointment of a new Headmaster. However, vague references increasingly emanate from Lovett spokesmen who assert they have not said the school would "never" integrate. Enrollment is down over one hundred already and it is known that other faculty and students will leave if things remain as they have been.
- The school's charter has been modified, substituting "Christian" for "Episcopal" and eliminating religious criteria for the selection of Trustees, but all Episcopal Trustees remain on the Board, including the Dean of the Cathedral.
- All that outwardly characterizes Lovett as 'Church-related' remains the same. Yearbook captions on the other side suggest some of Lovett's ties to the Church. Morning Prayer is said almost daily. Special services from time to time, in the tradition begun when Lovett was under the Cathedral, continue. There is a weekly celebration of the Holy Communion. The diocesan Standing Committee has said that it did not find the continuation of services at Lovett detrimental to the interests of the Church.



Lovett To Keep Chapel

Negroes Rejected By Lovett School

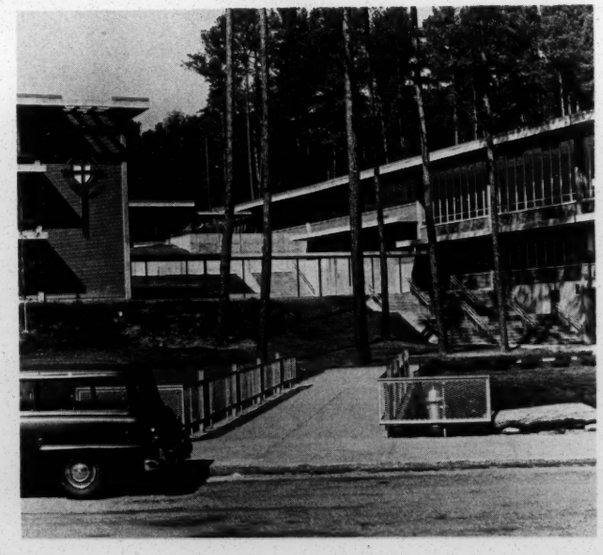
STUDENT BODY ASSEMBLES FOR CHAPEL EACH MORNING

THE LOVETT SCHOOL
FOUNDED 1926
OMNIA AD DEI GLORIAM

Fellowship of Christian Athletes

Claiborne Lists Facts On Lovett

Integration Bias At Lovett Denied



6 Picket Lovett School, Vow Periodic Protests

Lovett Boasts Choirs At All Ages

No Race Bar, Bishop Says In King Bid

THE LOVETT SCHOOL
AN EPISCOPAL DAY SCHOOL
4075 PACES FERRY ROAD, N. W.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

Alston Memorial Chapel Vestry

Group Still Picketing At Lovett

Emblem from Class of '63 Graces Lovett School

RACE RELATIONS
Church School Turns Down Negro Child

TRUSTEES SET GOALS FOR LOVETT.

STATEMENTS FROM THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING
OF
THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. - NOVEMBER 14-16, 1963

RESOLUTION: #1

WHEREAS, the Executive Committee of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, after prayerful and thorough consideration of events concerning The Lovett School in Atlanta, Georgia, acted to protest in picketing, worship and personal prayer; and,

WHEREAS, The Lovett School, through its Board of Directors, has acted to deny admission solely on grounds of race; and,

WHEREAS, The Lovett School continues in fact to be a Church-related school;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, commends the action of the Executive Committee and urges that protest action continue so long as The Lovett School remains a segregated Church-related school.

RESOLUTION #2

WHEREAS, following the Presiding Bishop's 1963 Whitsuntide message, the Episcopal Church's involvement in notable witness to racial unity has been greatly increased; and,

WHEREAS, the coming days may involve even more publicity and need for the allocation of resources;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the delegates to this Annual Meeting urge that the National Board of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity direct its attention to such organization as is necessary to insure that the hands of the Presiding Bishop and the resources of the Department of Christian Social Relations be strengthened at the 1964 General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

RESOLUTION #3

WHEREAS, The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity has assembled for its third Annual Meeting at the International Inn, in Washington, D. C., in November, 1963; and,

WHEREAS, it has been the practice of the Society to make known to interested persons cases in which inequality, on basis of race, class, or national origin exist; and,

WHEREAS, it has become known that policies of segregation and discrimination are being fostered, knowingly or unknowingly, by the American Automobile Association, in that recognition and approval are extended to hotels, motels, and other accommodations which practice the exclusion of Negroes;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this body express to the AAA its regret over these practices and urge that the same be discontinued; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that ESCRU memorialize its members and other interested persons to convey their sentiments to the AAA and its local affiliates, and to withdraw their support from that organization until such practices are discontinued.

RESOLUTION #4

WHEREAS, the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting in Toronto, in August, 1963, urged passage of effective civil rights legislation; and,

WHEREAS, the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives has approved a bill to this effect; and,

WHEREAS, the national interest requires prompt debate and consideration of this important legislation;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November, 1963, strongly urges upon the Honorable Howard Smith and Rules Committee of the House of Representatives prompt action to permit consideration of civil rights legislation by the body of the House.

RESOLUTION #5

WHEREAS, the Christian religion teaches that every man should be accepted as a child of God without discrimination because of the color of his skin; and,

WHEREAS, there has been some desegregation of tax-supported schools in every state in the Union; and,

WHEREAS, lamentably there are still some Church schools or Church-related schools that segregate on the basis of race;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, encourages the Board of Directors of said Society to declare at its next meeting that the Society will call for and aid and support in direct action protest before any Church school or Church-related school that is known to have a discriminatory policy of practice, or is known to have rejected some applicant on the basis of race alone.

RESOLUTION #6

WHEREAS, the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America has on numerous occasions expressed the teaching and belief of the Church that racial segregation or discrimination is contrary to the Christian religion; and,

WHEREAS, the House of Bishops has directed the attention of the Church to their teaching through its Pastoral Letters; and,

WHEREAS, the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, in his Whitsuntide message, called upon the Church laity as well as clergy to become personally involved in the struggle to banish the sin of racial discrimination from our society; and,

WHEREAS, many dioceses have attempted, through resolutions in Conventions and through persuasion and mediation and direct action protest, to occasion changes within these Church-related institutions;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, hereby calls upon all dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of

America to disassociate themselves from any and all Church-related institutions that practice racial discrimination either explicitly or covertly.

RESOLUTION #7

WHEREAS, the Church ought to look to the condition of her own house at the same time she calls upon society to look at its house in the area of equal employment opportunities; and,

WHEREAS, the Church on her parochial, diocesan and national levels, particularly through her institutions, is an employer of large numbers of persons, and in her purchasing power of goods and services, and in particular her building programs, has an opportunity to witness to her conviction of equal employment opportunities;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, calls upon the Church at its several levels to terminate any contractual relations with firms offering goods or services to the Church which have failed to demonstrate that they practice equal employment opportunities within their organization; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Church generally be requested to enter into no new business arrangements for purchasing goods or services from organizations which practice racial discrimination in relation to employment policies and practices.

RESOLUTION #8

WHEREAS, the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America has called all churchmen to support by financial assistance and direct action those who are seeking elimination of racial discrimination and prejudice in so many areas of life in these United States; and,

WHEREAS, the House of Bishops has spoken with Emphasis and clarity directing the effort and attention of the whole Church to the same circumstances and situations; and,

WHEREAS, there are many direct action citizens' groups committed to the attainment of the same human dignity as is The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity from its Christian perspective; and,

WHEREAS, we recognize and affirm that the Church is set in the midst of a world in which God is working for the renewal of human relations; and,

WHEREAS, since The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity Chapters have already engaged in action sponsored by citizens' civil rights organizations;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, hereby adopt as its national policy an intention and willingness to cooperate with citizens' agencies and groups which are working to improve inter-racial and inter-cultural relations; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity local Chapters adopt, as policy, participation in citizens' civil rights group activity locally and nationally; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity Chapters maintain close liaison with such citizens' groups for the purpose of joint planning, mutual support and action; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity Chapters provide programs in which the membership may be informed as to how, where and when they may usefully participate in efforts initiated and carried out by citizens' civil rights organizations.

RESOLUTION #9

WHEREAS, industrial corporations and larger business firms generally seem to withhold from members of the Jewish community within their organizations appointment to significant executive positions; and,

WHEREAS, such differences as do exist between Jews and other religious and cultural groups imply no lack of ability or competence in a particular field of endeavor; and,

WHEREAS, such discrimination when practiced deprives deserving and able persons of rightful preference and advancement on non-justifiable grounds;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, urge industrial corporations and larger business firms to consider seriously the adoption and implementation of policies which will eradicate this injustice through discrimination; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the various national associations of industry and business organizations and the Department of Commerce of the United States of America.

RESOLUTION #10

WHEREAS, the Honorable John F. Kennedy, President of these United States, has seen fit to direct by Executive Order that mortgages for private housing, made through the Veterans Administration and the Federal Housing Administration, be granted apart from any consideration of the particular racial background of the applicants; and,

WHEREAS, many financial institutions lending money for the creation of mortgages for private housing are related to the Federal government through a system of insurance of depositors' funds by an instrumentality of the Federal Government; and,

WHEREAS, it is evident that many of these lending institutions withhold funds for the creation of mortgages on the sole basis of an applicant's race;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, urge the President of the United States to consider the issuance of an Executive Order forbidding any bank or lending institution, related to the Federal government through the insurance of customers' deposits, from practicing discrimination on the basis of race in making loans to create mortgages for the purchase by citizens of private homes; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to President Kennedy.

RESOLUTION #11

WHEREAS, the Church pension fund of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America derives income from stocks and bonds invested in large

American corporations; and,

WHEREAS, the several Dioceses, Churches and institutions derive income from investments in large American corporations; and,

WHEREAS, many American corporations are said to segregate on grounds of race and religion in their hiring policies;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the above institutions and organizations of the Protestant Episcopal Church request these corporations to present a statement regarding their policies as related to employment of racial minorities in all types of jobs, including white collar executive positions.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that boards of trustees and directors of the various Episcopal Churches and institutions continue to manifest interest in the racial policies and practices of all companies in which they have investments.

RESOLUTION #12

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Third Annual Meeting of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, meeting in Washington, D. C., November 14-16, 1963, express its sincere appreciation to its Washington members for their thorough work in the planning and preparation of the arrangements for this meeting and express its special gratitude to the Reverend W. A. Wendt, Acting Chairman, to his assistants, the Reverend Tilden Edwards and the Reverend H. B. Evans, to Mrs. M. Maxine Boyd, Hospitality Chairman, to Miss H. S. Campbell, General Secretary, to Mr. and Mrs. Jack Orndorff, in charge of Banquet Tickets, and to Mr. W. L. Weifenbach, in charge of General Arrangements.

RESOLUTION #13

BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, meeting in Washington, D. C., November 14-16, 1963, express its thanks and profound gratitude to the Reverend Erville S. Maynard, Jr., for the development of and arrangement for an outstanding program.

RESOLUTION #14

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Third Annual Meeting of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity meeting in Washington, D. C., November 14-16, 1963, send its greetings to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, meeting concurrently and express its gratitude for this opportunity for fraternity in Christ our common Lord.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The following RESOLUTION was adopted on Friday evening, November 15, 1963, at a Joint Session of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity and The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, which met concurrently, at The International Inn.

RESOLUTION #15

WHEREAS, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity are duly convened in Washington, D. C. to consider the requirements of faithfulness to the Gospel in the cause of justice and unity among men; and

WHEREAS, our attention has been focused upon the witness for interracial justice and unity in Chester, Pennsylvania and Williamston, North Carolina, to wit:

In Chester, our brothers have publicly demonstrated their concern for reasonable improvement of overcrowded, unsanitary, unsafe school conditions in depressed areas of that city. Four hundred and forty-one men, women and children have been arrested; their bail is presently set at $200 apiece and their fines may range as high as $300 apiece. Christian clergy and lay leaders in Chester have neither shared in nor supported this witness and this suffering.

The demonstrations and mass arrest have led the authorities of the city of Chester to agree to relieve overcrowding, eliminate unsafe and unsanitary conditions and to close and rebuild the most inadequate of its facilities, the Franklin Elementary School; and

In Williamston fifteen white Christians, clergy and four seminary students, affirming their belief that all men are members of the same human family, were arrested yesterday with fifty-four Negroes while marching into the downtown area in a demonstration for interracial justice and unity in that community. These were the first white persons to join the Negro demonstrators there since they began their actions over four months ago. During this time more than 230 demonstrators have been arrested. The marchers are being held under $500 bond;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that

We, The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity urge Roman Catholic and Episcopal clergy and laity in Chester and Williamston to stand with and support their brethren who have so clearly demonstrated their faithful convictions;

We offer our prayers, our alms and whatever other resources are available to us within our respective disciplines for the relief of those who have suffered or have been imprisoned for their witness;

We commend our Christian brothers who have been active in this just cause and send our greetings and our love to all those in whose witness we so rejoice.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The offering received at two celebrations of The Holy Communion was designated for Chester and Williamston as a tangible sign of the concern of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

Board of Directors

1964

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THE REV. CANON ALLAN N. ZACHER, JR.
St. Louis, Missouri

THE REV. LAYTON P. ZIMMER
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

*Executive Committee

Executive Director
THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE PURPOSE of this Society shall be to encourage men to respond positively to God's call for unity in the Church. The unity of God with man, and man with man, is made by God in Baptism and Holy Communion. We commit ourselves to establish total participation in the Church for all persons without regard to race, class, or national origin; to give mutual support to all who act in this ministry of reconciliation; and to express this concern at parish levels and in a more creative witness throughout the community at large.

IN FAITHFULNESS to Jesus Christ, Who values all men equally, and Who prayed that all might be One in Him, and in understanding of the essential unity of the Church, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity affirms the unity in His Body of all persons without any distinction as to race, color, national origin or class. In accord with the councils of the Church, we affirm that any form of segregation or separation based on such distinctions in either the Church or the general community is contrary to the will of Christ and must be resisted by His Church and its members.

WE CONFESS OUR FAILURE to seek steadfastly this unity of persons and we penitently admit to prejudices which may separate us from brothers. Praying daily that the Church may be rid of all divisions based on race, color, national origin or class, and that a more just social order be established, the members of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity will work toward this end within the Church and their communities as they are individually and corporately able. **They constitute this Society as a sign of their commitment and as a means of resource to the Church, and they invite other Churchmen to join them in its objectives, which are to seek:**

1. A recognition that our responsibility lies with all persons in a given geographical area and is concerned with drawing these persons into full fellowship through Baptism and Holy Communion within that one parish unit.

2. Mutual support amongst this society for all clergy and laity who, in seeking total participation in parish life for all, find themselves at odds with accepted social mores.

3. Increased acceptance and implementation of the principle that the Church is an inclusive fellowship which seeks out and welcomes all persons into the worship and parish life of any congregation without distinction as to race, color, national origin or class.

4. Elimination of criteria based on race, color, national origin or class for applicants to Church camps, conferences, schools, colleges, hospitals, or other institutions or agencies which the Church may operate or sponsor in any way.

5. Understanding of the prophetic role of the Church, both through corporate and individual effort, in seeking the elimination of racial and other prejudicial barriers in society, whether these be erected by governmental process or through custom.

6. That condition of harmony among peoples which is the benefit of a mutual recognition of the Lordship of Jesus Christ, so that brothers may dwell together in unity and see Him so lifted up that He will draw all men unto Him.

If you agree with this Statement, take your stand with three thousand others and use the attached form to join. If there is a Chapter of the Society where you live, you will be informed about local activities. Whether you are active in a chapter or not, your membership in ESCRU makes you part of a growing fellowship of Churchmen who are ready to move beyond words into the concrete implementation of these objectives. You must decide what you can do where you are.

* * * *

With still others being formed, as of late 1963 there were ESCRU chapters in these dioceses: Michigan, Missouri, Chicago, Maryland, New York, Ohio, Long Island, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Los Angeles, Indianapolis, Texas, and Central New York. Informal ESCRU groups meet in other dioceses and at some seminaries on occasion.

USE THIS FORM TO JOIN ▶

TO: THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

CHECK ONE AND SIGN:

☐ As a member of the Episcopal Church and in agreement with the principles of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity as set forth in its Statement of Purpose, I apply for membership in the Society and enclose my dues for one year.

☐ I would like to support its work and be counted as a "Friend of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity". I enclose a contribution of $4.00 or more and understand that I may share in all activities and literature of the Society but may not hold office or vote.

_____
SIGNATURE

DATE_____

MR.
MISS
MRS.
REV.
RT. REV.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

ADDRESS

PARISH DIOCESE

Checks may be made payable to ESCRU or Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Additional contributions are needed to support the work of the Society and will be gratefully received.	DUES: Annually $4.00 per person $6.00 per couple $_____	ANY ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTION $_____	TOTAL ENCLOSED $_____

Contributions to ESCRU are tax exempt.

Behold,
how good and joyful
a thing it is
for brethren
to dwell together
in unity!

PSALM 133

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1964

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5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

Advent II NEWSLETTER December 8, 1963

"It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated, here, to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on..... that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." - Abraham Lincoln

"A rising tide of discontent...threatens the public safety...The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently ignore them."; "(The) result of continued Federal legislative inaction will continue, if not increase, racial strife--causing the leadership of both sides to pass from the hands of reasonable and responsible men to the purveyors of hate and violence."; "We face...a moral crisis as a country and a people... It is time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and above all, in all our daily lives."

- John F. Kennedy

"...and, above all, the dream of equal rights for all Americans whatever their race or color. These and other American dreams have been vitalized by his drive and by his dedication. And now the ideas and the ideals which he so nobly represented must and will be translated into effective action."; "...no memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long. We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for a hundred years or more. It is time now to write the next chapter, and to write it in the books of law."; "John Kennedy's death commands what his life conveyed--that America must move forward. The time has come for Americans of all races and creeds and political beliefs to understand and to respect one another. So, let us put an end to the teaching and the preaching of hate and evil and violence. Let us turn away from the fanatics, from the far left and the far right, from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our nation's bloodstream. I profoundly hope that the tragedy and the torment of these terrible days will bind us together in new fellowship, making us one people in our hour of sorrow."

- Lyndon B. Johnson

OUR HEARTS HAD ALL MET IN ONE MAN

"Weep, brothers, weep! You have cause. It is right, it is manly. The murder was cruel. It searched for and found the spot where it might meet and wound a nation's heart....Weep, brothers; confess to the success of the enterprise. The shot was well aimed. It brought us all down, down into the dust. Our hearts had all met in one man; and there they all received the fatal blow. It was cruel to hurt us so...." - The Rev. E. N. Kirk, 1865.

When we mourn the death of someone important to us we recall the times we met or the times we watched him, as well as our own whereabouts when it all happened. As John Kennedy flew South to sorrow I enplaned for upper New York State where I spoke that evening. The next day I was lunching with a group of clergy in Schenectady when the waiter brought news that the President had been shot in Texas. We prayed for him and for the country. Surely he'll recover if this is really so. We hurried out and in the lobby the finality of it all crashed in: He's dead!

My next engagement was Sunday evening. Seldom in my travels is there free time that I do not employ actively in visiting ESCRU folks or looking up others, but it had been a busy fall and I had decided to stop at the Holy Cross Monastery and rest a few days. It was a good place to go to cry. The radio in my U-Drive-It took me to Dallas, and Washington, and throughout the land and abroad where my horror and incredulity merged with everyone else's. The long-distance telephone eased my feeling that I should fly home. Repeated readings by Robert Frost over one network articulated something for many: "I have been one acquanited with the night. I have walked out in rain--and back in rain. I have outwalked the furthest city light." Whitman's "O Captain! my captain!" erradicated a hundred years as the reader said: "Here Captain! dear father! This arm beneath your head; It is some dream that on the deck, You've fallen cold and dead."

It was not a dream. The shots were well aimed and we were a stricken people. The grief has not passed nor will it quickly. Our hearts had all met in one man and he is dead. We would mourn for any President's death, but there is more here than the office he held or even the cruel circumstances. There was a beauty and vitality about the man and his mind which compelled admiration, even, I believe, from some who differed with him on policies. As was said in a sermon in Atlanta: "He was courageous, resolute, brilliant, aggressive..." He was this and more; idealist and pragmatist, he inspired confidence as someone who would venture much and get the job done, even if we might have felt he should have risked more. He understood and welcomed pressure in behalf of common goals. It was reassuring to know that he was at the helm. It is not easy to transfer this confidence to a new captain, although I think that he, too, will merit it. It is ironic that he in whom our hearts had met will, in death, be our strongest ally for the accomplishment of national purposes toward which he had directed us.

John Kennedy's journey had ended as I concluded the longest trip I've ever taken. I stopped first in Washington and stood outside Arlington Cemetery as the cortege came by and during the graveside services which were audible over the wall to the thousands of us who could do nothing more to help. We saw the temporal power of the world go by and prayed that the harmony would endure beyond, if not because of, mourning. Taps sounded and the Cardinal's final prayer and it was time to head back to the airport, but there were no taxis as in the morning. I thought of a brave woman who had walked that day and determined that I had both the time and the will to walk also. Perhaps others similiarly will walk new paths or go down them further because of the courage of the man we buried and the woman who walked. I thought of her again when I got home and was told how my five-year-old namesake had asked, as he watched television: "Am I a 'John-John'?" - JOHN B. MORRIS

HEADWATERS OF HATE

"How many Sunday school children have to be dynamited to death? How many Negro leaders have to be shot in the chest? How many presidents have to be assassinated?", asked Churchman LeRoy Collins in an address at Columbia, S. C. The former governor of Florida went on to say that the murder of President Kennedy was fostered by "Dixie battle cries which incite sick souls to violence." It is so. I have seen these past ten years of Southern resistance to desegregation insidiously at work to produce a climate where murder seems like a simple solution. To be sure, crackpots may come forth anytime, but the tempo of the times facilitates their capacity to act. Consider the school children in some Southern schools (did it happen elsewhere?) who applauded when the President's death was announced. This would not have happened ten years ago. We are paying the price now of "massive resistance". It has become an easy thing to talk about "the encroaching Federal octopus", our regional "way of life" as over and against an evil national government, with cries for impeachment on all sides and even more. Some of the same Southern politicians who called to "pay their respects" upon the President's death contributed to the cirsumstances which made it more possible. That the accused assassin displayed left-wing leanings, although he was probably more crackpot than anything, does not absolve the right-wing fanatics whose headwaters of hate are chiefly racial. It is not difficult to discern racial prejudice under the cries of "states rights", "Buy American", "Communist", etc. The real Communists are much too disciplined to do business with someone like Oswald. Their most effective work is done through those who oppose them the most, creating the climate where anarchy and utter disregard for the state shows itself in the fatal blow at Dallas. While racism has never been an exclusive Southern product, and neither is right-wing extremism for sure, there is too much about what has happened with particular roots in Southern history to leave us comfortable. The lynch law of the South operated in classic terms in the terrible shooting of Oswald. But who is not of the South? It is only that here the sickness is closer to the surface. Because it is, notwithstanding the meaning of what happened in Dallas, the South will probably move further ultimately. - JBM

TO MORE ELOQUENTLY HONOR

President Johnson, himself a Southerner, has set the pace for what we must do now. Can we do less than support him, both because it is right and because nothing "could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill."

Write and wire President Johnson, your Senators and congressmen, and let them know you'll back them up. ESCRU chapters and members around the country sent wires in advance of President Johnson's address to Congress. This was mine: "Even as we mourn the most fitting tribute to the late President will be resolute action in civil rights. Many white citizens of the South such as myself, along with a host of other Americans, will be holding up your arms as you speak to these matters tomorrow."

Watch for the key times to send a letter or wire again....and do it! Don't wait for someone else to suggest it. The power of vox populi should not be underestimated.

Look to official Church support for civil rights legislation in the form of public stands by vestries and parish meetings, and at diocesan conventions. Our bishops have taken such a stand nationally. This must have grass-roots expression now.

Support and encourage the efforts of our national Department of Christian Social Relations in behalf of legislation. In the face of opposition from some quarters it would be well for diocesan conventions to go on record specifically backing up the National Church's program.

Finally, intensify your efforts amongst friends and fellow parishioners to give them the opportunity of deciding where they really stand on race. Legislation is needed, but the conversion of a whole people is involved. Your own witness is supremely important.

Consider the possibilities of what you might do in enlisting the concern of others through a membership recruitment effort for ESCRU....through personal contact and confrontation. The decision to join ESCRU has, for many, been the beginning of a more meaningful life in the Church.

THE ANNUAL MEETING - 1963

HOW WAS IT? With upwards of 300 persons the attendance at the Third Annual Meeting doubled that of previous years, and with an equal number of Roman Catholics attending the concurrent sessions of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice the International Inn in Washington was a behive of activity.

THE SPEAKERS. Wyatt Tee Walker, Burke Marshall, Louis Lomax, Bill Stringfellow, and Arthur Walmsley; with Tom Thrasher and Jim Breeden preaching at the eucharists. A set of tape recordings will be available to chapters later.

THE PARTICIPANTS. From all over, with far-away places like California, Texas, Minnesota, Georgia, etc., represented. The one flaw was that there was too little time for participants to talk with each other and learn how each approaches problems and opportunities in their situations back home. We'll spend more time on this at the Annual Meeting next year which convenes in St. Louis just before the General Convention.

WHAT WE SAID. Resolutions adopted at the Third Annual Meeting are enclosed with this newsletter. They include a joint one adopted by ESCRU and the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (NCCIJ) regarding protest actions in Chester, Penna., and Williamston, N. C.

PROPOSED PROGRAM. Two proposals described elsewhere in this newsletter were commended to the national ESCRU Board for final action: One would seek financial support for the National Church when funds were otherwise withdrawn because of the Church's stand on race, and the other proposes that segregated Church-related institutions be identified in some symbolic action at the next General Convention.

WE ELECTED: To the national ESCRU Board from floor nominations in Washington - The Rev. Theodore Gibson, The Very Rev. & Bishop-Elect Paul Moore, Jr., Mr. Lloyd A. Johnson, and Mrs. Francis X. Walter. See the enclosed Statement of Purpose for their whereabouts. They joined 12 incumbent Directors and the 8 elected via the provincial mail ballot who were: The Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, Mr. Malcolm E. Peabody, Dr. Kenneth Clark, Mr. Maury Maverick, Mr. John Murphy, III, The Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, The Rev. Hugh Saussy, Jr., and the Rt. Rev. Chandler W. Sterling.

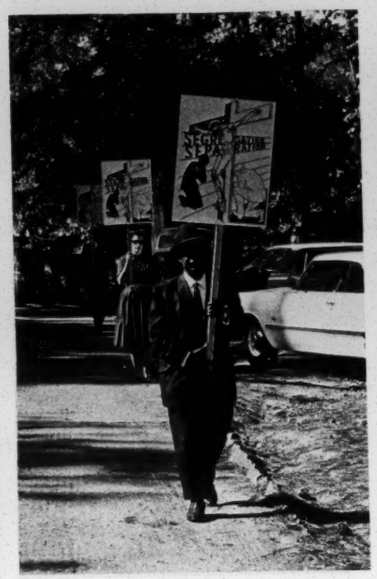
PHOTOS ON NEXT PAGE: (1.) ESCRU Banquet Headtable Guests Singing "We Shall Overcome." L-R, Mr. Raymond Hilliard, Chairman, NCCIJ; The Rev. Joseph Nicholson, Saint Louis; Mr. Lawrence Oxley, Washington; Mr. Matthew Ahmann, Executive Director, NCCIJ; The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Banquet Speaker & Executive Director of SCLC; The Rev. John Morris, Atlanta; The Rev. John Stevens, Houston; The Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, Farmington, Mich.; Mr. Sterling Tucker, Washington Urban League; & Mrs. John Morris. (2.) Bishop Sterling of Montana; The Rev. John LaFarge, Chaplain, NCCIJ (Fr. LaFarge died the following week.); Canon duBois of the American Church Union; The Rev. Wm. Wendt, Chairman of Washington Arrangements Committee for the Annual Meeting; and the Rev. James Breeden, Boston. (3.) Mr. Louis Lomax (4.) Mr. William Stringfellow (5.) Canon Bayard Clark, Washington Cathedral; Mr. Burke Marshall; and Mr. Charles C. Johnson, Jr., of the Department of Health, Education & Welfare; (6.) The ESCRU Banquet diners, with visiting Roman Catholics (7.) An ESCRU session, with The Rev. Rowland Cox visible on the front row, along with The Rev. Layton Zimmer, The Rev. Reginald Kent, Mr. Edward Cambridge, the Rev. John Snow, and Miss Ann Orlov. (8.) Registering: Mr. William Lowry, Mr. William Weifenbach, and Mr. Jack Orndorf.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING WASHINGTON, D.C. NOVEMBER 14-16, 1963

BEHOLD HOW GOOD AND JOYFUL A THING

IT IS FOR BRETHREN TO DWELL TOGETHER IN UNITY!



Lovett To Keep Chapel

Negroes Rejected By Lovett School

STUDENT BODY ASSEMBLES FOR CHAPEL EACH MORNING

THE LOVETT SCHOOL
FOUNDED 1926
OMNIA AD DEI GLORIAM

Fellowship of Christian Athletes

Claiborne Lists Facts On Lovett

Integration Bias At Lovett Denied

6 Picket Lovett School, Vow Periodic Protests

Lovett Boasts Choirs At All Ages

No Race Bar, Bishop Says In King Bid

THE LOVETT SCHOOL
AN EPISCOPAL DAY SCHOOL
4075 PACES FERRY ROAD, N. W.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

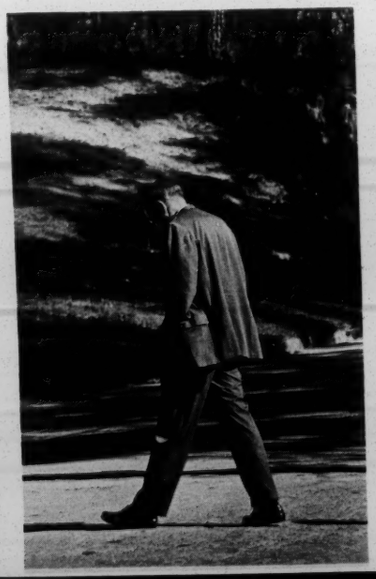
Alston Memorial Chapel Vestry

Group Still Picketing At Lovett

Emblem from Class of '63 Graces Lovett School

RACE RELATIONS
Church School Turns Down Negro Child

TRUSTEES SET GOALS FOR LOVETT.



THE LOVETT SCHOOL SITUATION

Picketing continued for six weeks until the day before the President's death. It will be resumed this week and continue indefinitely and periodically so long as Lovett remains segregated. See the October 13, 1963, Newsletter for the full statement by the ESCRU Executive Committee which determined after a three day meeting in Atlanta that the protest should be made.

Pickets were before Lovett on 17 out of the 30 school days during the first six weeks of picketing. To date all have been Episcopalians. Because the segregated status of Lovett is also a community concern it is expected that others will join the protest sometime early in 1964. Thus far 15 lay persons have picketed one or more times, as compared to 12 clergy. 14 visitors have participated, as compared to 13 Atlantans. Other Atlantans were to have joined the action the 7th week which was cancelled.

Demonstrating the concern of the entire Church for this "Little Rock of the Episcopal Church" visiting "picketees" (as John Burnett Morris, Jr., terms them) have come from California, Michigan, Texas, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Massachusetts. A priest from Ohio will picket next week and it is expected that other areas will send representatives. In addition to picketers sent by ESCRU Chapters, there have been representatives of the Michigan Girls Friendly Society and the Episcopal Churchwomen of the Dioceseof Michigan. The roster includes such well-known Churchmen as the Rev. C. Kilmer Myers and the Rev. Malcolm Boyd.

There is still need for assistance. Groups able to send a representative should advise the ESCRU office and suggest alternative dates when they could have someone in Atlanta for at least two full days. In the face of elusive restraints, pressures, and fears, visiting Churchmen encourage and strengthen Atlanta Churchmen. It also indicates the widespread nature of the concern for Lovett, and, finally, it sends informed persons back to interpret the situation in their respective dioceses.

The November 15, 1963, issue of TIME magazine carried a lengthy and accurate account of the Lovett situation and, for the first time in print, identified at least one of the wealthy powers-behind-the-scenes who have had decisive roles in keeping Lovett segregated. They named the Senior Warden of one of the largest parishes in Atlanta. Other interpretative pieces on Lovett have appeared elsewhere, including a story in the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of November 17th.

Because so much confusion and misinformation concerning ESCRU's role in the Lovett situation is abroad, largely emanating from the diocesan office here, a copy of a fourteen page letter to the Bishop of Atlanta is enclosed for the information of ESCRU members. It should be remembered that ESCRU said nothing publicly until June and then and since has sought to acknowledge appreciatively such steps as diocesan officials finally took. The bitter background of it all is in this letter.

The jumble of captions or headlines amidst the pictures on the previous page tell the story as the general public sees it. The captions nearest the center picture of the school are from school yearbooks and indicate something of the religious nature of the school. The school seal is shown and under the center picture is a reproduction of a letterhead form used by Lovett since the expansion and move into new buildings. It says what some deny: "AN EPISCOPAL DAY SCHOOL". A headline tells of the addition only this fall of the cross affixed to the school building and visible in the upper left-hand corner of the center photograph. The Capetown Placard carried by the clergy and laity picketing tells its own story. The Acting Headmaster, Mr. J. A. Rabbe, shown pacing in the street on the first day of picketing in the lower center photo, reveals something of the dilemma and challenge facing the Trustees, most of whom are prominent in the Church in Atlanta. As those who "set goals for Lovett" they have thus far chosen segregation as a primary one.

"A MATTER IN DISPUTE?"

Seabury Press used to do address labels for all the clergy for ESCRU. They now use the mailing services of National Council and advised us to apply there when we wanted to send a mailing a few months ago. Although several years ago we'd been told National Council couldn't do labels for ESCRU, at several stages along the way in our request for help we were assured that there would be no difficulty. We had to submit a formal request stating the contents of the proposed mailing. We did. It would contain a covering letter and enclosures: an ESCRU Statement of Purpose and membership form, the flyer on the Annual Meeting, and a piece interpreting ESCRU's interest in Lovett chiefly on the basis of the Executive Committee's statement. Our request was refused. Several reasons were offered in reply which might or might not have bearing on the question of the organization making the request. The final reason, however, and the one which seems primary as I read their reply, was put this way: "Furthermore, the mailing that you proposed was to have included a position paper on a matter in dispute within the Church. This likewise represented a request for deviation from policy." The so-called "position paper" was to have been our official position on Lovett - namely, why we felt it necessary to protest segregation at a Church-related school. Nothing of the background dispute with diocesan officials was involved. Is it a deviation from policy to oppose segregation at Church-related institutions? Are we really supposed to take action and become involved? Or is it only satisfactory when our action and involvement is out in the world somewhere so that it doesn't upset the tranquility of the Church itself? A matter in dispute, indeed! If National Council thinks the Lovett issue is clouded will it call a hearing and let the whole question be explored? Or, must the Body of Christ be so deftly and politically contrived as to avoid discomfort to any and all bishops? It should be noted that the issue of address labels is only one instance where the timidity of National Council on intra-Church questions is revealed. Even CHURCH & RACE will not so much as report the fact that picketing is going on. How tragically the Church is continually calling us to commitment, witness and action, only to look askance when the call is taken seriously. - JBM

THE PENITENTIAL SHARE

One of two program proposals approved by the Annual Meeting and commended to the ESCRU Board for action is a plan termed "The Penitential Share". Recognizing that funds are being and will be withheld from the support of the National Church's program because of the Church's stand on race, it is proposed that ESCRU raise such funds as it can to compensate as much as possible for whatever a diocese may withhold, for instance. If a diocese, however, sacrificially makes up some parish's deficit withheld because of race and maintains its full support of the National Church, ESCRU would direct funds to that diocese. This effort would both serve to secure needed funds and would help to involve the whole Church in the effort. It might also encourage some to turn away from the use of economic pressure on the National Church, lest their share have to be borne by others.

A PERSPECTIVE

A quotation from the Executive Director's Report at the Annual Meeting, while discussing National Council: "Any shortcomings are <u>our</u> shortcomings - the Church's - and I propose that we rally to their support."

ACTION AT GENERAL CONVENTION

The Annual Meeting also commended to the Board a proposal whereby ESCRU would call for the picketing of Church-related facilities that are clearly known to be segregated (and only after a full effort has been made in negotiations to bring about change) during the week before General Convention in St. Louis next fall. One or more pickets would then bring their signs identifying the institution and join with others in an action designed to portray the failures of the Church, our penitence and intention to do something about it. It is proposed that we ask permission for the assembled pickets to walk in the procession at the opening service or, failing this, stand or walk silently outside the convention hall during the service. This proposal and the proposed "Penitential Share" will be presented in more complete form for the consideration of the ESCRU Board at a meeting early in 1964. Members or chapters wishing to record their feelings, pro or con, may write the national office. How we respond to this challenge will be critical for the future of ESCRU.

"WHAT CAN I DO TO HELP?"

Almost 4000 persons have joined ESCRU in its almost 4 years of life. Most of them were reached by another concerned person who witnessed to their commitment and to Christ and His will. Little by little confrontation is taking place. The issue of race in American life and in the Church will not leave the uncommitted alone You may be the catalyst for numerous friends you never thought cared taking a stand with you. The ESCRU Statement of Purpose and Membership Form can help you. Use the enclosed order form to obtain a supply & see how God can use you in quietly helping others to stand up and be counted.

THE INTEGRATION REVOLUTION

A 26-page booklet by this name contains representative columns by the Rev. Malcolm Boyd as published in THE PITTSBURGH COURIER. It may be ordered from ESCRU for $1.00. Postage additional if not prepaid.

S.O.S.

O O REMEMBER US, PLEASE, as the year draws to a close if you're in the bracket where this is possible. To survive, let alone move out, ESCRU must have an ever increasing number of members & friends who can give several hundred to a thousand dollars a year. Two gave the larger figure last year. If you're not in this category, don't feel guilty! Most ESCRU members who are able give more than their annual dues. By action of the Board, taken and announced last fall, minimal annual dues go to $4.00 in 1964, with $6.00 for a couple. And, while we're on the subject, please indicate always what a check is for. We're swamped and can't always remember that you just ordered some materials, etc. Lastly, by all means, please let us know if you are moving. Otherwise it costs in time and money when mailings are returned to us.

IF WE ONLY HAD THE MEANS....

We get letters at times marked "Attention: Research Dept." or "Publications Dept.", or even some right-active ESCRU members will address some inquiry "Dear Sirs" as if they didn't know that, except for membership renewals & literature orders, etc., all the mail comes to my desk. We could use the services of full-time staff in "Research" and "Publications", just to speak of a partial aspect of our work, but we haven't got them. Mrs. Crowley stays swamped with her bookkeeping duties, I with mine, and at the moment we're looking for an office secretary who should be two or three persons. Without even straining I could use a professional assistant. There are projects pending which may never get done. There is more we could and should be doing. We desperately need someone full-time in touch with the mushrooming chapters. In short, this is both a bid for your patient consideration if we seem not to turn out as you wish we could but, more importantly, it's a call for help if anyone within hearing distance has sufficient means or access to foundation assistance, or, even, planning ahead, would like to remember us in their will! Dollar for dollar I'll bet we produce more in the way of cause and effect for change and challenge as regards religion and race than most any other church-oriented group or agency. - J.B.M.

CAPETOWN PLACARD AVAILABLE

Large versions of the Capetown Placard, as used in the Lovett Protest (page 6) and measuring 22 X 28, may be ordered from the ESCRU office for display or demonstration purposes. The 6-ply poster is 75¢ each. A 50 pt. heavier board is $1.00. A carton that will take between 1 & 4 costs us 25¢. Because of its size it must go via Air Parcel Post. In short, two of the 6-ply shipped to New York City would run about $3.65 all told. Order & we'll bill you.

THE CHAPTERS

Most ESCRU Chapters are booming with program. It would, and probably should, take an entire Newsletter to fairly report on what we hear in Atlanta is happening. We will shortly issue a directory of key personnel so that the chapters may benefit from each other's newsletters, etc. The newest of our 16 officially chartered groups is in the Diocese of Central New York and is chaired by the Rev. George Nagle.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta 3, Ga.
The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director

"And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you -- ask what you can do for your country.

"My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

"Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

- JOHN F. KENNEDY
1917 - 1963

"Depart, O Christian soul, out of this world, In the Name of God the Father Almighty who created thee. In the Name of Jesus Christ who redeemed thee. In the Name of the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth thee. May thy rest be this day in peace, and thy dwelling place in the Paradise of God."

- BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

CALL TO WITNESS

SEE PAGES 3,4,5

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

Lent III NEWSLETTER March 1, 1964

SOCIETY TO LAUNCH NEW SOUTHERN WORK

Under a grant from the Field Foundation, ESCRU will sponsor a "Southern Field Service" program aimed at strengthening ties amongst religious leaders in Southern communities for a more effective and common confrontation of the racial crisis. The Rev. Henri A. Stines, who is presently Rector of Grace Church, Detroit, will come to Atlanta in mid-April to initiate the project which is being undertaken in cooperation with the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches. While marking the first addition to its professional staff since the founding of the Society, Fr. Stines will not be encumbered with organizational duties, but will focus through Episcopal Church channels on developing a more coordinated witness of church leaders in Southern communities both before and during specific crisis situations. He will be one of the first of a team of denominational workers the NCC expects to work through when needed. In subsequent ESCRU Newsletters Fr. Stines will have opportunity to report on his efforts and the situation as he finds it.

MISSION TO HATTIESBURG

"Nearly 50 clergymen - among them 11 Episcopal priests and two rabbis - journeyed to Hattiesburg, Miss., on January 21st, to support efforts of local Negroes to register as voters. Sponsoring the trips were the United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race (an official arm of the United Presbyterian Church), the Presbyterian Interracial Council, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, and the Rabbinical Assembly of America. ESCRU recruited the Episcopal participants, after the National Council of the Episcopal Church declined to do so. The Presbyterians

(Continued on Next Page)

DR. KING TO ADDRESS SOCIETY DINNER AT GENERAL CONVENTION

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., will speak at the dinner sponsored by ESCRU at the General Convention in St. Louis on October 12th. The Convention opens the night before. The Society's Fourth Annual Meeting will be held in St. Louis for two days prior to Convention, opening on Friday night, October 9th. Churchmen who are not delegates to Convention, but want to attend the great opening service on Sunday evening, Oct. 11th, can come for the Annual Meeting on the 9th and stay through the dinner with Dr. King on the 12th and still have opportunity to see the opening highlights of a General Convention.

At the last General Convention the Archbishop of Capetown was the Society's guest and addressed its dinner. It was the largest of the various Convention dinners, with tickets sold out beforehand. Reservation forms will be sent to all members in the spring. If you are planning to come to the Annual Meeting and the opening days of Convention write now for housing information to:

Convention Reservation Bureau
The 61st General Convention
1210 Locust Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

ACTION PLANNED AT GENERAL CONVENTION

Pursuant to a recommendation of the 3rd Annual Meeting, the Society's Board of Directors determined at its meeting in Atlanta, February 2-4, to map plans for a peaceful demonstration in St. Louis which would attest to our corporate failures and need for remedy in realizing the inclusive nature of the Church at all levels. More on this later.

ESCRU MEMBERS AND OTHER CHURCHMEN SHOULD SUPPORT SPECIAL APPEAL

The Presiding Bishop has called on Episcopalians to give $150,000. and more to aid Episcopal clergy and laity involved in the civil rights struggle. An appeal letter has been sent to all clergy and was reproduced in the most recent issue of CHURCH AND RACE. Contributions may be sent to him made out to Lindley M. Franklin, Treasurer

HATTIESBURG MISSION, Continued from front page: "...were the initiators of the action, according to the executive director of ESCRU. The clergymen marched in support of the would-be voters on January 22nd and 23rd. None was arrested. Episcopalians taking part included the Rev. Messrs. Robert L. Pierson, head of the Christ the King Foundation, White Plains, N.Y.; Layton P. Zimmer, rector of Trinity Church, Swarthmore, Pa.; James Pritchard, vicar of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del.; David Earnest, assistant at St. Paul's Church, Cleveland, Ohio; H. Barry Evans, assistant at the Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation, Washington, D.C.;Warner White, rector of the Church of the Redeemer, Chicago; Grant Gallup, rector of St. Andrew's Church, Chicago; D. Rex Bateman, vicar of St. Luke's Church, Chicago; Robert W. Castle, Jr., rector of St. John's Church, Jersey City, N.J.; John W. Pyle, Episcopal chaplain at the University of Chicago; and Gibson Winter, associate professor at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago." - As reported in THE LIVING CHURCH, February 2, 1964. Denial of voter registration opportunities to Negro citizens of Hattiesburg has been a subject of litigation for some time without remedy. Now, since the presence of the visiting clergy, they are being processed, although it remains to be seen how many are actually registered. The picketing by the task force of clergy continued throughout the first week, marking the first time that peaceful picketing has been allowed by authorities in Mississippi. A task force of clergy has remained there since and will continue at least until Easter, with the Presbyterians still carrying the primary load. The Rev. Ralph Cousins, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Barberton, Ohio, was on hand for the week of February 16th. The initial group of Episcopalians was sent, for the most part, by local ESCRU groups, but due to limitations of funds and staff time at the national office, and without the endorsement of official spokesmen as in the case of the Presbyterians, we have been unable to maintain as much support of the Mission to Hattiesburg as we should. Other chapters and individuals who are concerned should contact the national ESCRU office. (More interpretation of the Hattiesburg action later.)

LOVETT STILL SEGREGATED AND CHURCH-RELATED

The Society's Board of Directors picketed the Lovett School in Atlanta on February 4th and asked the Atlanta Chapter to take responsibility for a continuing protest of the segregation policies at the Church-related institution. The Board took cognizance of the fact that the primary concern is that segregation prevails, that the school is unashamedly Christian in orientation, and that numerous Episcopal ties prevail notwithstanding the substitution of the word "Christian" for "Episcopal" in the Charter. Chief amongst them is the recitation of Daily Morning Prayer and a weekly Eucharist celebrated by the Dean of Atlanta's cathedral who remains on the Board of Trustees. The diocesan Standing Committee's enabling action for the continuation of services also stands so far as is known. By all criteria Lovett will remain Episcopal Church-related even if a Presbyterian layman is hired as Headmaster, as is rumored, but the chief thing is that it remains segregated. To show its concern for this the Long Island Chapter of ESCRU sent the Rev. W. Robert Hampshire to picket the week of February 16th. One day he went to chapel and found Bryan Green who was in town for the Bishop's Mission.

NATIONAL COUNCIL STAFF TOLD NOT TO PICKET

Staff persons from the Episcopal Church's national headquarters were advised not to participate in Lovett picketing during their time in Atlanta for a conference on the urban ministry in early February. Meanwhile in Atlanta the general community is beginning to take note of how Lovett symbolizes the backwardness of Atlanta's power structure which is well represented by prominent Episcopalians serving on the Lovett Board. "Operation Breadbasket", an association of Negro clergy chiefly dedicated to eliminating employment discrimination, has voted to participate in Lovett picketing.

BOARD MINUTES AVAILABLE

Minutes of the Feb. 2-4 ESCRU Board meeting have been sent all Directors and Chapter chairmen. Other members may request single copies if desired.

DID YOU PUT IT TO GOOD USE?

We hope that no member is still in possession of the Statement of Purpose enclosed with the last Newsletter (Dec.8), but that it was passed on to some friend. They may be had in quantity for parish, diocesan, ECW, etc., mailings.

"THE WHITSUNDAY WITNESS" -

A Call To Witness

Whitsunday, 1964

On May 17, we observe the tenth anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. At the same time the Church marks the Day of Pentecost or Whitsunday, commemorating the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon Christ's followers who were gathered "all with one accord in one place." As a nation we look back on ten years that were too long in coming, conscious of how much further we have to go in implementation of the spirit of the Court's decision. As Churchmen we look back through the ages to our original wholeness and oneness in Christ, penitently aware of the departures we have taken from the unfragmented Body of Christ which was filled with power on Pentecost and overcame all barriers of tongue and race. From the past we turn to the present and future and know that God is calling us both as citizens and Churchmen to take bold steps that will witness to our unity in Him while there is yet time.

In Whitsuntide of last year the Presiding Bishop said: "Discrimination within the Body of the Church itself is an intolerable scandal. Every congregation has a continuing need to examine its own life and to renew those efforts necessary to insure its inclusiveness fully." He called upon Churchmen to take action for this. Now, on Whitsunday of 1964, there is no more appropriate time for action that will witness to and call forth the unity of all men in Christ. Let the Church be renewed and stand as a beacon to guide a perplexed nation. Let the Faithful in Christ Jesus come together each Sunday with one accord in one place, so that it can no longer be said to be the most segregated hour of the week. Let us put aside our old patterns of 'separate-but-equal' congregations and so live together that it will be said: "Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" Let this begin with the witness of each Churchman who hears and responds to this call.

The Board of Directors of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, having duly met in Atlanta, Georgia, on February 2-4, 1964, calls upon all Churchmen, and especially those who are members of the Society, to examine their situation to determine whether they may witness to the wholeness of the Church on Whitsunday of 1964, and thereafter, by transferring from their present parish to one where the members are predominantly of another color. We rejoice in those few congregations which already reveal the richness of God's handiwork and light the way for the rest of us.

We believe that the inclusiveness of the Church must be demonstrated by both Negro Churchmen transferring to predominantly white parishes, as well as by white Churchmen transferring to predominantly Negro parishes, but we would lay special emphasis on the latter. For too long have we expected the Negro alone to take the initiative. Because the Church is the People of God, and not the house in which they dwell, each congregation is equally important and intended to be inclusive of all persons. It has been necessary for the Negro American to lead the nation into freedom through his entry into places from which he was previously excluded. Now, let white Christians demonstrate their commitment by joining in minority status with Negro Churchmen. Neither may say he has no need of the other.

Let each witness as he is able and persuaded, all for the Glory of God. Let the Church in the cities rejoice in the witness and corporately march in solemn procession to accompany those who will transfer parishes. Let Whitsunday of 1964 more nearly find the people "all with one accord in one place." Let brothers dwell together in unity and see Him so lifted up that He will draw all men unto Him.

Questions & Answers on the Whitsunday Witness -

Q. What about parish boundaries? A. Their meaning in contemporary life is best seen as an imperative on parishes to take initiative to reach the people in the neighborhood. We are a mobile people and already disregard any concept of boundaries in selecting a parish. The parish cannot avoid its responsibility for the surrounding area, but it can also reach beyond for the sake of its inclusiveness and reflection of the total community in which it is placed.

Q. Isn't there a witness to be made by staying in one's present parish and doing what you can? A. Of course! No one can decide for another exactly what he should do and where he is most needed. You decide this yourself. You very well may be needed where you are, but consider also the meaning of your transferring to the people you would be leaving. (And, yet, do we ever really leave one another within our common life in the Church?)

Q. Will I really be welcomed at the other parish? A. Someone in every congregation will be glad you've come, but you mustn't go expecting a brass band. If it's a Negro congregation you're transferring to you'll probably find a cordial reception for the most part, but if some are honest they'd tell you they were uneasy at your entry into their cozy and congenial fellowship. Long traditions of separation aren't easily hurdled, however much our minds tell us it's right. You may even be the object of some special hostility from someone who doesn't trust anyone of the other color. Perhaps you'll be the first one he'll learn to love. If it's a white congregation to which you may transfer as a part of the Whitsunday Witness, you may sense all kinds of reactions - from downright hostility to warm and cordial welcomes. One of the latter kind should be sufficient, but even if there weren't one to welcome you it might still be something to which you're called. Be patient with those whites who betray signs of being overly gushy or others who seem to have a paternalistic air. They'll learn, with your help.

Q. Should I ask the approval of the clergy? A. You may want to tell them what you're planning to do and certainly be attentive to any advice they have, but it isn't necessary to ask anyone's approval to change parishes. No one has to vote whether to admit you. It's all in the canons. Your letter of transfer is to be sent your new parish at the time you change or shortly thereafter. Most of the clergy will rejoice in your witness and wish you Godspeed or welcome you as the case may be. Some may not want to see their own rolls diminished on the one hand, however, while others may be uneasy about what your arrival will do to established parish patterns.

Q. How about my just going to visit every now and then? A. Fine! But please don't call it a part of the Whitsunday Witness. You can do this any Sunday and it's probably helpful. What we're talking about now, though, is a full commitment of time, talents, money and devotion. Visitation programs are good, but some must go further for the sake of the wholeness of Christ's Church.

Q. This really isn't a very natural thing to do, is it? A. It isn't customary, to be sure, but is such a virtue? Perhaps the greater abnormality is our tragically separated condition whereby the categories of "white" and "Negro" parishes even exist. Such an act of witness as you are considering undertaking will become so natural in time that others wont have to worry about their self-consciousness. All-in-all it's better that you be somewhat self-conscious so that you will be protected from boasting of this in a manner designed to boost yourself instead of glorifying God.

Q. Who will help me decide? A. Talk with everyone you thing you should, and then ask Our Lord to help you in prayer and through the Holy Communion.

IF YOU INTEND TO JOIN IN THE WHITSUNDAY WITNESS:

Please let us know using the form to the right. It is not necessary, however, to advise us or anyone of your intention. Some may wish to do this as confirmation to themselves of their decision. No names of persons or parishes will be published. No follow-up contact will be made, although we would welcome hearing from you. This is a declaration of present intention and, of course, may be altered without further communication with the Episcopal Society.

TO: The Episcopal Society
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

As my part in the Whitsunday Witness, and so that the inclusiveness of the Church may be more fully realized, I intend on May 17, 1964, and thereafter, to worship at and participate in the parish life of:

_____
(Your new parish)

SIGNED:_____

* * * * * * * * * * * *

THE AGONY OF THE CHURCH

The Rev. Jesse F. Anderson, Rector of St. Thomas' Church, Philadelphia, sent the Episcopal Society office copies of an exchange of correspondence he had with a former parishioner. We asked his permission to publish the letters which follow:

"Dear Father Anderson:

"I was a member of St. Thomas and I left Philadelphia after Christmas and am now living in Allendale, S. C. The Church here is all white and so far I have not been able to attend any of the Services. I was called in by some of the members and they told me that it would not be a good idea to come to their Church for Service and I walked out of the meeting. I wrote to the Bishop and he came and talked with me and said that he would let me know something later. It has been more than a week and I have not heard from him yet. So I am not going to Service anywhere. The minister seems to be afraid of the people. His name is Father Clark and the Bishop's name is Bishop Temple of Charleston.

"The minister and some of the members try to give me enough money to go to service on the campus of Voorhees Junior College 27 miles away but I refused to take it.

"So I would like to know what you think about it because I know you are very good on these things. Yours truly, Franklin Solomon"

"Dear Franklin:

"It hurts and tears my soul to receive a letter such as that I received from you. You mentioned that the members told you, it would not be a good idea for you to come to 'their' Church. I put 'their' in because in reality it is not 'their' Church but the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"When St. Thomas' became organized it asked for admission to the Diocese of Pennsylvania every year from 1796 to 1865, but was refused because it was a Negro Church. However, they continued to ask year after year. It seems to me that a witness such as this is necessary in your case. I am sending a letter of transfer for you to Father Clarke and I would recommend that your Sunday worship be not 27 miles away at Voorhees College but that you go each Sunday to the Church of the Holy Communion (what irony!) and be turned away every Sunday as long as they wish to turn you away. Before you leave the vicinity of the Church kneel on the Church steps. (Under separate cover I am sending you a Prayer Book in case you do not have one). While kneeling say the Confession on page 589 asking God especially that He will

(Cont. on next page)

TAPE RECORDINGS OF ANNUAL MEETING TALKS AVAILABLE

From the Third Annual ESCRU Meeting, Nov.14-16,1963

Reel 1 - Address by the Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, at the Banquet, with group singing of "We Shall Overcome"
Address by Mr. Burke Marshall

Reel 2 - Address by Mr. Louis Lomax
Address by Mr. William Stringfellow

Cost: $10.00 for the set. Both must be ordered.

Send order with payment to:

The Episcopal Society
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Agony of the Church, continued from the preceeding page:

take any hatred out of your heart. Then pray for the people within the Church that they will have their hardened hearts pierced by the love of the Lord Jesus Christ, that you then receive spiritual communion because the real presence of Jesus is on the Alter of that Church of the Holy Communion by reading the portion of page 80 beginning 'For in the night in which he was betrayed' through the Invocation at the middle of page 81 and that you read the words for receiving the Body and Blood of Our Lord at the bottom of page 82 and top of page 83. Such a witness as this would be the finest worship that you could have under the circumstances.

"If difficulty arises you can be assured that St. Thomas' Church will stand behind you financially and if it becomes absolutely necessary so that you feel you need me to be there personally with you, I will gladly come.

"God bless you and may His Body and Blood strengthen and refresh you in this trying hour. Very sincerely yours, Jesse F. Anderson."

Mr. Solomon may be addressed at 21 Ellis Street, Allendale, S. C., As of press time there was nothing new as to the position of the Church of the Holy Communion according to Fr. Anderson.

Allendale is a small Southern town. So is Cedartown, Georgia, where Saint James' Episcopal Church has recently welcomed a Negro family into the parish, making it the first somewhat integrated parish in the Diocese of Atlanta. The Rector is the Rev. H. L. Chichester, Jr., who may be addressed in care of the parish.

SCHOLARSHIP AID STILL AVAILABLE FOR SEWANEE

The first Negro student to be enrolled in the undergraduate school at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, is receiving financial assistance both from the University and from ESCRU. There is a balance in the ESCRU Sewanee Scholarship Fund available to additional Negro students admitted to the academy or college at Sewanee for the approaching academic year. Interested persons should apply first to Sewanee which welcomes applications. If the ESCRU funds are not allocated by this fall they may revert to the Prayer Pilgrimage Appeal Fund for other uses. Write Mr. John B. Ransom, Director of Admissions, University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, for information about admission requirements, courses, etc.

PRESIDENTIAL POSTER AVAILABLE

A poster, 14 inches by 18 inches, in red, white and blue colors, showing President Johnson and carrying the text of his plea for tolerance last November ("The time has come for Americans of all races and creeds....to respect one another....let us put an end to the teaching ...of hate and evil and violence....", Etc.) may be ordered from the Society's office for 15¢ each. It was prepared by the Institute of Human Relations and carries an imprint of the Episcopal Society.

MRS. KENNEDY ACKNOWLEDGES EXPRESSIONS

A number of Society members sent contributions to ESCRU in memory of President Kennedy. Notice of these was sent to Mrs. Kennedy. A card with the following message has been received from her: "Mrs. Kennedy is deeply appreciative of your sympathy and grateful for your thoughtfulness."

FIRST ESCRU PRESIDENT TO NEW POST

Mr. John V. P. Lassoe, Jr., who was the first President of the Episcopal Society, has left his appointment to the National Council to become the Director of the Diocese of New York's Department of Christian Social Relations. In this position the Church should have maximum benefit of his long experience and profound understanding of the meaning of CSR work. We wish him well and Godspeed.

BISHOP WEST AGAIN STANDS IN RECTORY DOOR

The Bishop of the Diocese of Florida has again refused permission to a white priest to accept a post in his diocese because of his taking a forthright position on the racial question. Several years ago he would not let a member of the Society's Board of Directors accept a call as curate, where both Vestry and Rector wanted him, unless he resigned his position in ESCRU. He went elsewhere in the South. Now Bishop West has discouraged a Negro parish from calling a white clergyman who would have probably accepted. We are advised by others in Florida that it was because of this particular priest's ready commitment to the Church's teaching on race. It is reported that Bishop West has said he doesn't feel he should let a white clergyman go to a Negro parish until he can place a Negro priest in a white parish. He has not replied to our letters asking for verification, nor did he before.

BISHOP OF VIRGINIA DELIVERS CHARGE

The Rt. Rev. Robert F. Gibson delivered an eloquent Pastoral Address to the 169th Council of the Diocese of Virginia in January, dealing extensively with racial and other controversial matters. A copy may be obtained from the ESCRU office.

MASSACHUSETTS CONVOCATION

In December the Diocese of Massachusetts had a special convocation on racial matters. It is but one thing in a series of positive steps taken by Churchmen in that diocese. Bishop Stokes' public statements have put the Church clearly on the side of total desegregation. The involvement of Episcopal clergy and others from the Boston area in Williamston, N. C., has both helped down there as well as back home, as in the aftermath of the Prayer Pilgrimage. The ESCRU Chapter is at work. These and other forces see the Church as attuned in the Diocese of Massachusetts to the needs of the day as anywhere. Assisting in all of this is ESCRU Director Father James Breeden who is a special consultant to the Bishop on racial matters.

NEW CHAPTERS CHARTERED

Charters were granted local ESCRU groups in Atlanta, Newark and Washington when the national Board met in Atlanta February 2-4. The Chairmen of the respective new chapters are: Dr. Lee Shelton, the Rev. Marshall Rice, and Mrs. James Herold. This brings to 19 the number of chapters.

NEW PLAY FROM BOYD

We have sold 400 production kits of the Rev. Malcolm Boyd's trilogy "Study in Color" and over 100 tape recordings. Now he has written a new one, "The Community", which may be obtained from the Division of College Work at the Episcopal Church's National Council. In this new work Fr. Boyd treats of "the idolatry of institutional church life." Brochures on both productions may be obtained from ESCRU.

NEGRO AND WHITE CHURCHES MERGE

In a merger of white and Negro congregations in Passaic, N. J., last fall there was also a merger of clerical staffs, creating what it seems is essential for the Church's ministry presently in an interracial society. Interracial team ministries will speak far louder than most anything else a parish can do.

THE GENERAL CONVENTION AND RACE

On the next page there is the full text of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches last December. Delegates and others planning to attend the Episcopal Church's 61st General Convention in St. Louis this fall might study it carefully to determine whether there are guideposts here for what the Church should say from its most authoritative body.

Some will counsel no more resolutions and genuinely mean that they're tired of such and want action. Others will say this as a means of avoiding the confrontation. Resolutions, it seems, are always needed if there are issues or actions needing attention. They serve to instruct the Church and define its directions. There is very little action, as such, that General Convention can take except the action of focusing the whole Episcopal Church's attention on what it feels is important. It isn't that resolutions are unnecessary. They're terribly important, especially in the context of a General Convention. The problem is in regarding them properly afterwards.

Some will say that the Church has said all that needs to be said. True, someone somewhere in the Church may have said all there is to say. But, an examination of General Convention actions in the past will show that the Church's official and most binding commitments are fairly minimal.

These are some possible areas or subjects for attention: Full support to the substance of the Presiding Bishop's Whitsuntide Message of last year; Policy of the national Church and all of its agencies such as the Church Pension Fund regarding companies in which funds are invested and some plan whereby their influence can be felt in terms of employment practices, etc.; Counsel to the Church on the subject of intermarriage (It's not an irrelevent issue! Look at the furor when two University of Georgia students of different color got married. Hasn't the Church a responsibility to them, as well as to all other such couples, to define its position?); clear directions on clergy placement practices; guidelines for Church-related schools and other institutions, suggesting how the Church can withdraw when they fail to desegregate; policies regarding building contracts; full support financially and otherwise for the National Council of Churches' work in race; etc., etc. These are but some of the issues which the Convention might consider and in which the Church needs direction, not to speak of the still more basic question of integrating parishes.

ESCRU Chapters and key persons should take initiative to talk with the delegates from their diocese, encouraging them to introduce resolutions and support others. Don't assume that others will do it. We have no plans from national ESCRU other than to encourage attention to this by those in a position to do something. We will be happy to hear of plans any delegates or others develop, and receive copies of such resolutions as may be submitted, and may be able to assist in rallying support, but the initiative must come from the diocesan level. Once at St. Louis, Society members will work in behalf of worthwhile measures, but these must be formulated beforehand and can most effectively come out of diocesan delegations. - J.B.M.

CRITICISM AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

No one person and no organization should be beyond criticism as, together, we work for civil rights in the community at large. But it will probably always be so that some who see themselves as furtherest out on the lines will smart and sulk when others offer constructive criticism. The mature militant welcomes criticism as a means of refining his response and rationale for particular actions. Another & less responsible militant excoriates the critic and says, in effect, "if you're not with us all the way, you're against us!" Mutual respect for differing approaches and methods should prevail. We can act together when possible and separately when our approach differs. I disagree with the "lying-down-in-the-street" and the "going-limp" approach to some situations in direct action, although respecting that some have a well-considered theoretical defense of such. We can cooperate with these folks on other matters, all the while retaining an integrity of viewpoint and, hopefully, all profiting from the give and take of ideas as methods and strategies are discussed in a spirit of essential trust. - J.B.M.

A CALL TO THE CHURCHES FOR ACTION TO MEET THE CRISIS IN RACE RELATIONS

Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly
December 6, 1963

THIS General Assembly of the National Council of Churches is thankful for the increasing evidences that a new pattern of race relations is being established in our nation and that its constituent communions, their pastors, congregations, and members all over the land have been stirred as never before to act for justice, freedom and equality for Negroes and all other racial minorities.

We would be the first to admit that both the actions and their results have been insufficient either fully to reflect the imperatives of the Gospel or to meet the racial crisis as it develops in the nation. Recognizing that the National Council of Churches has not yet achieved in its own life and organization full implementation of its often reiterated pronouncements for racial justice and equality, this Assembly nevertheless dares once more to address an appeal to all churches and Christians. For we believe that the Church of Jesus Christ is commanded by its Lord to rid itself of all those forms of racial injustice which have been perpetuated through the years by us all in our churches, church organizations, agencies and institutions.

With full realization that the speed of accomplishment will vary from place to place, and with thanksgiving to God for all that has already been done, we call upon national church bodies and local congregations throughout the United States to initiate specific actions now, where such actions have not already been initiated, to achieve the following objectives:

1. All Christian churches should in fact be open to all regardless of race, and should publicly so declare. Similarly it should be affirmed that all qualified ministers should have access to pulpits or other church positions regardless of race or color.
2. Churches should develop patterns and programs whereby Negroes and whites in Christian churches may meet each other regularly in worship, fellowship and Christian service. Such patterns and programs should include (a) interchange of membership among congregations composed exclusively or predominantly of only one of the constituent racial groups in their communities, and (b) establishment of interracial groupings such as Vacation Church Schools, camps, conferences, choirs, committees and clubs.

   Churches limited in possibility of integration by housing patterns should organize small group meetings betwen their members and other churches predominantly of other races or colors in order to bring home to their members the extent and character of discrimination under which other Christians suffer.
3. Churches should adopt and implement a policy of recruiting, employing and promoting personnel without regard to race or color. Such policy should govern specifically the recruitment, employment, and promotion of pastors, secretarial staffs, directors of music and religious education, denominational executives, missionaries, and custodial staffs.

   Churches and their members as workers or employers should vigorously promote literacy and training programs, public and private, and the increase in use of such facilities in order to attack one of the largest single causes for unemployment in minority groups.
4. Curriculum materials and other publications should be examined to determine that they present an objective and helpful picture of racial difference, and emphasize the Christian's responsibility in the struggle for racial justice.

   Such materials and publications should contain pictures and descriptive materials which reflect the multiracial character of Christian communities and which emphasize the fact that racial pluralism enriches the experience of Christian community.
5. Churches should integrate the governing boards, staffs, and clientele of health, educational and welfare institutions owned or operated by, or affiliated with congregations, denominations and interdenominational agencies.
6. Churches should require fair employment practice clauses in construction contracts between churches and building contractors, and between general contractors and sub-contractors, irrespective of the fact that fulfillment of such non-discriminatory clauses may result in delays or increased costs.
7. Churches and their agencies should examine their investment portfolios to determine if funds are invested in enterprises which practice racial discrimination, and should remove such investments from enterprises which cannot be persuaded to cease and desist from practicing racial discrimination.
8. Churches should unite in supporting the prompt enactment of Federal, state and local civil rights legislation which will include adequate provisions guaranteeing to all without racial discrimination:
   a. Civil rights including the right to vote and to equal protection of the law;
   b. Equal access to education;
   c. Equal opportunity for employment, union membership, apprenticeship job training, and merit promotion;
   d. The right to rent or buy and to occupy housing everywhere; and
   e. Access to all public accommodations.
9. The churches should give moral and financial support to major civil rights organizations and to denominational and interdenominational commissions which have been established to work for racial justice. They should also support interreligious efforts, working with other Christian communions and other religious faiths in community action.
10. Churches and all Christians should remember always to act in love and without hate or bitterness, seeking always reconciliation in church, community and nation as our new pattern of justice is being established.

The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches believes that it is crucial for the church thus to witness to the love of God by giving its wholehearted support to all those seeking racial justice. We call upon the church to give this priority and to be willing to pay whatever price of unpopularity or sacrifice these acts may entail. This we must do to be true to the Christ who died for all men.

Reprint

INTERCHURCH NEWS

A Publication of the National Council of Churches

RALPH McGILL

White Man's God Not for Negro?

Cuttings from African newspapers discussing the Birmingham riots and the racial attitudes in this country continue to arrive.

A Baptist missionary in Nigeria mailed in three cuttings from papers in that country. One was an editorial from "The Times" of Lagos, perhaps the most influential publication in that country.

McGill

At the bottom of this cutting the missionary had written, "As a Christian this one was. to me, the most tragic article of all. Why, why, don't our people at home know what they are doing to us . . .?"

THE MISSIONARY had marked paragrahps in the editorial which had provided the most sorrow and shame. They were as follows:

"One disturbing paradox emerges from the current race crisis in the United States. And that is, some Houses of God, which are supposed to be free to all comers, irrespective of the color of skin, are now being used in the foolish campaign aimed at showing the Negro that his own God is different from the white man's God. . . .

"Thirteen churches (in a report on our desk) rejected Negro groups seeking admittance, four received them and there were no reports from others . . . these churches were described as 'white churches.'

"WHITE CHURCHES and black churches in a country built on the concept of equality of the human race? The very idea is revolting! . . . the great teacher, Jesus Christ, whom these avowed segregationists who parade as pastors profess to follow, was never known to have drawn a demarcation line between one race and another. . . .

"We can forgive ill-educated whites who were brought up to regard their race as the superior race. But how does one explain the participation, actively or otherwise, of leaders in Christian religion in a behavior which is the direct antithesis of the doctrine of the Great Nazarene?"

CHAMBERS of Commerce in leading Southern cities, led by Atlanta and Charlotte, are urging merchants, hotels and restaurants to end segregation.

But an overwhelming majority of Christian houses of worship remain paralyzed by prejudice and comfort.

Episcopalians Urge Open-to-All Signs

By WILLIAM C. COTTER

The 57th annual council of the Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta has suggested its churches display signs declaring the houses of worship open to all races.

A resolution to that effect was passed by the council — after considerable debate and some amending — at the closing day of sessions held at St. Luke's Church here.

The council directed in the resolution that the Department of Christian Social Relations direct the signs "may be affixed" at churches in the diocese.

SUPPORTERS OF the idea said the signs would serve to prevent doubt in the minds of visitors and non - Episcopalians as to what the church's policy is.

Both the National Episcopal church and the Atlanta Diocese have a policy that all races are welcome to membership, but proponents of the resolution felt the signs would clear up any doubt about individual parish practices.

Rt. Rev. Randolph R. Claiborne Jr., bishop of the Atlanta Diocese, who presided at the council, made the point when discussion began that the church's policy on racial discrimination is clear. Any vote on signs would not affect the policy at all, he said.

CONSIDERABLE debate ensued during consideration of the resolution.

Objections ranged from opposition to "ordering the churches to erect the signs to semifacetious questoning about the size of the signs and their lettering.

One opponent said a church could follow the instructions of the resolution by putting up a postcard sized sign. They could write the sign in all-capital old English script and "nobody would be able to read it," he said.

Others said the church's position on the subject is clear and that the signs are superfluous.

But those who favored the resolution insisted the signs would "cost little" and would "make witness to the entire public" of the church's policies.

"We as Episcopalians know where the church stands," declared one supporter of the move, "but do travelers and visitors?"

FORMER State Sen. Peyton Hawes of Elberton, a lay delegate, spoke on the resolution, saying "I yield to individual efforts." That is what makes democracy work, he said.

"If there is any hypocrisy in the Episcopal church I have never found it," Mr. Hawes said.

(After Mr. Hawes had spoken, a motion was passed to limit talks on the subject to two minutes. Before he began, Mr. Hawes reminded the council it was improper to applaud in the House of God.

(The council had been applauding in reaction to remarks made on the floor.)

REV. WARREN SCOTT, chaplain at Atlanta University, replied to Mr. Hawes' remarks: "If there is no hypocrisy in the Episcopal church, I don't know what it is."

Mr. Scott, a Negro, said he has felt unwelcomed in some Episcopal churches.

Before it was passed, the sign resolution was changed from "to be affixed" to "may be affixed."

CHERAW (S.C.) CHRONICLE 1/23/64

Negro Neutralism

Members of the Negro middle class who hold themselves aloof from the struggle for equal rights and leave it to their intelligent, but semi-literate, brothers to carry on the fight deserve what they will get: crums from the white man's table and continued second class citizenship.

The man with a pretty good education, a thriving business, children in college, and a growing stake in society has a far greater obligation to himself, and to other members of his race, to play a significant role in the battle than his less fortunate, but oftimes more courageous, brother.

He is in a position to be particularly effective, for he has achieved success in the material world, has earned respect aamong influential members of the white community, and cannot be so readily dismissed either as an ignorant fool or a tool of outside troublemakers.

He is in a unique position to offer service to both white and colored people by controlling the direction of the civil rights revolution and making sure that it remains a peaceful, responsible, loyal movement of social protest.

If he holds himself above the fray, he sacrifices this oportunity for leadership, ignores his duties of good citizenship, and eventually will sacrifice the respect of his colored comrades without winning any great admiration from his white friends.

THE CHURCH AND RACE AT THE DIOCESAN LEVEL

A rash of diocesan conventions and councils, as they are variously called, finds the Church stronger in some areas because of them and weaker elsewhere, but surely more sensitive to the issues everywhere because of the confrontation brought by proposed resolutions and actions. We don't presume in the ESCRU Newsletter to offer a thorough reporting of such events, but would direct the reader to CHURCH AND RACE from National Council, THE EPISCOPALIAN, and the other periodicals of the Church. For the most complete coverage we suggest THE LIVING CHURCH. But herewith something of what has gone on around the country recently.

The news story reprinted from THE ATLANTA JOURNAL on the previous page shows something of the Council of the Diocese of Atlanta. Two out of six resolutions on race passed, including the one on signs described in the article. A proposal to send $500. and/or the Ash Wednesday Offering to the Presiding Bishop's special appeal for funds for the Church's work in the racial crisis failed, although 300 times that amount was allocated to the Cathedral to help pay off the mortgage.

In the Diocese of Texas positive steps were taken affecting parishes which fail to pay anything on their diocesan quota. St. Thomas' Church, Houston, has not paid anything on an annual quota of $16,912. The Rector, the Rev. Robert Ingram, is an active segregationist, publishing materials on his views and speaking at Citizens Councils meetings from time to time.

After vigorous debate a resolution was passed by the Diocese of California in support of California's present fair housing law. This was part of a six point series of resolutions which were prefaced by a general statement reminding Churchmen that merely eliminating physical segregation does not, of itself, attain God's will for us.

In Alabama a resolution stating that "all our churches should be open to all people for Christian worship" and pledging support for "justice and equal opportunity for all men" was defeated. One was passed calling for continued study of the National Council of Churches.

The Diocese of East Carolina passed a resolution reaffirming the racial stand of the Church and appointed a committee on race relations.

Louisiana heard at its convention that St. Mark's, Shreveport, would refuse to pay any of its quota to the diocese because of the Church's stand on race. The bishop and council refused to reduce its giving to the general budget of the Episcopal Church and voted to take steps to make up the deficit.

The Diocese of Upper South Carolina turned down a resolution which would have specified that no one could be barred because of color from diocesan institutions and which, further, would have denied such institutions financial support. Instead, the convention endorsed comments by the Bishop which called for peaceable solutions to the church's and nation's racial difficulties, arrived at within a framework of law and order.

The Diocese of North Carolina voted that there could be no racial requirements at a new home for the aged. A stronger resolution forbidding racial discrimination in any diocesan institution was replaced by one calling for reports from all to be submitted to next year's convention. All this came in the aftermath of a flurry connected with the fact that separate lists of public accomodations had been sent Negro and white delegates to the convention which met at Chapel Hill. It was an unfortunate incident, authorized by persons who simply hadn't thought of its implications. Local integrationists, both Churchmen and others, were upset and some sought to have the clergy who had reservations at segregated motels cancel them. At least one motel occupied by delegates was picketed by Chapel Hill Churchmen.

APPEAL STILL PENDING

Appeal to the 5th Circuit in the suit of four clergy against Jackson, Miss., police officials is still pending. They were arrested while on the Prayer Pilgrimage and have brought suit to help establish legal precedents against such arrests. The appeal is to be heard shortly.

DIOCESAN PRESS TAKE NOTE

Every two weeks the new publication of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Atlanta is published. Practically each time some stand on race worthy of being picked up by the dailies is included. In the latest issue Georgia congressmen are taken to task for not supporting civil rights.

A PASTORAL RESPONSIBILITY AND UNEQUIVOCAL PROCLAMATION GO TOGETHER ALWAYS

While some persons, having no apparent 'hidden agenda' concerning racial matters, have been critical of the National Council of Churches on other grounds, and there has been some organized opposition accordingly, the primary thrust against the NCC has come from segregationist Churchmen. At times they conceal their real concerns under other coloration, like the Southern politician talks about "states rights". Such opposition had as its headwaters organized opposition in the Church in Charleston, South Carolina, and in Shreveport, La. Resolutions critical of the NCC are still being introduced at Southern diocesan conventions, although the peak of discontent seems to have passed. So extensive did the unrest become that the last General Convention directed the Joint Commission on Ecumenical Relations to make a study of the NCC and report back.

Their report is now completed and, as was expected, is on the whole supportive of the NCC - as it should have been. Leaving all else aside, however, there was cause for concern in one aspect. This is suggested in a portion of a release on their report as follows: "The Joint Commission also suggested that NCC statements "should be so phrased as not to bring into question the Christian commitment of those who do not agree." A UPI account of the report said: "(The report) said the council has exposed itself to valid criticism of its pronouncements on controversial economic, social and political issues, by failing to make clear that "dedicated Christians may be standing on either side of a particular issue."..."

Knowing that the chief root of criticism of the NCC has been resistance to its pronouncements on racial matters, one wonders in reading the Joint Commission's Report if they are saying there is no single teaching or stand for the Church on race. But a look at the list of Commission members assures the reader that these are men who have themselves spoken out for integration. It seems, instead, that they confuse the pastoral responsibility of the Church to patiently work with segregationist Churchmen , acknowledging the Church's own failure in the past to adequately define the Christian position, on the one hand, with some insipid and no-nothing view that would always stop short of unequivocal pronouncement. We need not deny our concern for persons who may be perplexed or angry or hurt when the Church speaks on race, but, indeed, must come down from the pulpit of prophecy and go among them with capacity to accept the sinner, but not the sin. The Commission's Report sounds like it would have the offense of the Gospel accomodated to some least common denominator of what will please the constituency.

If some may be so offended that they will separate themselves from the Body, it should concern us but not dull the Church's proclamation. Those who leave will do so at their initiative and not because self-righteous Churchmen have turned away from personal encounter and loving conversation, if the Church is true to all of its responsibilities. We need not feel, however, that the fact of some leaving can be avoided. It seems inevitable and, tragic though it is, the Church will be stronger in the end, even if smaller in numbers. We are coming into days when some will separate themselves from the Church or, in traditional sectarian process, presume to start their own church. It has already happened. An Episcopal clergyman in North Carolina has delcared his intention of forming a new church. He has been prominently identified as a segregationist for some time. Recently he met with a group of about 40 Episcopal laymen in Nashville, Tenn., who are leaving the Church and have started what they call "All Saints Anglican Church". The root of their concern is race. They want a segregated church. A clergyman in Mobile, Ala., has talked of the possibility of division in the Church over race in such a manner as to assist in calling it forth. Increasingly there is this alternative looming for dissidents. We mustn't let their threats of impending departure temper the Church's message. There are committed Churchmen who persist in believing that segregation is best, but, certainly, it is clear that the Church stands in disagreement with them. - J.B.M.

HELP!

Apologies for any ink spots on parts of this Newsletter. Our mimeo machine (a used-one-when-purchased four years ago) broke down midway through stencil runs. We hope it'll carry on now, but the experience prompts mention of the fact that we certainly could use an offset printing unit for our nearly 5 thousand unit runs of things to the membership. Is there anyone able and interested in contributing the price of such, without subtracting from your regular support? They cost a pretty penny, starting at $1500.00, but would save us a great deal on other printing costs which have to be done commercially.

RIGHTS OR BEER CANS

On the same page in a recent issue of THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION there appeared these two headlines: "Jewish Vets Leader Hails Rights Vote" and "Pastors Ask Beer Facts". The latter had reference to the concern of some Protestant clergy for the number of beer cans processed daily in a local incinerator. The contrast in what these headlines bespeak recalls Harry Golden's comment several years ago on the churches and race in the South. He thought he might form a 'Jewish Society for the Preservation of Christian Ethics'.

"ON THE BATTLE LINES"

This is the title of a new book being published by Morehouse-Barlow in March. Edited by the Rev. Malcolm Boyd, it contains chapters by 27 Episcopal clergy on a range of subjects having to do with the Gospel and the World. It is coincidental that 19 of the contributors are members of the Episcopal Society and some of the non-members have taken part in Society meetings or actions.

"NEGRO NEUTRALITY"

The editorial on page 10 reprinted from THE CHERAW (S. C.) CHRONICLE, a plucky little newspaper in a deep-South state, noted for its relative liberalism, has something to say to Episcopalians. Negro Churchmen too often have overly protected their niche in a quasi-integrated Church by not confronting the Church creatively in the same way that Negro Americans are acting to lead the entire nation to a more perfect freedom. In the South the Negro clergy often have been used for window dressing to hide the flaws in the interior. Obviously there are many exceptions where clergy and laity have not hesitated to inform the Church of the unfinished business in the Household, but there has been too much "Negro Neutrality" in the Episcopal Church. J.B.M.

MORE ON ADDRESS LISTS AND THE TIMIDITY OF EPISCOPAL OFFICIALDOM

Our readers will recall that last fall the Episcopal Church's National Council decided that address labels on all Episcopal clergy could not be furnished to the Society (at our expense and as Seabury Press had done repeatedly in the past) because, in part, the mailing they were intended for was to have contained an interpretative piece on the Lovett School situation. More recently we asked the Church Pension Fund if they would provide us with labels at our expense. They replied that it was against their policy to provide such a service. It would be easier to accept another turn-down if we hadn't concurrently received information that the Church Pension Fund only a few weeks beforehand had provided the clergy addresses to another group in the Church for a special mailing. - J. B. M.

MEMORIAL AND TRIBUTE GIFTS ACCEPTED

The Society's Board of Directors has formally approved a Tribute or Memorial Plan for gifts to ESCRU which has been functioning all along as members have sent contributions in memory of someone who has died or as a tribute to someone living. Appropriate acknowledgement is sent both to the donor as well as to the one being honored in case of a tribute gift or those specified for memorial gifts.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ARRESTED IN ATLANTA

The Rev. John B. Morris was arrested at the Heart of Atlanta Motel in Atlanta on January 11th, along with staff persons and officers of a number of organizations including SCLC, NAACP and SNCC. They were denied service and arrested for being an integrated group. Trials are in process. The Motel's owner has said he would never integrate. He lives across the street from the Lovett School & has a child there.

WANTED! One Associate Director & Everyone's Full Support! One of the most important decisions made by the Board in February was the determination that ESCRU must do more to keep abreast of the growing ferment at the local level where chapters continue to form. Established chapters must be more adequately served by the national office & the Society must become better prepared to respond to emerging concern where chapters probably will be formed. An "Associate Director" must be secured as quickly as possible. He would have a primary responsibility for assisting local chapters. It will mean a significantly expanded budget, when we have just begun to meet the previous demand in this post-foundation phase, but we must meet this need about which we have done little or nothing heretofore. There is a growing readiness for effective local work by ESCRU members in places previously dormant. Respecting the integrity and initiative of local commitment, and with no agenda to standardize the work of chapters or organize them where the time is not ripe, there is, nevertheless, much that the national organization should be doing in a consultative fashion to help. To make this possible everyone must help to the extent of his ability. We recognize that some members already give sacrificially and cannot increase their annual contribution. It is hoped that others will consider the need carefully when they receive their annual renewal notice. Directors will be asked by the Treasurer, Malcolm Peabody, Jr., to make a special effort at securing new and substantial gifts from Churchmen and others in a position to give liberally. In the long run, however, our records indicate that it is the aggregation of gifts from the grass roots which tally up to permit ESCRU to do its work. Now we must build on this still more.

The Associate Director may be either a layman or a clergyman. He should be someone rooted and grounded in the Christian Faith and presently active in the Episcopal Church at parochial and other levels. Because we've been around long enough now to be heard of by like-minded persons in the Church, he should presently be an active member of ESCRU. Involvement in one of the Society's chapters would certainly be an asset, and almost a requirement if there's a chapter where he now lives. Someone elsewhere may make up for this in other talents or experience. Naturally, he would have a long-standing concern for civil rights in general but, more particularly, a special concern for the Church's role and for what goes on in the Church itself vis-a-vis cultural and racial unity. He must be a good listener, adept in group process and mindful of others. He must not loath organizational work and detail, writing letters, outlining possible program and action procedures, keeping records on 101 unexciting aspects of chapter activity so that it's useful, preparing Newsletter inserts on what all of the groups are doing, encouraging those that aren't doing, etc., etc. He must be prepared to speak to groups on short notice. And, finally, he must be prepared to do a lot of traveling in between all the other duties and even possibly helping in other departments of the Society's work!

If you're interested, write the Executive Director. A committee of Board members will receive all applications and make a final decision, following preliminary interviews or correspondence. We're looking forward to the addition to the staff and fellowship in Atlanta of both Fr. Stines (see front page story) and the as-yet-to-be-selected Associate Director.

SHOULDN'T IT BE IN THE BUDGET TOO?

Of course we should all support the Presiding Bishop's special appeal mentioned on page one, but is the Church paying adequate attention to the urgency of the need in terms of budgetary plans? I wonder how we compare with other churches in terms of allocations for official work in the racial crisis. Certainly a comparison of funds made available to the CSR department with figures for other work is sad commentary on what we think is important at this time in history. - J.B.M.

Survey of Church's Institutions

In early March we will release a report on admissions policies at Church Camps & Conferences in the South. The survey of Church Schools never got off the ground in its previously conceived plan, but, by Board action, will be launched hopefully this spring. Chapters and key members in every diocese will be asked to research policies and practices at all Church and Church-related institutions in their area and report to the national office. We want a report ready for General Convention.

ON FINANCES

The Audit. Main, Lafrentz & Co. has made its annual check of the Society's finances and finds everything in order. Copies of their "Report on Examination" have been provided the Society's President and Treasurer and will be sent on request to any Director or Chapter Chairman requesting it.

Summary Data On 1963. According to the Auditor's report for last year Assets and Liabilities balanced each other at $36,616.19. The approved budget for 1963 was $38,742.00. We actually spent $33,930.20 from the general ESCRU account. (None of the figures here are inclusive of the Prayer Pilgrimage Appeal Fund's expenditures, nor does the new budget include the Southern Field Service. While all accounts are checked by the auditor, the others are separate funds for special purposes and neither add to nor subtract from the Society's budget.) In 1963 ESCRU received $32,033. in dues and general contributions. Also, the final part of the foundation's grant was drawn upon.

The Budget for 1964. The Board has approved a general budget for ESCRU for the current year of $53,266.00. $28,976.00 of this is for personnel and includes the Associate Director and ½ of an additional secretary (Southern Field Service will pay the other one-half!) for the portion of the year they would be employed. $24,290.00 of this general budget is for everything else including office rent, telephone, printing, Board meetings, travel for the professional staff, etc., etc. (We'll send a detailed budget on request and may do so anyway later!)

Estimated Income for 1964. On the basis of established trends we hope to receive $15,000.00 this year from new and renewal dues. If everyone continues to give as they have been, and a number increase their giving, we hope for $29,000.00 in additional contributions over and above dues. (Each year we add a few much needed large donors without whom we couldn't survive: Three give about $1,000. a year. Several give $500., and a number give $50. to $200. or so. They are essential, but, as the records here will show, the sum of the many small gifts is equally as important.) Then we expect about $700. from literature sales, etc. This leaves the "Board of Director's Special Appeal" of $8,566.00 (which must be new funds from new sources) to tally up to the budget figure of $53,266.00. Whew! Hold your breath and pray that we'll make it!

Parish and Organizational Contributions. Included in the income figures above for 1963 is $1,800.00 given by one parish, representing a portion of their income from a parish bazaar, and $1,300.00 made up of contributions from 40 other parishes and church organizations. This is a critical area of support to be developed further. We hope that each parish which put ESCRU in their budget last year will do so again, and that others will do the same. A pledge card for this purpose is enclosed. It will assist us in planning if parishes and organizations intending to include us in their giving will advise us by way of this card. Clergy, please ask your Vestry to remember us in this way as a corporate sign of concern and support. Lay folks - go to your Rector and vestrymen with this concern. And, if you want to have a bazaar for the sake of ESCRU, we think it's great!

OTHER ENCLOSURES

A reprint of a sermon by ESCRU Board member Kilmer Myers is enclosed. The occasion for its delivery was the Consecration of ESCRU Board member Paul Moore, Jr., as Suffragan Bishop of Washington. A tape recording of the sermon may be ordered from the ESCRU office for $2.50. Also enclosed is a new listing & order form on all materials available from the Society

"THE PENITENTIAL SHARE"

The Society's Board has approved the recommendation of the 3rd Annual Meeting that ESCRU look into ways of raising funds for the National Church to compensate for any specific amounts which may withdrawn by dioceses because of the Church's stand on race. A parish in Iowa has already determined to give more to the Church's program for this purpose.

WORN OUT WHITE LIBERALS! That's Wyatt Walker's name for them. Someone else has entitled the malaise "The Retreat of the White Liberal." By any name it's a part of the post-Birmingham picture. We're not necessarily talking about veterans of the battle lines who are just plain tuckered out. They've a right to be. It's been a long ten years! Such veterans of the Southern scene actually persist in their militancy more effectively than some new militants in the North, I believe, although there is a Southern variety which partakes just a bit of the old paternalism. These draw back now some as realization dawns that the initiative isn't altogether in their hands. The movement will go on anyway. Also, as the era of housing integration looms down South and other last-stage issues, there is some increased reticence. The saddest of the Northern beat liberals are those who imagined until recently that it was all down South, but most of them retired two years ago. Others confessed with their minds that the North had a problem, but never felt demonstrations and the like would leave their Southern setting. Also, some Northern whites in retreat have ducked out because they expected perfection in the 'movement', not realizing that it, too, could err. All in all, it's been a year of confrontation for many and there's no reason to believe that the summer ahead will present any easier choices. Christian militants had best gird themselves with a steadfastness that comes from Christ and accept the route before them which has low places and pitfalls, and some mud pockets too, as well as the high plateaus that come from taking action and become involved.

- J.B.M.

DE FACTO SEGREGATION & THE BOYCOTT. Some readers will say that the writer is as worn out as the rest of them after reading this. It may only be a limitation of understanding occasioned by the fact that school boycotts haven't come South yet. At any rate, I say it as I see it from where I stand, and it's only my opinion: I'm uneasy about the boycott approach and dubious of it's repetitious use. At the same time, I could very well decide if asked that full support should be given such protest in a specific instance. This is where our necessary involvement in muddy waters comes in. This is no quarrel with the fact that insidious de facto segregation in schools must be taken to task: by redistricting, by reasonable busing, and by other creative means of promoting interchange. As to the means of protest, however, what of picketing, mass marches, etc., which could be joined by parents and pupils alike? I have no problem with the involvement of the kids as such, for sometimes, as in Birmingham, it is better for the oppressed to act. Where one is under the heel it is not a corruption of innocence for the child to join the parent on the march. He matures too. The ingredients of a boycott of school, however, seem different, unless, perhaps, there is a careful plan for Freedom Schools as in Boston where the first boycott was so sensitively led by ESCRU Director Fr. James Breeden. My admiration for him, as well as for others who are altogether for it, causes these views to be held in open-ended fashion. We'll welcome other expressions and might give equal-time to the best in a subsequent Newsletter. In the meantime, any other novices at school boycotts might like to see John Lassoe's Memo on the New York situation which we'll supply on request. It defines terms and the context and lets you make up your mind.

- J.B.M.

TOO FUZZY TO BE WORN OUT! The Living Church expressed sympathy on February 16th for Christians, presumably in certain Southern communities, who "...are embarrassed ... by well-meaning meddlers who come into their communities as reformers sent straight from heaven." They said further: "We hope there can be a moratorium on all such meddling. Christians from outside a community have no right to ignore those Christians inside...." We hope this isn't indicative of what the editorial policy of the other-wise competent Living Church will be under its new management. We've seldom seen anything so fuzzy, straight from the worst of the Southern moderate's viewpoint. We would oppose self-righteousness too and trust visiting clergy in Southern communities do not ignore the resident clergy, respecting the integrity of their witness and hoping for the same. The especially disturbing thing about the editorial comment is that it ignores the fact that a goodly number of Christians welcome the visitors with open and grateful arms. We're talking about the Negro Christians in Hattiesburg at the moment, which the Living Church would do well to get to know. - J.B.M.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta 3,Ga.
President - The Rev. Joseph A. Pelham / Executive Director - The Rev. John B. Morris

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

October 7, 1965

To all key ESCRU personnel and intergroup friends:

Enclosed are: 1) the ESCRU statement released October 3, 1965 following the crucifixion of justice in Hayneville, Alabama 2) a list of suggestions made by one of our prominent members, Charles Morgan, Jr., outlining meaningful ways to help resurrect the cause of freedom and justice for which Jon Daniels paid with his life.

Other resources providing needed background material and possible avenues of approach are: a.) Billingsley V. Clayton, Case No. 22,304, pending in the U.S. Ct. of Apps. for the 5th Circuit to be argued en banc Dec. 16th & 17th, 1965: b.) "Jim Crow Justice" - a series of articles reprinted from the Los Angeles Times; c.) Haywood Burns: "The Rule of Law in the South" Commentary, Vol. 40, No. 3, September, 1965; d.) Justice, U.S. Civil Rights Comm. Rep, 1961.

Appropriately, the Gospel for Trinity XVI (the Sunday following the "trial") is Luke 7:11ff. Had the "beloved physician" been writing in 1965, he might well have penned:

"And it came to pass ...that the followers of Christ went into a city called Keene; and many other civil rights workers went with them, and much people. Now when they came near to the gate of the city, behold, there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow: and much people of the city was with her, and said unto her, Weep not. And they came and saw the bier...and they said, We cannot resurrect his body, but by out lives we can give new life to the cause of freedom and justice for which he died. Through their labors, true justice was born in the land juries were selected fairly and protection began for those who worked to implement the Constitution and the nation's laws. And this achievement they delivered to his mother and to all the mothers of the land... and they glorified God, saying...that truly God hath visited His people."

As servants of the Body of Christ, we are called "manfully to fight under His banner" against the powers and principalities of "sin, the world, and the devil." As Episcopalians, we have been reminded by our Presiding Bishop that the cause for which Jon Daniels was martyred..."is a cause dear to everyone who breathes the air of free men. Because of this, free men must never permit the devastating verdict of the Hayneville twelve to be the final word of justice in Alabama or anywhere else." As friends and members of ESCRU, we pray that you will join with us in utilizing these suggested approaches to securing justice in our land - the memorial we owe to Jon and the twenty-five other victims of the present system of injustice.

Yours in the bonds,

Kim Dreisbach

The Rev. Albert R. Dreisbach, Jr.
Associate Director

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FOR RELEASE: Sunday, October 3, 1965
The Rev. A. R. Dreisbach 525-7975 (Atlanta)

STATEMENT ON THE MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE

"How," asks the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, "can religious leaders continue to exhort their people to end demonstrations in the streets and enter the courts of law when the courthouse strikes fear in the hearts of those whose rights it is designed to protect?"

ESCRU emphatically rejects the assumption attributed to Attorney General Nicolas D. Katzenbach that the perverted justice enacted in Hayneville, Alabama "is the price you have to pay for the jury system." It is "too high a price to pay" when it leaves unpunished the murders of 26 civil rights workers who have died since 1961; it is "too high a price to pay" for the atmosphere which it helps to establish -- a climate which gives a license to prospective slayers and scant protection to those in danger of being slain.

Even more fundamental, "it is too high a price" for the shoddy merchandise which is the present system for the selection of jurors. Maybe we should say "systems," for Burke Marshall (former Assistant Attorney General) called attention this June to a 1961 survey by the Justice Department which showed that 92 federal districts had "92 different systems of selecting juries."

Justice was crucifeid in Hayneville this week, but we continue to pray for its resurrection. By utilizing the tools already available to it, the Justice Department can effect the needed remedies to eliminate the present exclusion of Negroes from jury service. "We could have done more with the law" said Burke Marshall. "We might well have been requested by the administration to initiate a drive on jury exclusion, except we had a limited number of lawyers and tney were on school desegregation and voting discrimination cases."

Regretfully, it took a Birmingham with its bombs, fire hoses and fangs of police dogs to arouse the nation to pass a civil rights bill. After the tear gas and voting rights bill. We will continue to pray and devote our efforts to the end that the shot-riddled body of Jonathan Daniels will give birth to a new focus for the Justice Department. If it fails to note the urgency of this needed reform, it should cease to rage at the ungodly explosions which will erupt as a direct result of its glaring sin of omission.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

Statement

The Rev. John B. Morris
Executive Director, ESCRU

Hayneville, Alabama
September 30, 1965

We have watched an almost-total conspiracy of the civil and religious leadership of Lowndes County to exonerate one of their own. As the Attorney General of Alabama has eloquently indicated, the entire proceedings here constitute a miscarriage of justice, irrespective of the nature of the verdict. Through its failure to call certain witnesses, and then in its failure to adequately interrogate those that did appear, the prosecution played its role in the conspiracy successfully. That the trial proceeded at all without Fr. Richard Morrisroe, both a victim and a key witness, is manifest proof of the shabby regard for due process and just procedures we have seen here. Serious charges were levelled against Fr. Morrisroe who is still living, by the grace of God, and who could have defended himself at a later time. Jonathan Daniels, who represented us in the Selma area, could not defend himself against the charges that he carried a weapon. The state made no effort to establish the fine character of this dedicated servant of Christ. Mr. Gamble was supplied a message of high tribute and praise for Jon Daniels, issued by the Dean and Faculty of Jon's seminary, but he saw fit not to introduce it in the face of this conspiracy to defame. Much talk was heard about visitors to the jail possibly smuggling weapons in, but no effort was made to secure testimony from any of these visitors - one, at least, being a priest of the Episcopal Church who was present for the trial.

That no Justice Department officials were on hand to observe the proceedings sorely taxes one's confidence in this agency's interest or ability to serve the cause of justice anywhere. While justice is winked at once more in Alabama, President Johnson announces plans for a Federally sponsored opera company. Such cultural advantages will have little future in a country where the law of the jungle appears increasingly to provide the only alternative for persons unable to expect justice from the courts. The White House must recognize that the mood of many people, generally patient and disposed to wait upon the gradual forces of change, cannot long endure the cumulative effect of a steady series of judicial miscarriages. We must have Federal initiative and involvement in the investigation and prosecution of murders connected with efforts to support and implement Federal laws in voting and other aspects of civil rights activity. That such Federal initiative is undertaken in pursuit of the illicit whiskey industry, but not for citizens seeking to obtain a more just and democratic society, is an irony of tremendous proportions.

Above all else, the most depressing part of this charade was the manner by which the Church was trotted out in the person of local clergy, both on the stand and in the audience, to bless and pronounce absolution over the whole ritual of exoneration. By implication these deputies of Christ cast stones at a true disciple whose whole reason for being in the Selma area was one of Christian commitment and motivation. That Jonathan Daniels should be so mocked by other Christians would have been no surprise to him, for he suffered much abuse at the hands of fellow Episcopalians during the time he was in Alabama; never once, though, becoming embittered or unforgiving because of it. The Episcopal Bishop of Alabama had met and talked with Jon, but not once has there been any public expression of regret over his death from top Church sources. St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Selma endured his presence, at times either excluding him when in the company of Negro friends, or causing them to sit in the rear. The parade of preachers at the Hayneville Courthouse was a consistent portrayal of the role official Church spokesmen played in relationship to this now-deceased follower of Christ.

Jonathan Daniels was in Selma primarily to work for reconciliation and communication between the terribly divided communities called White and Black. This commitment rightly took him at times into a full identification with the Civil Rights Movement. At other times he withdrew from this level of ministry and sought to help bridge the awful gulf that tears at Selma and the nation. His disposition was gentle and loving above all else. He could not have carried a knife anymore than Fr. Morrisroe could have brandished a gun. Deep in the hearts of the townfolk of Hayneville this truth will restlessly remain to further remind them of a forsaken integrity.

Jonathan Daniels has not died in vain. Tomorrow there will be a service across from the White House at St. John's Church, Lafayette Square, or in the park itself, after which a delegation of Episcopalians will hope to see President Johnson to plead for Federal intervention to halt this escalating carnage. Tomorrow, also, will mark the inauguration of the as-yet unannounced Selma Interreligious Project, joined in by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups who feel that the work Jonathan Daniels began should be continued. It will be staffed by the Rev. Francis Walter, an Episcopal priest who is native to Alabama. The religious folk of America who came to Selma in such impressive strength in the spring, and who remained through faithful servants such as Jonathan Daniels, will not leave this area until justice and love are more regarded and some sanity is restored to a sick and divided people.

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File

REACTION TO THE HAYNEVILLE, ALABAMA, TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF THE MAN WHO SHOT AND KILLED JONATHAN DANIELS HAS BEEN EXTENSIVE. THE EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION FOR OCTOBER 7TH, AS PARTIALLY REPRODUCED HERE, CARRIED THREE DIFFERENT EXPRESSIONS OF EDITORIAL OPINION, PLUS A SAMPLING OF EDITORIAL CARTOONS FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY. THE ITEMS APPEARING ON THIS REPRINT SHEET, SET WITHIN LINED BOXES, CONSTITUTE A RANDOM SELECTION OF EDITORIAL AND OTHER OPINION APPEARING IN OTHER NEWSPAPERS OR IN THE CONSTITUTION PRIOR TO OCTOBER 7TH. Single copies of this sheet/No charge - - - 100/$3.00 - - - 500/$10.00 Send Order & Payment:

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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 98 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher — EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

Established June 18, 1868

Issued daily except New Year's, July 4, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas. Second class postage paid at Atlanta, Georgia

The Atlanta Constitution (morning), and The Atlanta Journal (evening), and The Atlanta Constitution and The Atlanta Journal (Sunday), published by Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., 10 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Georgia.

Home-delivered subscription rates: Morning and Sunday, or evening and Sunday, 1 week, 35c. Morning or evening daily only, 1 week, 30c. Morning, evening and Sunday (13 issues), 1 week, 85c. Subscription prices by mail on request. Single copies: Daily, 5c; Sunday, 20c, plus 3% sales tax on sales and deliveries made within the State of Georgia.

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"Jonathan Daniels will not be forgotten," Freedman writes. "The memory of his death, and of this contemptible trial, will stir and stimulate many people in all parts of the country to see to it that equal justice shall never again be so easily mocked and its principles outraged by courtrooms that have degraded themselves deliberately into temples of injustice."

These words are echoed in an editorial in the Birmingham News which declared in part:

"It would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern states a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demand for federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers . . ."

It is not necessary to define the pattern since everyone knows it. A double standard of justice is not new to the Southern scene but recent evidences of it, never more dramatically demonstrated than in the Hayneville episode, have indeed brought on growing clamor for federal courts to take civil rights criminal cases out of state courts. As with the Civil Rights Act and other federal legislation disliked by the South, our own failures to exercise responsibility make such measures inevitable. The nation cannot survive unless standards of justice apply equally to all.

Already a strong move is under way for passage of such legislation by Congress in 1966. The National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an organization representing more than 100 church, union and civil rights groups, is pushing for a "Personal Security Act" in 1966. Following a meeting shortly after the Hayneville verdict, its counsel, Joseph L. Rauh, declared that passage of such an act "should be the major legislative goal of the leadership drive in 1966." He added that the legislation would, in effect, take civil-rights-connected cases out of the states' hands and into federal courtroom.

"If we cannot assume that the police and courts are going to look out for us," another spokesman is quoted, "you and I are going to go around with guns . . . It isn't a question any more of a person getting a vote, it's a question of whether he lives or not."

There will be outraged cries against more "federal encroachment," but the weight of evidence is on the side of those demanding such legislation.

Eugene Patterson

Press and Bar At Hayneville

As U.S. Attorney General Katzenbach said he expected, a jury in Hayneville, Ala., has now acquitted a local white man of guilt in the death of a young minister he put to death publicly, in the street, with a shotgun.

Whether this acquittal represented the "democratic process

WASHINGTON POST October 1, 1965

Justice in Hayneville

Down in Hayneville, Alabama, an all-white jury has acquitted Thomas Coleman of the shotgun slaying of Jonathan Daniels, civil rights worker, because the victim, a white seminarian from New Hampshire, had kissed a Negro girl, wore maroon underpants and encouraged Negroes to register and vote. In the minds of the jurors and the local community, it seems, the sins of the slain man outweighed the offense of the slayer. So the highway engineer who took the enforcement of local mores into his own hands is free and "happy," and civil rights workers in Hayneville are on notice that they can be shot down with impunity whenever a citizen of "good reputation" becomes sufficiently annoyed by their conduct.

There was, to be sure, some evidence of self-defense in the trial. Defense witnesses talked vaguely about "an open pocket knife" in Mr. Daniels's hand when his right to enter a store was challenged by engineer Coleman. Similarly, the Rev. Richard Morrisroe was said to have had "a shiny object that looked like a pistol" when he was gunned down and gravely wounded in the same fracas. But Father Morrisroe said in a statement from his hospital bed that the two victims were unarmed, and witnesses at the trial corroborated that assertion. Neither of the mysterious "weapons" was found. Apparently the claim of "self-defense" was little more than a ceremonial invocation of a formula which is supposed to justify the killing of civil rights workers who cannot be intimidated.

More farcical than the trial in some respects were the events which preceded it. Attorney General Richard Flowers had taken the prosecution out of the hands of the local authorities in order to avoid a "travesty of justice." His contention was that Coleman should be tried for murder rather than manslaughter, that the trial should be postponed until Father Morrisroe could testify, and that the atmosphere in Lowndes County was not conducive to a fair trial from the viewpoint of the prosecution. But the Attorney General was booted out of the trial by Judge T. Werth Thagard for not playing the game according to the accepted formula.

It is all very well to say that Hayneville has made a spectacle of itself before the civilized world. The tragedy of the situation is that Hayneville doesn't care. Its sense of justice simply does not extend to civil rights workers and Negroes. And since this attitude is common to many other communities it leaves the country with a grave question of whether equal justice can be imposed from without. We do not know the answer. But it should be obvious to everyone that unless some means can be found of bringing these benighted communities into the twentieth century troublesome times lie ahead.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION October 2, 1965

The Case of the Armed Seminarian

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The outcome of the "trial" was never in doubt, inside or outside Hayneville.

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But Flowers was unsuccessful. In a courtroom whose officials and jury were all white, and where the behavior of any Negroes had to be several notches above impeccable, the wheels of South Alabama justice turned inexorably and cranked out their verdict: Coleman was not guilty, even of manslaughter.

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It is not likely that the nation will allow the sort of thing that took place in Hayneville to go indefinitely. Indeed, it is probable that this very case will produce demands in Congress for additional federal intervention in such matters. Alabama will, of course, complain about the federal giant being created, but Alabama goes on proving that the giant is needed, and that the giant can be neither slumbering nor slothful.

"Jonathan Daniels," says the Rev. Mr. Morris in words that are all too familiar, "has not died in vain."

But unless this case arouses people in both Alabama and the nation—and it clearly should—he has.—MARVIN WALL.

Max Freedman

Verdict in Hayneville Outrages Jonathan Daniels' Home Town

KEENE, N.H.—This New England city is the home town of Jonathan M. Daniels, the 26-year-old student at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge who was shot and killed last summer while working in Alabama for the Episcopal Society for Culture and Racial Unity. One has to be in this city and in New England to understand the incredible sense of outrage that has run like a flame through these communities at the recent news from the courtroom in Hayneville, Ala.

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Some people in Alabama evidently looked upon him as a meddlesome intruder. They never understood that he was sent into Alabama on an errand of duty by his conscience.

Duty to Conscience

South, then we really are in serious trouble.

Prophesy Fulfilled

The first sense of angry revulsion and bewildered outrage came when Thomas M. Coleman, the deputy sheriff, was accused of manslaughter instead of murder in the death of Mr. Daniels. The foul scent of tainted justice fell across New England at the news. Suspicions hardened when reports from Alabama predicted that Coleman, whose family has deep roots in Hayneville, would never be found guilty.

was offered in court as solemn evidence while denying the prosecution its full and unrestricted opportunity to expose its falseness.

The court would not accept any delay that would permit Father Richard Morrisroe of Chicago, also wounded by Coleman and still in the hospital, to give his testimony of what had happened. Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard, whose conduct of this case was a contemptible violation of the impartial standards of American justice, seemed to be in a quite inexcusable hurry to end the trial and get Coleman out of his courtroom.

Established June 16, 1868

Issued daily except New Year's, July 4, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas. Second-class postage paid at Atlanta, Georgia.

The Atlanta Constitution (morning), and The Atlanta Journal (evening), and The Atlanta Constitution and The Atlanta Journal (Sunday), published by Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., 10 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Georgia.

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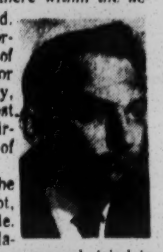

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Duty to Conscience

"It is one thing," said Mr. Justice Holmes, "to utter a happy phrase from a protected cloister; another to think under fire — to think for action upon which great interests depend."

Jonathan Daniels, like so many others, recognized the risks but gladly went to Alabama in obedience to the compulsions of his religious faith and the dictates of his conscience. If that is not understood in Alabama and throughout the South, then we really are in serious trouble.

Prophesy Fulfilled

The first sense of angry revulsion and bewildered outrage came when Thomas M. Coleman, the deputy sheriff, was accused of manslaughter instead of murder in the death of Mr. Daniels. The foul scent of tainted justice fell across New England at the news. Suspicions hardened when reports from Alabama predicted that Coleman, whose family has deep roots in Hayneville, would never be found guilty.

These prophetic fears that justice would be mocked and outraged in that tiny courtroom, too small for the American dream but large enough for the nightmare of racial injustice, have now been tragically and savagely fulfilled. An all-white jury has found Coleman innocent.

Then there was a feeling of hurt anger at the charge that Mr. Daniels was armed with deadly weapons and Coleman was acting in self-defense. This charge, which maligned the dead was offered in court as solemn evidence while denying the prosecution its full and unrestricted opportunity to expose its falseness.

The court would not accept any delay that would permit Father Richard Morrisroe of Chicago, also wounded by Coleman and still in the hospital, to give his testimony of what had happened. Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard, whose conduct of this case was a contemptible violation of the impartial standards of American justice, seemed to be in a quite inexcusable hurry to end the trial and get Coleman out of his courtroom.

Flowers Admired

The resentment has been still further deepened by the rough treatment suffered by Richmond Flowers, attorney general of Alabama, who was blocked and frustrated in his efforts to hold the scales of justice even so that everyone would know a fair trial was in progress. The Boston Globe, the leading paper in New England, has fully reported his honorable and heroic role in this sordid and squalid tragedy. He is something of a hero in these parts; he certainly is widely respected.

Moreover, there is a deep and fervent hope that Flowers is right when he says that most people in Alabama share his outrage at the nature of the trial and the shameful verdict. For there is no sign of any vindictive temper in New England that would hold all the people of Alabama responsible for the mockery of justice in one courtroom.

Finally, there is a sad but strong feeling here Atty. Gen. Katzenbach in Washington has grievously fallen below the duties of his office. He sent no observer from the Department of Justice to watch the trial. With a tragic and callous misconception of what was at stake, he spoke of the verdict as the price that sometimes has to be paid for the jury system.

Katzenbach Weak

It is always a serious matter for an attorney general to criticize and condemn a judge and jury acting within state law. Bût he is also the spokesman for a department pledged to equal and impartial justice for all our citizens. This trial has raised the ugly doubt that Negroes or the white friends of Negroes can receive this kind of justice in communities drenched with racial prejudice.

That was the issue; Katzenbach failed to understand it; his mumbled and cautious comment is a parody of the noble indignation that should have flamed in him. He emerges with far less honor than does Flowers who behaved with more courage in difficult and dangerous circumstances.

Jonathan Daniels will not be forgotten. The memory of his death, and of this contemptible trial, will stir and stimulate many people in all parts of the country to see to it that equal justice shall never again be so easily mocked and its principles outraged by courtrooms that have degraded themselves deliberately into temples of injustice.

Eugene Patterson

Press and Bar At Hayneville

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION October 2, 1965

As U.S. Attorney General Katzenbach said he expected, a jury in Hayneville, Ala., has now acquitted a local white man of guilt in the death of a young minister he put to death publicly, in the street, with a shotgun.

Whether this acquittal represented the "democratic process going down the drain of irrationality, bigotry and improper enforcement of the law," as Alabama Attorney General Flowers declared, is a matter that addresses itself to the bar.

The law is the profession of the bar.

Yet on the day of the Hayneville acquittal, Thomas F. Lambert Jr. of the American Trial Lawyers' Assn. was not examining his profession.

In a speech to a meeting of editors at Buffalo, he was examining theirs.

The chief law enforcement officers of the nation and the state of Alabama were openly suggesting that the law had been dishonered at Hayneville, where the press had discharged its own duty to inform the public about the killing.

Yet the spokesman for the bar at Buffalo did not speak of concern by his profession over its own performance. On the contrary, he announced bar associations are moving "in the direction of an absolute prohibition on pre-trial publicity" by the press.

It is to be hoped that the public will get the irony of that. No brave surge is evident in the Southern bar to examine what Attorney General Flowers called improper enforcement of the law. Rather, we infer, the bar associations are simply moving to keep so much publicity about it from getting to the public. Until the bar bestirs itself about its Haynevilles, its stirring against the press sits poorly.

It truly is "nonsense," as Vermont Royster of the Wall Street Journal says, to feel "the form of the empty-minded jury must be preserved at all costs. To say that because you have prior knowledge of the facts you cannot be fair is something apart from reality . . . an insult to the integrity of the American people."

More meaningfully, in the light of Flowers' and Katzenbach's comments about the Hayneville verdict, Royster added:

"Deny the right to public scrutiny and, in the whole world, there is no other instrument by which justice can be measured."

The public can make its own judgment as to which served justice better at Hayneville and the long line of cases similar to it—unobstructed public scrutiny or blindered courtroom form.

The press, at least, will more kindly receive the bar's policing of its practices when the bar shows a braver first concern over its own.

Bangor Daily News, Friday, October 1, 1965

Coleman Jury Decision Shocking, Says Churchman

KEENE, N.H. (UPI) — Jonathan Daniels' hometown was dismayed Thursday when an Alabama jury acquitted his alleged slayer. A prominent clergyman called on President Johnson to take steps to prevent another "travesty of American justice."

The verdict exonerating Thomas Coleman was returned while Daniels' mother, a teacher, was instructing a class at Bellows Falls, Vt., high school.

She could not be reached for comment but others who knew the 26-year-old white civil rights worker, an Episcopal seminarian, were critical of the verdict.

The Rev. John B. Coburn, dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., which Daniels attended, said he hoped Daniels' death "may not have been in vain."

Dean Coburn said the decision was an "utterly shocking travesty of American justice... brought to pass apparently by a local system of trial which makes it impossible for the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth to be expressed."

Dean Coburn asked:

"Why...were there only Negro eyewitness reports admitted to evidence?

"Why were not the young people who were released from prison with Jonathan and either in the group or near him when he was killed, permitted to testify?"

Dean Coburn expressed disbelief at prosecution testimony that Daniels carried a knife. "...for him to have done so would have been completely contrary to his character. He was a man of peace, not hate."

"Any judicial system which not only permits but apparently encourages such a flagrant denial of justice must be condemned by the citizens of a country where equality before the law and due process of law are essential foundation stones," Dean Coburn said

He added:

"In my judgment this calls for a prompt and effective reply from the forces in our country which have the widest responsibility to assure justice for all—the President and executive arm of the government together with the elected representatives of all the people."

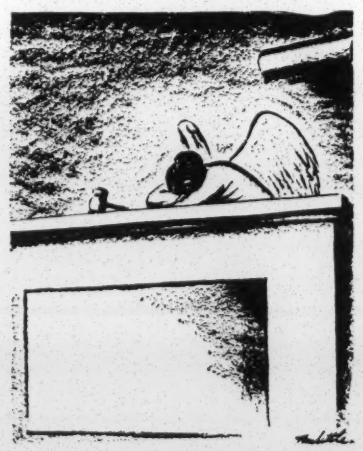
Mrs. Kathleen Taylor, a lifelong neighbor of the Daniels, said the verdict was "a terrible thing.

"I loved that boy. I knew him since he was a baby. He was the gentlest, sweetest boy you ever saw," Mrs. Taylor said.

New Hampshire Gov. John W. King said he looked on the verdict "as a travesty of justice."

Nation's Cartoonists View Hayneville

—Haynie, The Louisville Courier-Journal
'Manslaughter'



—Little, The Nashville Tennesseean
Justice in Hayneville

—Dowling, New York Herald Tribune
'We Handle It Differently in Civil Rights Cases!'

—Conrad, The Los Angeles Times
'We find the . . . he he he! . . . defendant . . . ho ho! . . . git set! . . . he'ah come the punch line! . . . ho ho! . . . NOT GUILTY!!'

Close-Up

The Jury System Itself Is on Trial

One of the first trials I covered as a beginning reporter involved a county official charged with falsifying records in such a manner that he and a cohort collected all of the bond money posted in traffic cases, rather than the quarter they were entitled to.

The prosecution's case, I thought, was air-tight. There were state patrolmen, testifying that speeding was the only charge they had lodged against certain individuals. And there were county records showing the same individuals each charged with four different offenses (one of the four not even a crime under Georgia law). Since the local fee-system officials could keep $25 per case in bond money, the invented charges allowed them to keep all of a $100 speeding bond.

The defense attorney had little to say about the *prima facie* evidence of the record books. Instead, he plucked sentimental tunes on the jurors' heartstrings. He wept. He begged them not to place a black mark on the record of that fine old gentleman, the defendant, as he entered the twilight of life. (The acts of falsification apparently were not black marks; only a conviction would be.)

Well, the jury turned the defendant loose. I expressed shock to the prosecutor. He warmly pleaded for me to retain my faith in the jury system.

I have tried to, but that faith is continually being shaken by acts of juries. The Hayneville, Ala., trial of the man who gunned down an Episcopal seminarian is enough to make anyone re-examine the system. The charge of manslaughter in a case of murder, the conduct of the trial, the verdict—they were all a mockery, an obscenity shouted into the face of justice.

A jury of peers is supposed to provide safeguards against the oppressive power of kings and states. But if juries by whim and prejudice may exonerate the guilty of the most heinous crimes, who is to protect the peace, lawfulness and good order of the community?

Even as an isolated incident, the Hayneville case would cause revulsion. But it is not isolated. Pressure is inevitably building up for trial by tribunal rather than juries in civil rights criminal cases. Southern congressmen in the past have been able to preserve jury trials, but their position is seriously eroded by a series of Haynevilles.

I for one can no longer summon up the faith in juries that the prosecutor urged me to have a decade ago.—BRUCE GALPHIN.

(ATLANTA CONSTITUTION)

William S. White (10-5-65)

Hayneville Breaks The Heart of Dixie

WASHINGTON — To read and re-read the dispatches from Hayneville in Alabama is to be gripped by an ironic and tragic dilemma wrapped in an aura of hopelessness very nearly as dark as is despair itself. Responsible men must know that the jury system lies at the very root of all our ancient rights and that the jury's verdict, however unpopular, must be accepted in this and every case unless we wish to set up public emotionalism as the last arbiter of American justice.

But responsible men cannot avoid knowing, either, that the verdict in Hayneville which freed Tom Coleman for the shotgun killing of the civil rights worker, Jonathan Daniels, offends something that is almost as profoundly irreplaceable as the jury system itself. This is the absolute, the desperate, necessity that justice must not only be done but that justice must be seen by reasonable men to have been done.

Making due allowance for the evident emotional involvement with the prosecution side of some of the reports of the trial in Hayneville — and this, too, must be given its due weight in any even - handed inquest upon this affair — it is all the same impossible to avoid a sense of shock and horror from that Southern courtroom.

In a word, whether justice was in truth done in Hayneville, no man outside the jury box can say for certain. No man, if we really believe in our system, has the right to say flatly that it was not. But that justice is widely not seen to have been done — purely any man has the right to say this. For this is the plain and terrible truth.

Fair men must acknowledge, too, that there is nothing unexampled in this nightmare business. For there have been many verdicts in the North, notably in the prohibition - gangster era, which reflected no slightest sheen of that justice which is not only done but also seen to have been done.

So critics have no right to hold up this episode as either unique in American annals or as representing a collective thing called Southern justice. It is infamously false to suggest that the South, the very home traditionally of American jurisprudence, as it is the very generating place historically of both the Constitution and the that very place which used to be above all symbol of pride and integrity and honor to every Southerner — has broken the heart of Dixie. For while Hayneville may in fact have seen justice done (though one is compelled against all his principles and family training to doubt even that), Hayneville has thrown out before all the world an irredeemably soiled suggestion of injustice done.

So will be armed again all the South-haters and South-baiters, all those who in their closed minds have already outlawed a whole region. What is left, then, for Southerners who love the South and do not apologize for it and never will? This is left. To go on to the end defending the true South, with less and less hope for a real hearing in the North.

(MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER 10-4-65)

Solon Blasts Katzenbach Acceptance Of Verdict

NEWARK, N.J. (AP) — Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., criticized Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach on Sunday for his comment on the acquittal of an Alabama deputy sheriff who killed a young seminarian and civil rights worker.

"I disagree absolutely with Mr. Katzenbach's statement that the Hayneville mockery is 'the price you have to pay for the jury system,'" Case said in remarks prepared for a breakfast meeting here.

"Surely," the senator continued, "We do not have to accept this kind of legal proceeding as being 'expected from time to time.' In this connection, the press reports that the federal government did not even have an observer at the Coleman trial."

Calling the case "one of the latest, flagrant abuses of the judicial process," Case praised Alabama Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers who, he said, "has made it clear that he is not through with the case."

Case continued: "Defeated in his earlier attempts to indict the defendant on a murder charge; refused a postponement of the case until a key witness, also shot by the defendant, could come to court; ordered out of the court by the trial judge, Atty. Gen. Flowers has not given up on the case.

"In sharp and unfortunate contrast is the philosophic attitude expressed by the attorney general of the United States."

Case said, "This appalling situation is not one which the American people can view tolerantly. They do not expect their government to stand by helplessly.

"Rightly, they look to the federal government to afford effective protection to those who are exercising their constitutional rights in a lawful manner. Clearly the federal government has not done this in the past. Clearly, it is not doing it now."

Outcry Grows on Coleman Trial

(WASHINGTON POST) (Oct.2,1965)

Federal Action Sought—New Trial Is Weighed

By Robert E. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

The acquittal of Tom Coleman in Hayneville, Ala., has raised cries of condemnation and renewed demands for Federal action and legislation.

Coleman was acquitted Thursday by an all-white jury in the shotgun slaying of Jonathan M. Daniels, a white civil rights worker.

It was the 26th slaying directly related to integration activities in the South since 1960. Nine of the victims were white, 17 were Negro.

Twelve of the deaths have occurred in Alabama, nine in Mississippi, two in Georgia and one each in North Carolina, Florida and Louisiana.

No one has been found guilty of murder in any of the deaths. In three cases, defendants were found guilty of manslaughter, but the sentence was suspended in one of these.

The record bares an ugly basic issue in the civil rights movement: The all-white juries in some Deep South areas will not find a white man guilty of a crime against white civil rights workers or Negroes.

"This is the price you have to pay for the jury system," said Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach when he heard of Coleman's acquittal. "But I don't think it is too high a price to pay."

Charles Morgan Jr., head of the American Civil Liberties Union's Atlanta office, takes a different view. The jury system in such places as Hayneville's Lowndes County is no jury system at all, he contends.

Negroes comprise 81 per cent of Lowndes County's population but are not permitted to serve on juries, Morgan said.

The ACLU has filed a Federal court suit asking that all court cases in Lowndes County be postponed until Negroes are porportionately represented on juries.

As Coleman came to trial, the ACLU sought an immediate injunction, which was denied. It was appealed to Justice Hugo L. Black on the U.S. Supreme Court who denied the request yesterday without comment. The ACLU case itself will be heard later before a three-judge court.

The Coleman acquital drew demands for a Federal anti-lynching law from several sources, including civil rights leaders the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., James Farmer and John Lewis.

"We feel the Federal Government can do no less if it expects respect of law and order to prevail in the Negro community," said Lewis.

A similar demand came from Malcolm Peabody, president of the Episcopal Society of Cultural and Racial Unity, which sponsored the slain man's work in Lowndes County.

Peabody called the acquittal a "murder license" and warned that if the Federal Government does not act "the racists in the South will have found the ultimate solution to the racial problem."

The Rt. Rev. John Elbridge Hines, presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, came from his Greenwich, Conn., home to Washington to express his concern. He talked to Deputy Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

The slaying of Daniels on August 20 apparently had the effect of slowing down Negro voter registration with Federal registrars sent to Lowndes under the Voting Rights Act.

In the ten days before the shooting, an average of 82 Negroes a day registered with the Federal men. In 32 days after the shooting, the average dropped to 21 a day.

In Montgomery, Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers indicated he was still searching for some way to bring Coleman to court again. Flowers had taken over the prosecution of Coleman and had asked the judge to postpone the trial until the Rev. Richard Morrisroe of Chicago, critically wounded in the Hayneville shooting, could testify.

The judge refused, and ousted Flowers from the case. One source said Flowers' office is now exploring the possibility of seeking a State Supreme Court order declaring Coleman's trial was not legal because of the judge's actions.

This would clear the way for a retrial without double jeopardy.

An NAACP source said his organization would press again for a Federal law providing civil damages for death and injury in rights cases. There were calls to make a civil rights murder a Federal crime and demands that the Justice Department use laws now on the books to prosecute violators.

From Gov. John W. King of New Hampshire to newspaper editorials North and South came cries that something must be done. The Chicago Sun-Times compared Deep South trials to Communist trials: both have predictable outcomes.

Coleman's chief attorney, Vaughan Hill Robison of Montgomery, said his client had been tried "in a temple of justice" and the verdict was "just and fair."

And in Midland, Tex., Attorney General Katzenbach altered the tone of his earlier comment on the Hayneville acquittal.

The Hayneville killing, said Katzenbach, is still under Federal investigation and will continue to be indefinitely.

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After Hayneville

IN THE AFTERMATH of the irregular handling and swift acquittal in the killing of the Rev. Jonathan Daniels at Hayneville, Ala., that state's Episcopal leadership has issued strong words about the implications.

Such words, too often not forthcoming in the past, add a little toward establishing a climate of responsibility.

It will take much more, of course. But on such an occasion we are glad to see this much take place, and we say so while remaining aware that the same words need to be heard by many in Georgia as well.

"We are deeply disturbed to have heard all too many church members condoning the slaying or beating of civil rights workers, saying such things as 'They had it coming to them' or 'They had no business being there,'" said Episcopal Bishops C. C. J. Carpenter and George M. Murray of Alabama.

They said they hope all Christian people in Alabama will pray that "the whole process of indictment and trial in the case of Jonathan Daniels shall in no wise be interpreted as a license to kill or injure those with whom we disagree or whose behavior we disapprove. . . ."

The tragic fact is that, without regard to the jury's verdict in this case, many people will interpret the handling of it and the atmosphere as evidence they have just such a license.

Fortunately there are other voices in the South besides the one heard in Hayneville:

The Nashville Tennesseean has commented that "Alabama has succeeded again in telling the world that those who come to that

FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES SEE TOP OF OTHER SIDE

The South Has A New Concern

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
OCTOBER 1, 1965

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Yet a man was certainly killed and another wounded in Hayneville, and it cannot matter in law that they were civil rights workers.

This much now is a matter of record: That once again a civil rights worker has been killed in the Deep South and there has been an acquit-

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
OCTOBER 3, 1965

Church unit raps acquittal

B Ham News 10-3-65

WASHINGTON (AP) — A church group describes the acquittal of an Alabama slayer of a civil-rights worker as "an obscene caricature of justice."

In a statement issued Saturday night, the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches said the action of an all-white jury at Hayneville, Ala., in acquitting Thomas L. Coleman "amounts to a wholesale issuance of hunting licenses to humans against other humans."

Coleman, the acknowledged

JONATHAN DANIELS WAS THE 26TH VICTIM WHERE NO CONVICTION HAS FOLLOWED. IF YOU, THE READER, DO NOTHING, AT LEAST TRY TO GUESS WHO THE NEXT VICTIM WILL BE!

EDITORIAL PAGE

The Detroit News

Published Daily and Sunday by The Evening News Association

WARREN S. BOOTH, Chairman, Board of Directors

PETER B. CLARK, President and Publisher — EDWIN K. WHEELER, Exec. Vice Pres., Gen. Manager

MARTIN S. HAYDEN, Editor

18-A FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1965

MORE TRUTH ABOUT ALABAMA

Tuesday, October

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Yet, Hayneville brings pain and loss and deprivation to all true Southerners — those who still live there and those who, like this columnist, live there no longer but still love the South and always will and value its traditions trampled into Hayneville's dust.

A long time ago, when hoodlum mobs sullied the streets of the Confederacy's capital, Montgomery, one remarked that while the automobile plates of Alabama proudly speak of it as the "Heart of Dixie," the white trash of Montgomery had broken the heart of Dixie as few had done before.

Again now, and most sorrowfully, it must be said, Hayneville again — and in no less a place than a court of law, that very place which used to be above all symbol of pride and integrity and honor to every Southerner — has broken the heart of Dixie. For while Hayneville may in fact have seen justice done (though one is compelled against all his principles and family training to doubt even that), Hayneville has thrown out before all the world an irredeemably soiled suggestion of injustice done.

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This much now is a matter of record: That once again a civil rights worker has been killed in the Deep South and there has been an acquittal.

It is not this newspaper's place to render judgment on the Hayneville case. A jury empaneled to do so has reached the only verdict which counts.

But it would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern states a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demand for federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers. Such demand will be offered on a claim that when such an individual is killed in the Deep South, there is little chance of a state court conviction following.

Southerners must concede that this is a claim which from the record cannot be readily rebuked or dismissed and they surely cannot help but be concerned.

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
OCTOBER 3, 1965

Church unit raps acquittal

B'ham News 10-3-65

WASHINGTON (AP) — A church group describes the acquittal of an Alabama slayer of a civil-rights worker as "an obscene caricature of justice."

In a statement issued Saturday night, the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches said the action of an all-white jury at Hayneville, Ala., in acquitting Thomas L. Coleman "amounts to a wholesale issuance of hunting licenses to humans against other humans."

Coleman, the acknowledged shotgun killer of Jonathan Daniels, a white Episcopal seminarian, was acquitted on grounds of self-defense.

The statement, issued by the commission's executive director, the Rev. Dr. Robert W. Spike, said 25 civil-rights workers have been killed in the South in the past five years and there has yet to be a murder conviction in these killings.

It said the 1965 voting-rights act "will become completely meaningless as long as those who attempt to vote or assist others to do so act in constant jeopardy of their very lives."

It concluded: "The question is simple: Who will be next?

"The Commission on Religion and Race intends to keep this question before the American public until a way is found for our federal government to protect all the people."

After Hayneville

IN THE AFTERMATH of the irregular handling and swift acquittal in the killing of the Rev. Jonathan Daniels at Hayneville, Ala., that state's Episcopal leadership has issued strong words about the implications.

Such words, too often not forthcoming in the past, add a little toward establishing a climate of responsibility.

It will take much more, of course. But on such an occasion we are glad to see this much take place, and we say so while remaining aware that the same words need to be heard by many in Georgia as well.

"We are deeply disturbed to have heard all too many church members condoning the slaying or beating of civil rights workers, saying such things as 'They had it coming to them' or 'They had no business being there,'" said Episcopal Bishops C. C. J. Carpenter and George M. Murray of Alabama.

They said they hope all Christian people in Alabama will pray that "the whole process of indictment and trial in the case of Jonathan Daniels shall in no wise be interpreted as a license to kill or injure those with whom we disagree or whose behavior we disapprove. . . ."

The tragic fact is that, without regard to the jury's verdict in this case, many people will interpret the handling of it and the atmosphere as evidence they have just such a license.

Fortunately there are other voices in the South besides the one heard in Hayneville:

The Nashville Tennesseean has commented that "Alabama has succeeded again in telling the world that those who come to that state to promote equal justice for all citizens do so at the risk of their lives."

The Louisville Courier-Journal said: "Nothing in the whole proceeding was more shameful than the appearance of local clergymen who gave absolution to the affair, fatally qualifying one of the great commandments."

And within Alabama, these words came from the Birmingham News:

"It would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern states a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demand for federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers. . . .

"Such demand will be offered on a claim that when such an individual is killed in the Deep South there is little chance of a state court conviction following. Southerners must concede that this is a claim which from the record cannot be readily rebuked or dismissed and they surely cannot help but be concerned."

We think many Southerners are and will be concerned about this, and more must be.

Tuesday, October 5, 1965 The Atlanta Journal

JONATHAN DANIELS WAS THE 26TH VICTIM WHERE NO CONVICTION HAS FOLLOWED. IF YOU, THE READER, DO NOTHING, AT LEAST TRY TO GUESS WHO THE NEXT VICTIM WILL BE!

EDITORIAL PAGE

The Detroit News

Published Daily and Sunday by The Evening News Association

WARREN S. BOOTH, Chairman, Board of Directors

PETER B. CLARK, President and Publisher — EDWIN K. WHEELER, Exec. Vice Pres., Gen. Manager

MARTIN S. HAYDEN, Editor

18-A FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1965

MORE TRUTH ABOUT ALABAMA

Lowndes County Justice

The farce in Hayneville, Alabama, is played out to the end once again. Once more a Lowndes County jury has gone through the motions of weighing the evidence against a white man accused of killing a civil rights worker and, after a polite pause, has set him free.

"I knew it all the time," exclaimed Tom Coleman's wife after the verdict. Of course she did. Who didn't?

Who on earth would expect a Lowndes County jury to punish a white man who did no more than shoot a couple of "nigger-loving preachers" who came down from the North to make trouble?

It may be unfair to the good white people of Lowndes County to assume that they consider urging Negroes to register and vote a crime properly

punishable by a death sentence summarily executed by a part-time deputy. Most would probably prescribe no more than a little kicking around.

But who's to blame Tom Coleman for being provoked to deadly violence when they make so bold as to try to walk into a store? Not gonna hang a man for that, are you?

"All of you know Tom Coleman," the defense attorney said to the jury.

That's enough of a license to kill a man.

"You knew his mother and you knew his father."

That's enough of a license to kill a man.

"You named your football field for him."

That's enough of a license to kill a man.

It is, in Lowndes County, Alabama, if the man to be killed has been telling Negroes they ought to register and vote.

It is, in Lowndes County, Alabama, if the killer's pal is willing to testify vaguely that he saw "a shiny object" in one victim's hand that "appeared to be a knife," and in the other victim's hand what he "took to be" a pistol.

★ ★ ★

Elsewhere in this civilized land it may seem most unlikely that two young men of religion, knowing well that they were deep in hostile territory where the slightest excuse would be used to put them in jail, or worse, would go charging around armed. But in Hayneville, Tom Coleman needed a self-defense alibi.

Elsewhere it might seem strange that their weapons could then disappear forever simply because a couple of Negroes — unhindered and unidentified — could pick them up and walk away from a crowd of white witnesses. But in Hayneville, Tom Coleman was pleading self-defense.

Elsewhere people may wonder how one of these murderous young clergymen could have gotten so much of Coleman's buckshot in his liver and kidney if he was not, as he claims, running away, but was charging Coleman and his shotgun, as Coleman's pal says. But in Hayneville they named their football field after Tom Coleman.

"What could you expect in this county?" asked the county solicitor, Carlton Perdue.

Perdue is no flaming Southern liberal, nor yet a faint Southern liberal. His comment just after the shootings last August was, "If they'd been tending to their own business, like I tend to mine, they'd be living and enjoying themselves today."

But he did make somewhat of a try, in his official capacity, to bring Hayneville to face up to such conscience as it may possess, to convince it that gunning men down in the street — in this case glossed over as manslaughter — is not something a civilized community can keep on its stomach in health.

He failed even in this faint effort, and time will tell how the good white people of Lowndes County will tolerate even this mild apostasy.

Alabama State Senator Vaughn Hill Robison, in defense of Tom Coleman, summed up Hayneville and Lowndes County in his address to the jury:

"Justice does not sleep in Lowndes County today. By your verdict of not guilty, you will say, 'Justice is alive in Lowndes County.'"

Justice!

The word must stick in his throat.

We'uns Got Us a Huntin' License!

(DETROIT NEWS, October 3, 1965)

Bill Urged to Shift Rights Case Trials

WASHINGTON, Oct. 5 (AP)—The nation's civil rights leadership has set a new congressional goal for 1966: Passage of a personal security act to take civil rights criminal cases out of state courts.

"We had the Public Accommodations Act in 1964, the voting rights bill in 1965 and we look forward to the personal security act in 1966," Joseph L. Rauh, counsel for the National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, said in an interview today.

The conference, an amalgamation of more than 100 church, union and civil rights groups, met privately last week.

The meeting came shortly after a Hayneville, Ala., jury acquitted Thomas L. Coleman, a special deputy sheriff of Lowndes County, of manslaughter in connection with the slaying of Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, civil rights worker for the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. The church group said Daniels was the 26th civil rights worker in the South to die violently since 1961.

The leadership conference asked itself, Rauh said, "is this thing going to continue? Have we seen the last of the judicial farce we saw in Hayneville?"

The conferees agreed, he said that "every assault with a racial purpose or effect should be made a federal crime."

And congressional passage of such an act, he added, "should be the major legislative goal of the leadership drive in 1966."

Rauh said the legislation he has in mind would, in effect, take civil rights-connected criminal cases out of the state's hands and into a federal courtroom.

"In a federal court we just don't get judicial farces like we saw in Haneyville," he said. "Not all federal courts are perfect, but they certainly don't act like this."

The leadership conference unsuccessfully attempted to write similar provisions into the 1965 Voting Rights Act, Rauh said, and plans no legislative drive until next year.

"There's no bill ready yet," he said. "We know that this Congress is ready to go home and it won't be very well received. I think a bill will be ready when Congress comes back in January."

A spokesman for the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, which earlier had denounced the Hayneville decision as "an obscene caricature of justice," endorsed the proposed personal security act.

Tuesday, October 5, 1965 The Atlanta Journal

MEMO TO ESCRU MEMBERS

What you can do about Hayneville, Alabama

You are familiar with the events surrounding the trial of Thomas L. Coleman for the slaying of ESCRU staff member Jonathan M. Daniels. As surely as Mr. Coleman pulled the trigger that scattered death in Jonathan's body, the gun was loaded with shot from the Southern system of justice.

Segregated justice:

1. ... results in exclusion of Negroes from juries. For example, in Lowndes County, Alabama, which is 81% Negro, Thomas L. Coleman's trial jury (after lawyers' challenges) should have been composed of twelve Negroes. It is not difficult to see that the Southern killers of civil rights workers (26 killings since 1961) will find fear in the prospect of trial in an integrated legal system.
2. ... provides a biased workshop in which white liberal and moderate lawyers cannot represent persons in civil rights and liberties matters without risking their lives and fortunes while protecting their sacred honor.
3. ... places great burdens upon Negro lawyers, Negro criminal defendants, and others - burdens which are not encountered by white lawyers and white persons before the courts..
4. ... militates against the granting of adequate damages to Negroes for personal injuries occasioned them by white persons.
5. ... has a "chilling effect on free expression" since liberal and moderate people fear to speak, knowing that they may be killed with impunity by men with licenses to kill.
6. ... discourages newspaper editors and others, fearful of libel and other types of suits, from expressing themselves in favor of national law over the Southern order.
7. ... militates against more effective representation by Negro lawyers, and also limits their means of livelihood to the Negro community.
8. ... discourages voter registration, for what Negro man or woman may enter the white man's courthouse without fears and remembrances of 100 years of repression there.
9. ... leaves law abiding Negroes without substantial protection from Negroes and others in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. (White Southern juries punish Negroes less severely for crimes against members of their race than they do for crimes by Negroes against whites and whites for crimes against whites.)
10. ... spreads the seeds of distrust and lawlessness from the South to New York and Los Angeles.
11. ... makes the phrase "take your struggle out of the streets and into the courts" sound both hollow and mocking. To Southern-born Negroes - wherever they may be - the court may be the enemy, not a forum.

Segregated justice is not confined to state court juries; federal court juries are little better. The exclusion of Negroes from employment in the administration of justice is as widespread as it is harshly discriminatory. From the jail to the all white police department, the Negro has little hope for equal treatment. Indeed, the Southern Regional Council has reported on the racial make-up of employment in Southern Federal Courts and the following table from that report shows that the entire structure of federal justice in the South is as white as new-fallen snow in Keene, New Hampshire.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL IN SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
Circuit Court Judges	12*	12	0
District Court Judges	65	65	0
Referees in Bankruptcy	55	55	0
U. S. Commissioners	253	253	0
U. S. Clerks	28	28	0
Deputy U. S. Clerks	321	321	0
U. S. Attorneys	29	29	0
Assistant U. S. Attorneys	158	153	5
Jury Commissioners	109	109	0
U. S. Marshals	29	29	0
Deputy U. S. Marshals	165	156	9
Secretarial and Clerical	364	**	**

* This is the number of judges of southern residence now serving in the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuits. The numbers respectively are three, seven, one, and one.

** Exact number of Negroes not ascertainable. The number, from observation, is quite small.

From: Racial Discrimination in the Southern Federal Courts, a Special Report of the Southern Regional Council, p. 3.

As we urge Negroes to seek their rights in courts instead of streets we must recognize that the courts are among the last major instrumentalities of governmental repression. In the analyses of the Watts and Harlem riots - and cries of police brutality across the nation - it should be understood that the Negro from Lowndes or Wilcox County,

Alabama who moves to the Promised Land and hears from the white cop there the word "nigger", feels the resentment against the Deep South sheriff who, the Negro learned long ago, had the duty of"keeping the niggers in line." Thus, steps must be taken immediately to make certain that the very system of the administration of justice in the South undergoes radical change.

Prior to Mr. Coleman's trial, ESCRU, represented by lawyers for the American Civil Liberties Union, sought to delay all trials in Lowndes County, Alabama until juries there were selected in accordance with color-blind constitutional provisions. Although unsuccessful in its first attempt, this case and the vote of "The Hayneville Twelve" have brought clearly into focus the importance of the integration of the segregated Southern system of justice.

Thus ESCRU is deeply committed to making the life and death of Jonathan Daniels meaningful. It has committed itself to long-range work in desegregating Southern justice. ESCRU is not alone in this commitment; it is joined by the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Southern Regional Council. The American Civil Liberties Union has initiated a long-range program termed "Operation Southern Justice" to provide legal assistance for this struggle.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

First, contact your congressman. The Department of Justice is empowered under Title 18, Section 243, United States Code, to prosecute federal and state officials who exclude Negroes from jury service. Only one prosecution has been brought under this law - that in the 1870's. Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Department of Justice is authorized to intervene in cases brought by private citizens to integrate the administration of justice. The Department of Justice and the President are directly responsible for the appointment of federal judges and the employment of many of the federal employees who work in the administration of justice in the federal courts. Your congressman should be urged to seek enactment of laws providing for fair employment practices in state and municipal employment as well as in the federal judicial system (these fields are presently exempt from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964). Your congressman should also be urged to seek enactment of a uniform juror selection law for all courts which would provide for the selection of jurors in the same impartial manner as is presently utilized in obtaining population samples for public opinion polls. The jury should be selected from a true cross-section of the population, not from lists or by "keymen" methods which tend to make juries throughout the United States "white, middle-class, middle-minded, and middle-aged".

Second, all forms of communications should be utilized to bring to the country's attention the fact that all-white jury systems and all-white Southern courthouses serve as a licensing bureau for killers of civil rights workers, and blocker of equal rights for all men. Tactics ranging from picketing and demonstrations to consultations with your local newspaper editors should be considered. We, of course, urge that all means employed to bring this problem of all-white justice to the nation's attention, be peaceful, totally non-violent, and protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

Third, you should express yourself to the President and Attorney General of the United States demanding the enforcement of existing federal laws to integrate federal and state courts. The President appoints federal judges in the South - for life. Proper appointments may make the Constitution a living document. Typical appointments remove from it the breath of life.

Your staff is planning to participate in a major, coordinated effort in Washington, D. C. to bring the seriousness of this problem to the nation's attention. Other activities are presently under consideration.

With your help and the help of Christians across the nation we may be able to secure the enforcement of existing laws, and the enactment and enforcement of new laws, to the end that the whiteness of the courthouses of the South will disappear from view, that Southern Justice, as we have known it, will melt as the snow next spring in Keene, New Hampshire.

Then and only then will the death of Jonathan M. Daniels be meaningful. For, from his death and the trial of his killer may come a new way of life in the courts of the South and the nation.

Sincerely,

Charles Morgan, Jr.

Charles Morgan, Jr.
Director
Southern Regional Office of ACLU

NEW HAMPSHIRE THE CHURCHMAN

The Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New Hampshire

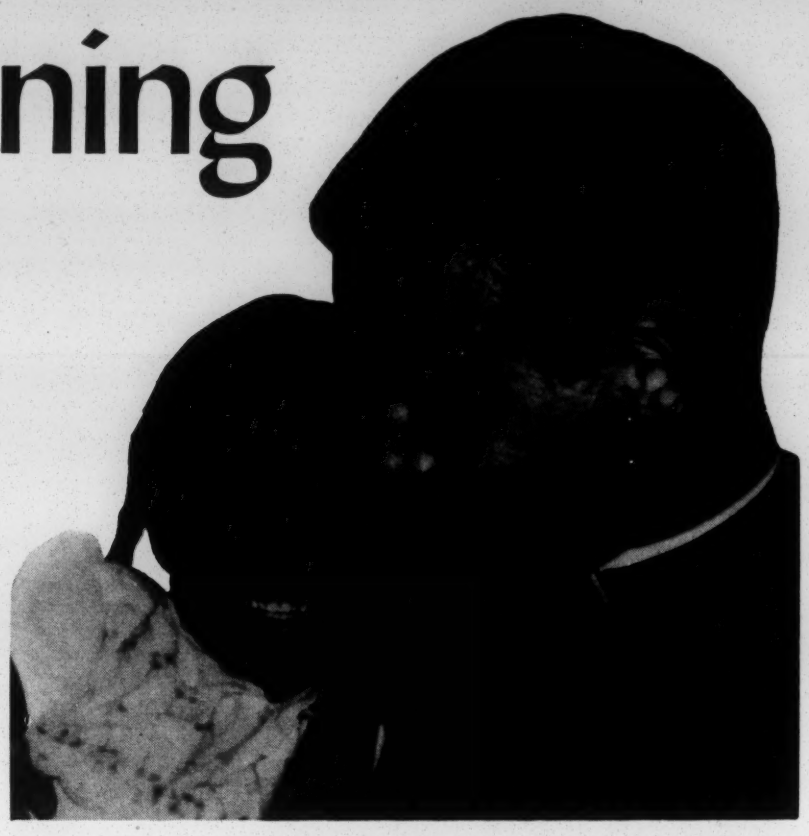
June 1965 Vol. XVII No. 9

Reprint

A Burning Bush

JONATHAN MYRICK DANIELS

April 1965



The author with one of his friends, who although the victim of hatred, ignorance and intolerance, manages to smile in youthful innocence.

REALITY is kaleidoscopic in the black belt. Now you see it; now you don't. The view is never the same. Climate is an affair of the soul as well as the body: today the sun sears the earth, and a man goes limp in its scorching. Tomorrow and yesterday sullen rains chill bones and flood unpaved streets. Fire and ice . . . the advantages of both may be obtained with ease in the black belt. Light, dark, white, black: a way-of-life blurs, and the focus shifts. Black, white, black . . . A rhythm ripples in the sun, pounds in steaming, stinking shacks, dances in the blood. Reality is kaleidoscopic in the black belt. Sometimes one's vision changes with it. A crooked man climbed a crooked tree on a crooked hill. Somewhere, in the mists of the past, a tenor sang of valleys lifted up and hills made low. Death at the heart of life, and life in the midst of death. The tree of life is indeed a Cross.

White

Darkly, incredibly the interstate highway that had knifed through Virginia and the Carolinas narrowed and stopped. It was three o'clock in the morning and bitterly cold. We found it difficult to believe that we were actually back in the south. But in the twinkling of an eye our brave, clean highway became a backwoods Georgia road, deep in cracker country, and we knew we were home. We were low on gas and miles from a point on the map, miles from sanctuary in Atlanta. We found a gas station and stopped. While one of us got the tank filled, the other went to the outdoor phone. Our Massachusetts plates seemed to glow in the night. As I shivered in the phone booth, I saw, through a window, white men turn and stare. Then my eye caught the sign over the door. . . WHITE ONLY. We had planned to get a Coke to keep us awake until Atlanta, but I guessed I no longer cared. I heard the operator speak and then Father Scott in Atlanta. His voice was sleepy – and tired – and it took him a minute to recall our meeting at the airport a week or two before. Then he shifted into gear, and I received precise instructions. We would find a small street at the end of the night and a certain door. We would knock and say that Fr. Scott had said that we were to be admitted to the Canterbury House next door. There would be black faces and a warm floor, the Eucharist in the morning and coffee to send us on our way. What we found there we sometimes think we shall see again only in Heaven. The Love before which we knelt in the morning would not again be visible at an altar, except to souls that had taken their first steps on the long trek out of the flesh. One cannot otherwise kneel in the real presence of a brother's hate, but that is to get ahead of our story . . We drove on into the night. Incongruously, we came upon an all-night truckstop, midway to nowhere. There appeared to be no sign over the door, and I went in to get coffee-to-go. Too late, I discovered that hatred hadn't advertised – perhaps the sign had blown off in a storm. When I ordered the coffee, all other voices stopped. I turned from cold stares and fixed my gaze on a sign over the counter.

Nausea

"ALL CASH RECEIVED FROM SALES TO NIGGERS WILL BE SENT DIRECTLY TO THE UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA." I read it again and again, nausea rising swiftly and savagely, as the suspicious counter boy spilled coffee over the cups. It was lousy coffee. But worse than chicory was the taste of black men's blood. It was cheap: only twenty-five cents. At least Judas went for thirty.

It was high noon as we walked into the Selma Post Office to sign for a registered letter, and the lines at the windows were long. In the line next to me a redneck turned and stared: at my seminarian's collar, at my ESCRU button, at my face. He turned to a friend. "Know what he is?" The friend shouted, "No." Resuming, the speaker whinnied, "Why, he's a white niggah." I was not happy thus to become the object of every gaze. And yet deep within me rose an affirmation and a tenderness and a joy that wanted to shout, "Yes!" If pride were appropriate in the ambiguities of my presence in Selma, I would be unspeakably proud of my title. For it is the highest honor, the most precious distinction I have ever received. It is one that I do not deserve – and cannot ever earn. As I type now, my hands are hopelessly white. "But my *heart* is black. . ." I *was* proud, for the redneck's contempt was the obverse of an identity and an acceptance that were very real, if still ambiguous, in another part of town. I am indeed "a white nigger."

Bunnie sat astride my knee. She is four, the youngest of eleven. She smiled, yet there was a hesitancy in her eyes. Her daddy smiled down at her and asked, "Do you love Jon?" Quietly but firmly, Bunny said, "No." We had lived with Bunnie's family only a few days and I was sure I knew what she meant. A part of me seemed to die inside, and I fought back tears. But there was nothing I could say, nothing I could do. Wisely, her daddy, who was already a dear friend, did not pursue the matter . . . When, a few days later, Bunnie pulled me down to her, cupped my face with her tiny hands and kissed me, I knew something very important (and incredibly beautiful) had happened. As Stringfellow says in *My People Is the Enemy*, "that is called a sacrament."

We had parked the car at the church. The rector had not been there, so we had strolled a block or two to the office of an attorney whom we had met at St. Paul's and encountered several times since.

Grapevine

This time our visit was more cordial. We had given him and his wife a copy of *My People Is the Enemy* for Easter, and I think they were deeply touched. This time he was less suspicious, less defensive, less insistent that we "get the hell out of town." We had talked this time of the Gospel, of what a white moderate could do when he discovered that the White Citizens' Council wasn't all-powerful, of certain changes in the school system that the grapevine said might be forthcoming. We left his office in a spirit of something very much like friendship. Something having to do with human hearts, something like the faith of the Church had been explored and shared with a white man in the black belt. We gave thanks to the One Whom we had besought as we stepped across the threshhold of his office, and quietly savored the glory of God as we strolled back to the car. We stopped for a light, and a man got out of his car and approached us. He was dressed in a business suit and looked respectable – this was not a redneck, so we could relax. He stopped in front of us, inspecting us from head to toe. His eyes paused for a moment at our ESCRU buttons and the collar. Then he spoke, very quietly. "Are you the scum that's been going to the Episcopal Church?" With a single voice we answered, "the scum, sir?" "Scum," he returned, "S-C-U-M. Christian That's what you are – you and the nigger trash you bring with you." We replied as gently as we could, "We can spell, sir. We're sorry you feel that way." He turned contemptuously on his heel, and we crossed our street sadly. Yet it was funny – riotously, hilariously, hideously funny! We laughed all the way back home – at the man, at his cruelty, at his stupidity, at our cleverness, at the success with which we had suavely maintained "the Christian posture." And then, though we have not talked about it, we both felt a little dirty. Maybe the Incarnate God was truly present in that man's need and asking us for something better than a smirk. (I started to say "More truly *human* than a smirk . . ." But I don't know about that. We are beginning to believe deeply in original sin: theirs and ours.)

The Judge, an Episcopalian and a racist, waited for us to finish a nervous introduction. We had encountered him only too often in his capacity as head usher, and we knew our man. Now that we sat in his elegantly appointed office in the Dallas County Courthouse, we were terrified. We knew what this man could do, and what we had not seen ourselves we had heard from our friends. We concluded with something more-or-less coherent about the situation in St. Paul's. He began. "You, Jonathan and Judy, will always be welcome in St. Paul's." We smiled appreciatively. "But,' he continued, "the nigger trash you bring with you will *never* be accepted in St. Paul's." We thought for an instant about the beautiful kids we take with us every Sunday. Especially about Helen, the eldest daughter in the first family who had opened

their home and hearts to us, a lovely, gentle, gracious girl who plans to enter nurse's training when she is graduated from high school this June. She must be one of the sweetest, prettiest girls in creation. Then anger rose in us – feeling akin, I suppose, to the feelings of a white man for the sanctity of southern womanhood. Helen, trash? We should have left his office then, for we were no longer free men. Symbolically he had raped our sister and friend. From that moment, we loathed the man – perhaps a bit more acutely than he loathed her. "The strategy of love" had already been lost. What, Lord Christ, does one do? Sometimes we do not know. Much later we told the judge that we thought the Gospel, as it had been delivered to the Holy Catholic Church rather specifically discouraged his notion that "our Episcopal Church is a white church." He answered that the Gospel also forbade our living with negroes . . . "since God made white men and black men separate and if He'd wanted them comingled He'd have made them all alike." We asked him to cite New Testament evidence. He replied that he wasn't talking about the Gospel anyway, but about reality. He was quite clear that he knew God's thinking on this point, however. We then talked a bit about white supremacy and some of the means which had been used to achieve it. He denied that human slavery had had anything to do with it – and also that the beating of our kids on "Bloody Sunday" was any exception to his assertion that negroes get more kindly treatment in the black belt than they do anywhere else in the country – and concluded that the real problem was federal intervention in the cotton industry, in voter registration, in the churches. We suggested that the judge himself was implicated in the injustice perpetrated against the negro by the white men in Dallas County (actually he is notorious on his own hook, even by the standards of white moderates in the county). With some belligerence, he replied that he was not, that he had spent all his life in Selma. We missed the point of the last and said: "Sir, you're a legal mind, trained to be consistent. Don't you see the inconsistency of what you've just said?" A smile spread across the judge's face as he replied, "That's not inconsistent. That's the way we think here, those of us who have spent all our lives here and really know the situation." He had made the same point in several other contexts that only a southern white man who had never left the black belt could see things as they really are. He concluded, "I'm not guilty of anything. Only guilty men have trouble sleeping at night. I don't have any trouble sleeping." We could not suppress the retort that we thought maybe he should. In spite of ourselves, we went through the farce of shaking hands. As we strolled to the courthouse, on our way to see the judge, we had recalled – only partly in jest – that "this kind does not come out, except by prayer and fasting."

Scotts

When we got an Alabama plate for the car, we made the mistake of giving the Scotts' number in the federal project as our local address. In less than twenty-four hours, Mrs. Scott was notified by the project authorities that her house was being watched and would soon be inspected. If "those troublemakers at the Episcopal Church" or any of their luggage were found, the Scotts would be thrown out in the street . . . We moved out a little after midnight when the streets were dark and nearly deserted. Fortunately, friends of the Scotts, who owned their house in a negro neighborhood on the edge of town, offered to take us in. Then we noticed that we were being followed uptown, especially when we drove away from the church. Mrs. Scott told us one evening that the police had been looking for "the people who've been going to the Episcopal Church." We discussed the situation with Bunnie's father, who felt that we were too remote in East Selma and insisted that we move in with his family. Now the telephone rings at six in the morning. When somebody finally stumbles out of bed to answer, there is only the sound of breathing at the other end.

When we moved in with our present family, we knew where Bunnie's mother stood. A few nights before, she had told us politely but emphatically that she didn't like white people – any white people. She knew from countless experiences that they couldn't be trusted. Until very recently, she would not have allowed white people to stay in her home. Though saddened, we were grateful for her honesty and told her so. We also told her that though we would understand if she didn't believe us, we had begun to love her and her family deeply. By the night we moved in, her reserve had almost disappeared. She was wonderfully hospitable to us, notwithstanding the suspicion she must still have felt. We spent an evening with Lonzie and Alice at the Elk's Club. Late in the evening a black nationalist approached her. "What are you doing here with them?" he asked: "They're white people." Much to our surprise and perhaps a little to her own, she answered: "Jon and Judy are my friends. They're staying in my home. I'll pick my own friends, and nobody'll tell me otherwise." The name for that, Brother Stringfellow, is *miracle*.

The girls looked particularly beautiful as we went into church on Palm Sunday. Their gloves and dresses were freshly cleaned and pretty. Their hairdo's were lovely. There was a freshness, a quiet radiance about them which made us catch our breath. We were startled from our vision by a member of the congregation entering the church as we were. His greeting was unmistakable: "You goddamned scum. . ."

The disappointments of Holy Week and the bitterness of Easter Communion at St. Paul's forced our eyes back to the inscription over the altar. "He is not here. For He is risen." In a dreadful parody of their meaning, the words seemed to tell a grim truth that was not exhausted by their liturgical import.

This is the stuff of which our life is made. There are moments of great joy and moments of sorrow. Almost imperceptibly, some men grow in grace. Some men don't. Christian hope, grounded in the reality of Easter, must never degenerate into optimism. For that is the road to despair. Yet it ought never to conclude that because its proper end is Heaven, the Church may dally at its work until the End is in sight. The thought of the Church is fraught with tension because the Life of the Church is *caught* in tension. For the individual Christian and the far-flung congregation alike, that is part of the reality of the Cross.

There are good men here, just as there are bad men. There are competent leaders and a bungler here and there. We have activists who risk their lives to confront a people with the challenge of freedom and a nation with its conscience. We have neutralists who cautiously seek to calm troubled waters. We have men about the work of reconciliation who are willing to reflect upon the cost and pay it. Perhaps at one time or another the two of us are all of these. Sometimes we take to the streets, sometimes we yawn through interminable meetings. Sometimes we talked with white men in their homes and offices, sometimes we sit out a murderous night with an alcoholic and his family because we love them and cannot stand apart. Sometimes we confront the posse, and sometimes we hold a child. Sometimes we stand with men who have learned to hate, and sometimes we must stand a little apart from them. Our life in Selma is filled with ambiguity, and in that we share with men everywhere. We are beginning to see as we never saw before that we are truly in the world and yet ultimately not of it. For through the bramble bush of doubt and fear and supposed success we are groping our way to the realization that above all alse, we are called to be saints. That is the mission of the Church everywhere. And in this Selma, Alabama is like all the world: it needs the life and witness of militant *saints*.

JONATHAN MYRICK DANIELS
1939 - 1965

Jon Daniels and other students of the Episcopal Theological School were among the thousands who demonstrated a nation's concern by going to Selma after the violence at Pettus Bridge on March 7, 1965. With a classmate, Judith Upham, and with the approval of the seminary and his bishop, Jon returned to Selma for the duration of the spring, during which time he wrote this article. After final exams back at Cambridge, and staff work at the diocesan youth camp in New Hampshire, Jon once more returned to Selma for the summer as our representative in a continuing ministry of presence. On Saturday, August 14th, he and a group of SNCC workers were jailed at Fort Deposit, Alabama, in an arrest which a Federal Court has subsequently ruled to have been illegal. They were moved to the Lowndes County Jail in Hayneville where Fr. Henri Stines of ESCRU visited Jon on Wednesday, prepared to post bond had he been willing to leave before the others could be freed. On Friday, August 20th, the entire group was unexpectedly released, without advance notice which would have seen them picked up and transported back to Selma. Jon, Fr. Richard Morrisroe, and two SNCC workers approached a nearby store where they had been accustomed to making purchases. Thomas Coleman, prominent Hayneville resident and a sometime Deputy Sheriff, was waiting there with a shotgun. Before they could enter he fired twice. Seeing what was about to happen, Jon pushed the friend in front of him to the ground and fell mortally wounded himself. Fr. Morrisroe was critically injured by the second blast. At the trial of Mr. Coleman, termed a miscarriage of justice by Alabama's Attorney General, the defense claimed the shooting was done in self-defense. Coleman was found not guilty. Whether a part of Jon's legacy will be the more vigorous enforcement of existing Federal laws or the enactment of new ones depends on you, the reader. Certainly in this article he leaves a legacy of Christian commitment that will long endure.

Copies of this available from: ESCRU, 5 Forsyth St.,NW, Atlanta 3,Ga. 5¢ each/$4.00 hundred

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

MEMORANDUM

December 2, 1965

TO: ESCRU Board Members & Chapter Chairmen

FROM: The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director

RE: Vietnam and the Civil Rights Movement

Events of the past several weeks prompt the following observations on the subject of war and peace in our time:

1. ESCRU has taken no position on the Vietnam War issue, nor should we in my estimation. However, we who are members of ESCRU, together with all Churchmen, should earnestly search for the best application of Christian moral principles in this situation, recognizing that ethical decisions in this world are seldom uncomplicated and, at best, are generally ambiguous.

2. Individual members of ESCRU will differ in their conclusions on the Vietnam issue, and may very well affiliate with organizations of opposing viewpoints. Such involvement is commendable in a day where passivity is too often the hallmark of citizenship.

3. There has been an unfortunate tendency in some quarters to equate the Civil Rights Movement and the Peace Movement, obscuring thereby the valid differences which Civil Rights adherents may have over the Vietnam issue. I think it is regrettable that recent Peace Movement rallies and ceremonial draft card burnings have concluded with the singing of "We Shall Overcome", a song which has come to be accepted as the chief anthem of the Civil Rights Movement.

4. President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, Ambassador Goldberg, and others of national prominence, have rightly supported this country's time-honored tradition of freedom of expression in recognizing the rights of citizens to peacefully organize in efforts to affect the national consensus. Ultra-conservative reaction to Peace Movement demonstrations, with the implication at times that such should not be tolerated, seems far more un-American than anything done thus far by way of criticizing American involvement in Vietnam.

5. For my part, I reluctantly accept the necessity of military intervention at times as being the lesser of two evils in this sinful world where the powers and principalities of darkness run rampant if other men stand by espousing neutrality. This does not mean that American might has always been employed for the sake of righteousness, and probably never unambiguously. I believe, however, that it was right for us to go on the field of battle against the racism of Nazi Germany, just as it may be necessary for us to support military intervention in Southern Rhodesia and, ultimately, in South Africa.

6. Speaking as a citizen and as a Churchman, and not in behalf of ESCRU, I support this country's presence in Vietnam at the present time on the basis of what I now know. I pray, however, that our nation's leaders will ever remain open to the possibilities of negotiation and settlement. That one great world power refuses to acknowledge the plausibility of co-existence should provide no excuse for heeding the more militaristic spokesmen who hover at the fringes of our national life.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

March 25, 1966

TO ALL BISHOPS AND SOME OTHER CONCERNED PEOPLE:

The adoption of a state civil rights act is not generally the primary concern of national ESCRU, but when such was accomplished in January of this year, following the earlier passage of two Federal civil rights bills, and when the person who chiefly spearheaded the adoption of a state bill is the Dean of an Episcopal cathedral - then this is news for us and something in which I believe that key Episcopalians and others will be interested.

I am enclosing a booklet which explains and describes the recently-adopted Kentucky Civil Rights Act. On the inside of the back cover you will find that the Chairman of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights is the Very Rev. Robert W. Estill of Louisville, Kentucky, I know from talking with friends in Kentucky that Dean Estill is largely responsible for this very creative and imaginative move by the state legislature in Kentucky.

In a day when many are saying that there is no need for further legislation, it is an impressive thing that the State of Kentucky can go beyond the federal legislation in the promotion of justice in employment patterns and in the use of Public Accomodations.

Episcopalians can rightly be proud of the role which Dean Estill played in the adoption of this legislation. I hope that his example will be an encouragement and incentive to others and that the enclosed booklet will be of some assistance to you in terms of evaluating the gains or needs with respect to your own state's initiative.

Yours faithfully,

John B Morris (set)

The Reverend John B. Morris
Executive Director

Note: Copy of pamphlet for file filled. General brochures + pamphlets

Pls order the from Episcopal Society about 10 copies of this Ky Civil Rights law and send out with the letter to members of Diocesan Exec Bd

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

MEMORANDUM

April 28, 1966

File

TO: Various Friends & Colleagues

FROM: The Rev. John B. Morris

RE: Direct Action & Apartheid in southern Africa

Purpose & Standing of this Memo - This is exploratory and suggestive in nature, with a hope that some recipients may want to respond in kind; or, indeed, that it may reach persons far more competent in this area who are prepared (or are preparing) to follow through somehow and who will favor us with information on their plans.

The Board of Directors of ESCRU turned its attention to the issue of Apartheid in southern Africa at its January, 1966, meeting; and I take my cue from that insofar as the legitimacy of the topic for ESCRU's Executive Director. However, it should be noted that the analysis and suggestions set forth herein are my own only. Our Board did authorize the sending of some representative to southern Africa, as a token of our interest in the situation, if special funds could be found. We are still desirous of following through in such terms, but this memorandum is not about that.

The Thesis - Simply, that there is an emerging rightness and ripeness for the consideration of forms of direct action protest and witness aimed at racism in the southern part of Africa by American organizations concerned for these issues in this country.

In Substantiation - Following are random observations and thoughts which prompt my own growing concern:

1. The present crisis in Southern Rhodesia extends one of the first "handles" whereby the whole apartheid complex can be taken ahold. Having been joined there, it seems unlikely that the issue of world concern over apartheid will return to the impasse which generally obtained vis-a-vis South Africa up until now.

2. Racist forces in this country are mobilizing at a faster rate, it would appear, in their defense of UDI in Southern Rhodesia, than are liberal forces accelerating such interest and activity as they have maintained all along. Full-page ads have been appearing of late in newspapers defending the Ian Smith regime against criticism.

3. There is an integral connection between what is happening, and what may happen, with reference to apartheid, and the mood and future of race relations in this country. Imagine, for instance, that Britain is not able to significantly alter the racist trends in Southern Rhodesia (whether or not any compromise plan is effected) and greater Chinese Communist activity develops in that country. In the event of some eventual revolutionary move under such circumstances, the United States would create serious problems at home (adding to the polarization already engendered by Watts and subsequent comparable situations) if she remained neutral, and even more serious repercussions would ensue if we threw our support to what would be touted as a beleagured white minority.

4. It seems right and inevitable to me that forces of good concerned for racial justice in this country should follow-through with an investment of time, money and effort in the southern Africa situation. That the Republic of South Africa is a separate and independent nation (not obligated to respect our Supreme Court!) offers only a tactical difference for our consideration when compared to emerging interest in this country with the sometime sovereign State of Mississippi that culminated in the Freedom Rides of 1961. Higher laws and commitments bind us to a momemtum that ultimately carries the same message to South Africa irrespective of the fact that there may be little security or relief available from a Federal Judiciary.

5. The ripeness for greater American involvement in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa is to be traced both to the situation as emerging there, as well as to our own domestic situation. Concerning the latter, we know full well that the state of race relations in this country is precarious, in spite of legislation and government initiative in various programs. Some will say there is too much to do here; but we have never operated in the Civil Rights Movement on the assumption that one problem must be settled before another is raised. All issues, ultimately, are dealt with concurrently. I think an argument could be made for an internal necessity, in terms of our domestic well-being, for American initiative against apartheid.

6. Within the council of nations we had best, both officially and unofficially, begin to show commensurate concern for the spread of "international racism" as we have well-demonstrated for the spread of "international communism". Any integrity in our commitments against Communism in Southeast Asia will be, in part, validated by equal concern for the more destructive tyranny of racism.

7. We cannot start too soon to educate and sensitize the American public to the evils of apartheid, nor should the task be underestimated. I believe that English-speaking ties and the like, causing many Americans to feel a "kith and kin" regard for the industrious white South African, give us an enormous task in terms of simply eliciting sympathy and support for the oppressed in South Africa. We take it too much in stride that several thousands in South Africa are in prison or under house arrest for their criticism of governmental policies. Our feeling of detachment has too many similiarities to our neutrality in the early days of Hitler's purge of Jews. All of this suggests that a first goal in any action is to develop more American concern.

<u>A Proposal</u> - So much for various things that undergird my thesis, and I am the first to acknowledge that I am a novice and learner with regard to the southern Africa situation. Groups such as the American Committee on Africa are the informed agencies which have long-since committed themselves to greater American initiative, and especially with reference to U. S. policies and American business interests. For what it is worth, though, I add here the proposal that a coalition of secular and religious agencies consider the sponsoring of the equivalent of a "Freedom Ride" to South Africa. A carefully planned, and responsibly executed, "Sail-In", bearing documents of our official American commitments to an open and integrated society, would seem a viable and highly symbolic way of conveying our message of concern to South Africa and, more importantly, of alerting citizens back home to this remaining frontier of racism. Would we sail from here, or begin further up the African coast or, indeed, have a delegation go by some other means? I don't know. These are the questions that a representative group could determine. The issue at hand, as I see it, is to devise a sufficient way of showing that we care: for the sake of support for internal resistance in South Africa, and to mobilize American sentiment more and more against the system of apartheid. A crack-pot idea? Yes, at first glance at least. But of such ideas have new movements and combinations of power started. Whatever the form, it is time for action by those of us who have the freedom to act.

File South africa

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE: Friday, May 20, 1966

For Further Information:
ATLANTA - 525-7975 or 255-o778
DETROIT - 626-2573 or GR 4-2860

CHURCH ORGANIZATION TO PROTEST SOUTH AFRICA RACIST POLICIES AT GENERAL MOTORS SHAREHOLDERS MEETING IN DETROIT. ADOPT EQUAL EMPLOYMENT POLICIES THERE OR PULL OUT

When the shareholders of General Motors Corporation meet in Detroit's Cobo Hall on Friday, May 20th, they will be asked by a representative of an Episcopal Church organization to consider the adoption of equal employment policies at GM's South African plants or the possible withdrawal of investments in that country.

The Atlanta-based Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, which owns five shares of GM stock, is sending its former national President, the Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, to represent it at the shareholders' meeting. Mr. Pelham is Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church in Farmington, Michigan.

In Atlanta, ESCRU's Executive Director, the Rev. John B. Morris, said that this would be the first time such a concern has been raised in a stockholders meeting of American corporations that are heavily invested in South Africa. "It is inevitable and right that Civil Rights forces here begin to question American firms about their racial policies abroad", said Mr. Morris, "and I predict that this will only be the beginning of pressure on U. S. industry to cease and desist from its partnership with racism in South Africa."

From Detroit, the Rev. Mr. Pelham has indicated that other ESCRU members who individually own stock in GM are planning to attend the meeting to lend him support if it is necessary.

In its Annual Report, General Motors lists "General Motors South African Limited" as its subsidiary, with a plant at Port Elizabeth manufacturing Chevrolet, Vauxhall and Opel passenger cars, as well as Frigidaire and other products.

(Mr. Pelham's full statement is attached)

OVER

A QUESTION CONCERNING THE CORPORATE POLICIES & PRACTICES OF GENERAL MOTORS CORP.

To Be Submitted at the Meeting of GM Shareholders

Detroit, Michigan, May 20th

I am authorized by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, which has headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., and which is the owner of five shares of General Motors stock, to inquire into the Company's intentions and plans in the Republic of South Africa, where we have extensive interests, insofar as the racial policies and practices at assembly and other plants are concerned. We are strongly persuaded that General Motors, as well as other American firms doing business in South Africa, must utilize the same equal employment policies in that country as we are required to observe in this country. We feel that the company is obligated morally, if not legally, to use this and every other opportunity available in its dealings in South Africa to foster that spirit of racial justice and democracy which, ultimately, is the only basis for a sound and secure economy; and which reflects a higher law under which we all stand subject. We feel that the company, if it is not able to observe the same employment standards in South Africa which we follow here, must begin to consider the withdrawal of operations from that country; divesting itself of all interests which are in any way implicated in the apartheid and racist traditions of the government of South Africa. With this background of concern, then, Mr. Chairman, my question is: What kind of racial policies now constitute the Company's basis of operations in South Africa, and what changes do you forsee for these in the future?

- The Rev. Joseph A. Pelham*

(* - Mr. Pelham has been provided the proxy form sent to ESCRU, together with a further proxy authorizing him to speak and vote in behalf of ESCRU.)

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE PURPOSE of this Society shall be to encourage men to respond positively to God's call for unity in the Church. The unity of God with man, and man with man, is made by God in Baptism and Holy Communion. We commit ourselves to establish total participation in the Church for all persons without regard to race, class, or national origin; to give mutual support to all who act in this ministry of reconciliation; and to express this concern at parish levels and in a more creative witness throughout the community at large.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

IN FAITHFULNESS to Jesus Christ, Who values all men equally, and Who prayed that all might be One in Him, and in understanding of the essential unity of the Church, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity affirms the unity in His Body of all persons without any distinction as to race, color, national origin or class. In accord with the councils of the Church, we affirm that any form of segregation or separation based on such distinctions in either the Church or the general community is contrary to the will of Christ and must be resisted by His Church and its members.

WE CONFESS OUR FAILURE to seek steadfastly this unity of persons and we penitently admit to prejudices which may separate us from brothers. Praying daily that the Church may be rid of all divisions based on race, color, national origin or class, and that a more just social order be established, the members of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity will work toward this end within the Church and their communities as they are individually and corporately able. They constitute this Society as a sign of their commitment and as a means of resource to the Church, and they invite other Churchmen to join them in its objectives, which are to seek:

1. A recognition that our responsibility lies with all persons in a given geographical area and is concerned with drawing these persons into full fellowship through Baptism and Holy Communion within that one parish unit.

2. Mutual support amongst this society for all clergy and laity who, in seeking total participation in parish life for all, find themselves at odds with accepted social mores.

3. Increased acceptance and implementation of the principle that the Church is an inclusive fellowship which seeks out and welcomes all persons into the worship and parish life of any congregation without distinction as to race, color, national origin or class.

4. Elimination of criteria based on race, color, national origin or class for applicants to Church camps, conferences, schools, colleges, hospitals, or other institutions or agencies which the Church may operate or sponsor in any way.

5. Understanding of the prophetic role of the Church, both through corporate and individual effort, in seeking the elimination of racial and other prejudicial barriers in society, whether these be erected by governmental process or through custom.

6. That condition of harmony among peoples which is the benefit of a mutual recognition of the Lordship of Jesus Christ, so that brothers may dwell together in unity and see Him so lifted up that He will draw all men unto Him.

If you agree with this Statement, take your stand with over five thousand others and use the attached form to join. If there is a Chapter of the Society where you live, you will be informed about local activities. Whether you are active in a Chapter or not, your membership in ESCRU makes you part of a growing fellowship of Churchmen who are ready to move beyond words into the concrete implementation of these objectives. You must decide what you can do where you are.

* * * *

With others being formed, as of early 1966 there were ESCRU chapters in these dioceses: Michigan, Missouri, Chicago, Maryland, Ohio (Cleveland and Mahoning—Shenango), Long Island, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Virginia (Richmond and Northern Virginia), Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Los Angeles (Los Angeles and San Diego), Indianapolis, Texas, Central New York, Atlanta, Newark, Washington, Iowa, Pittsburgh, Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, Milwaukee, and Western Missouri.

USE THIS FORM TO JOIN ▶

TO: THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

CHECK ONE AND SIGN:

☐ As a member of the Episcopal Church and in agreement with the principles of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity as set forth in its Statement of Purpose, I apply for membership in the Society and enclose my dues for one year.

☐ I would like to support its work and be counted as a "Friend of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity". I enclose a contribution of $4.00 or more and understand that I may share in all activities and literature of the Society but may not hold office or vote.

_____
SIGNATURE

DATE_____

MR.
MISS
MRS.
REV.
RT. REV.

_____
NAME (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

_____
ADDRESS

_____

_____ _____
PARISH DIOCESE

Checks may be made payable to ESCRU or Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Additional contributions are needed to support the work of the Society and will be gratefully received.	**DUES: Annually $4.00 per person $6.00 per couple** $_____	**ANY ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTION** $_____	**TOTAL ENCLOSED** $_____

Contributions to ESCRU are tax exempt.

Behold,
how good and joyful
a thing it is
for brethren
to dwell together
in unity!

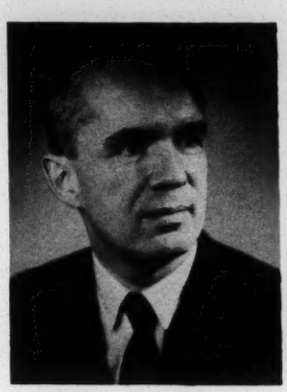
PSALM 133

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

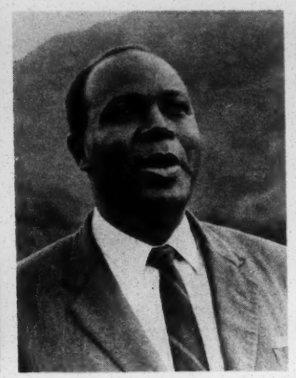
The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Whitsunday NEWSLETTER May 29, 1966

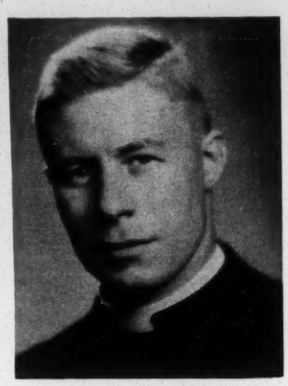
6TH ANNUAL MEETING SET FOR NEW YORK CITY IN FALL. JAMES FARMER TO SPEAK. WILL FOCUS ON NORTHERN CITY



Dr. Pettigrew



Mr. Farmer



Fr. Harmon

ESCRU's Role & Future To Be Evaluated

The former head of CORE, James Farmer, will address the 6th Annual Meeting of ESCRU which convenes in New York, November 10-13, with sessions to be held at the Cathedral, St. Philip's, and St. Martin's. Also speaking will be Father John Harmon of Packard Manse in Boston, and Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew of Harvard's Department of Social Relations. The Rev. Gladstone Ntlabati of South Africa will tell about apartheid, and the Rev. Frs. Arthur Walmsley and Quinland Gordon will participate in the session evaluating the Church's witness in the racial revolution. Other speakers and resource personnel will be reported later when hotel information is sent. There will be a free evening for seeing the city, but with summer just passed there will be much to consider together. Make your plans now to attend. More information in September.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE APPOINTED

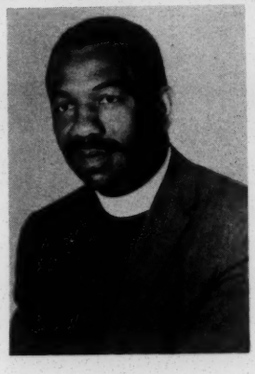
Eight positions on ESCRU's national Board of Directors are to be filled by a process of mail balloting by members in the 8 stateside Provinces of the Church. President Peabody has appointed Mr. Everett Bell of Houston to chair the committee which will prepare the ballot. Send suggestions to him for the Director from your province. (Cont. page 8)

ACLU/ESCRU ALABAMA SUIT WON

Several days after Jon Daniels was shot last August, the American Civil Liberties Union filed a case in Federal Court against the Jury Commissioners of Lowndes County where, subsequently, an all white jury acquitted Jon's murderer. ESCRU and its staff joined the suit shortly thereafter. In February the Court ruled that the jury rolls must be made to reflect the county's population, which is preponderantly Negro, and, further, that Alabama's exclusion of women from juries is unconstitutional.

NORTH CAROLINA PRIEST TO JOIN ESCRU STAFF

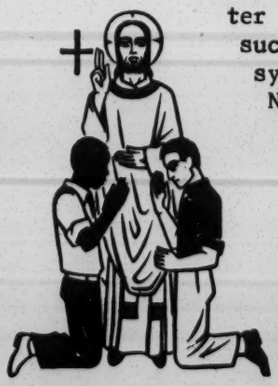
The Rev. David B. Nickerson, Vicar of St. Titus' in Durham will move to Atlanta in July to become Director of ESCRU's Southern Field Service program, the position previously held by the Rev. Henri Stines. Fr. Nickerson is originally from Florida and did his seminary work at Crozer and the General Seminary. Before going to Durham he served on the staff of St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington, Del., and prior to that he was in the ministry of the Methodist Church. His position with ESCRU, which is funded by a grant from the Field Foundation, will involve him in the Civil Rights Movement in the South and in various ecumenical efforts at reconciliation.



Fr. Nickerson

CHAPTERS MOBILIZE FOR SEATTLE

To support the proposals for reforms in the General Convention structure & procedure, detailed in a letter to all members March 18th, ESCRU Chapters have begun to work on the election of effective Deputies to represent their diocese at the Church's triennial convention in Seattle scheduled for the fall of 1967. Washington ESCRU worked quietly behind the scenes before and after their diocesan convention to successfully elect deputies sympathetic to the proposals. Newark ESCRU asked potential deputies their views and (Cont. page 8)



ESCRU GOES TO STOCKHOLDERS MEETING

In the first action of its kind, the Society's former President, the Rev. Joseph Pelham, will represent 5 shares of General Motors stock recently given ESCRU when their shareholders meet on May 20th, at which time he will inquire into the firm's intentions concerning Equal Employment policies in South Africa where it has extensive interests.

BRETHREN—dwell together in unity

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE MOBILIZES

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of religious and secular groups which was the primary source of support for the Civil Rights Bills of 1964 and 1965, met on May 5th to map out strategy for support of the President's recently introduced legislation on housing, jury reforms, and protection for civil rights workers. Fr. Henri Stines was there in behalf of ESCRU, which has been a part of the Conference for several years. Executive Council recently became an official participant, having been informally represented heretofore. Write your Congressman now in support of the new bill, and be ready for other efforts which may need your help - as in 1964 when Executive Council staff worked so effectively in mobilizing Churchmen to support new legislation.

STEWARDSHIP OF CHURCH FUNDS NEEDS SCRUTINY

ESCRU Board members and local chapter chairmen are to receive a packet of materials from Associate Director Dreisbach concerning "Church Investments and the Need for a More Responsible Stewardship." Ranging from a sheet on American investments in South Africa to descriptive data on the Interfaith Housing Corporation in Boston, which is headed up by ESCRU President Peabody, the packet is intended to help ESCRU Chapters and others raise questions with diocesan trustees, the Church Pension Fund, etc., regarding the investment of Church funds. A two-fold theory is operative: we should not continue to patronize and invest in firms which contribute to the maintenance of segregation (or, in South Africa, apartheid); while, on the other hand, there are increasing opportunities in investments for the Church to support and be the advocate of worthy undertakings, as in the field of housing.

SUPREME COURT WILL HEAR APPEAL OF ESCRU CASE

The U. S. Supreme Court has announced it will hear arguments in the appeal by four priests arrested in Jackson, Miss., in 1961, while on the Prayer Pilgrimage. After being acquitted, Frs. Pierson, Jones, Breeden and Morris, brought suit against the arresting officers and the judge. While finding in their favor on certain counts, the 5th Circuit struck the judge from the case and weighed the intentions of the clergy insofar as the legitimacy of their suit went. The American Civil Liberties Union became interested in the case and is working cooperatively with our attorney, Carl Rachlin (Chief Counsel for CORE), who, in turn, is ably assisted by Frederick A. O. Schwarz, Jr. It is anticipated that the case will come before the Court in the fall.

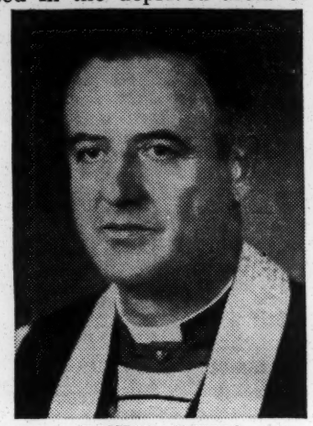
CURRICULUM STUDY HELP WANTED

Is there an educator in the membership who would do a study of Church School curriculum materials and how they affect racial attitudes for good or bad which we would publish? The Seabury Series and Morehouse publications would be included, as well as other series. Write the national office if you have experience in this field and believe that Church School is or can be important.

Bishop Myers and Fr. Gracie Discuss Northern Walkout

By THE RT. REV. C. KILMER MYERS
Suffragan Bishop

IT IS COMMONPLACE to say these days that the Church must seek new ways to minister relevantly in the inner city. This is especially true of the inner city parish. No longer may the parish situated in the deprived areas of our great cities ignore the crying needs of the communities and human beings in which they stand.



BISHOP MYERS

It is in recognition of this search for new ways that St. Joseph's Church, headed by the Reverend David M. Gracie, opened its doors to students of Northern High School. In this situation the only way the Church could show relevant interest was to identify itself with the issues which concerned the boycotting students. Very often a parish like St. Joseph's needs a "handle" which will enable it to "get into" the community. Usually such a handle is an issue which is of deep concern to the people, young and old, who live there. Father Gracie was sensitive to his neighborhood's needs and he therefore made himself available to a community in deep travail. I might add that he did this with my full approval as district head.

Obviously the school situation in Detroit, as in other great cities, is complicated. But one facet of the problem is clear: schools predominantly Negro in constituency generally are inferior as academic institutions when compared to schools in white urban areas and in the suburbs Everyone recognizes this.

Related to this is another disturbing fact: Negro parents generally play no role in up-grading their schools It is not that they avoid such a role. They are quite literally shut out of policy-making levels. This is not true in most other communities in which the opinions of organized parental groups are heeded and often acted upon by school authorities. Negroes in general have few ways to get through to policy-making groups either in education or other levels of metropolitan life. The only method open to them is that of direct, militant and organized action.

This was the situation at Northern High School as it attempted through its student leadership to meet the crisis in Negro education. Demonstrations, boycotts, parades are among the ways open to human beings with darker skins in our cities from North to South. The Church, located in the inner city, realizes this with increasing frequency. Very often such identification is not understood in human communities where access to civic and education authorities is more readily available.

Education is related to the process by which human beings reach their fullest capacity as humans. The Church which upholds the Incarnation — God coming among us as man — is concerned with the matter of **humanness**. This is central to its Gospel. It raises the questions: How may life become more human and how may the Church by its active posture help bring about the re-unification of the human race?

This was the primary reason for St. Joseph's involvement in the Northern High School controversy. We all should be grateful for the sensitive young minister who is the rector of that parish and for its vestry and parishioners who gave him support. I, as bishop in charge of the District, look upon the events of the past two weeks as still another indication of our Church's realistic identification with the issues of the inner city.

REPRINTED FROM THE DETROIT FREE PRESS - SHOWING ONE WAY A BISHOP CAN SUPPORT HIS CLERGY WHEN THEY GO OUT ON A LIMB.

SEE PAGE 4

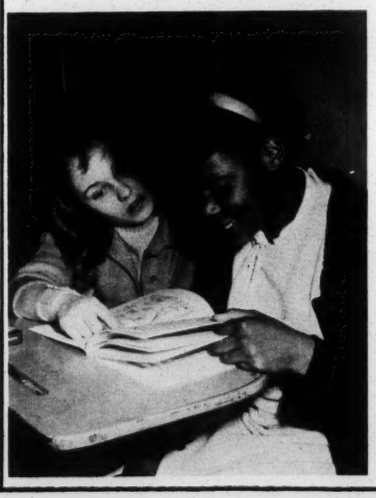
THE CHURCH AND RACE FUND

We continue to support giving by Episcopalians to Executive Council's "Church & Race Fund" as allocations from this source have always been to worthy causes. However, we should not be content to see the fund left as it is. Out of a total of $100,950. in grants in 1965, $64,000. went toward the Episcopal Church's contribution to the Delta Ministry and the Commission on Religion & Race of the National Council of Churches. Both agencies rightly deserve to be in the Episcopal Church's own national budget. As it is, our support of these ecumenical projects is on a voluntary basis. Even the money required for the promotion of the Fund derives from voluntary contributions, so that the Bishop of Alabama is quite correct if he chooses to tell his people that not one cent of their money goes toward NCC racial projects. The Department of Extension of the Diocese of Iowa, on the other hand, is on record to encourage the General Convention in 1967 to add the Church and Race Fund to the budget of the national Church. While there may always be need of a voluntary fund to supplement official commitments, it is clear that the Episcopal Church does not yet see the racial crisis as important budgetarily as numerous other programs which merit steady and annual support. Furthermore, Churchmen should demand of the Fund a degree of fearlessness it has not always shown, and all the moreso since it is voluntarily solicited. There is no indication that the Diocese of Alabama is throwing its weight behind the Fund because the Fund has thus far declined to make a grant to the Selma Interreligious Project, an ecumenical venture staffed by an Episcopal priest and officially supported by a number of other Church bodies.

ATTEND THE 6TH ANNUAL MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY

RACISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

ESCRU stands committed by Board action to send a representative to visit southern Africa as a witness to our concern for the growth of racist policies if funds are secured for this purpose. Such an expedition would, also, chiefly serve to inform us back home on conditions in South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia and to establish contacts there. A flyer is enclosed which seeks "Aid (for) Victims of South Africa's Racism". It is from the American Committee on Africa, an organization well-deserving of support by Churchmen. Exploring still other ways in which Americans might demonstrate concern for apartheid, ESCRU's Executive Director recently sent a memorandum to key civil rights leaders in this country proposing new forms of direct action against segregation in the southern part of Africa, including the possibility of something akin to the Freedom Rides. A copy of this memo will be sent on request. Ideas and reactions are invited.



LOS ANGELES CHAPTER OF ESCRU SPONSORS TUTORIAL PROGRAM IN WATTS AREA

Under the leadership of Murray McDougal, ESCRU has been reactivated in Los Angeles and is working cooperatively with diocesan officials on a number of programs. The photo to the left, taken by R. Dale Magee, shows Donna Bryan, a laboratory technician at UCLA, assisting Pamela Page of Lincoln Elementary School in Compton in her studies.

HERE AND THERE

With Bishop Stokes heading the effort, a Protestant Commission on Church and Race has been launched in Massachusetts to coordinate efforts of various churches concerned for justice and racial harmony. Staff for the combined effort will, presumably, obviate the re-staffing of the diocese's position previously held by ESCRU Vice-President, Fr. James P. Breeden, a factor which some ESCRU people are not enthusiastic about, but a wait-and-see attitude seems to prevail.....The Episcopal Church on the coast in the Old South continues to concentrate on garden and home tours, with St. Michael's, Charleston, going in for visits to old plantations. A newspaper account featured a photo of "the slave cabin row, which has been remodeled into guest houses...." .....In Jack Mendelsohn's The Martyrs (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) there is an account of how the news of Jonathan Daniels' death was received at Saint Paul's, Selma, where the Rector then denied permission for a memorial eucharist to be celebrated..... And further on books, ESCRU Field Representative Malcolm Boyd's Are You Running With Me, Jesus? drew the weekday review in THE NEW YORK TIMES, a rare tribute to a "religious" book, by the reviewer's own admission.....In Washington, Bishop Paul Moore came under heavy fire from conservative laymen for his outspoken stand in favor of Home Rule for the District of Columbia. The ESCRU Chapter issued a statement in his defense.....And across the river, twelve years after the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, Episcopal High School "has quietly decided to desegregate", according to the Washington Post and earlier reports from the Northern Virginia Chapter of ESCRU. The Headmaster of EHS, which is presided over by Bishop Gibson & which lies adjacent to the Virginia Seminary, pointed out that there may be no Negro pupils since none have applied. Presumably this is partly because the decision to desegregate "was not made public at the time", according to the Post.....A right-wing periodical, THE CROSS AND THE FLAG, has advised Episcopalians unhappy with the "liberalism, Communism, mongrelization and skepticism" of their Church to contact James P. Dees, a former priest who is now "Bishop" of the so-called Anglican Orthodox Church. A lay leader of this sect in St. Louis recently quit when Dees reprimanded him for saying there were no racial bars to membership in the new group.

FREEDOM SCHOOL AT CHURCH

Charging inferior standards at Negro schools and in protest over the suppression of an editorial that was to have appeared in the student paper on the subject, over one thousand students of a high school in Detroit stayed away from classes. They went, instead, to "freedom school" classes set up at four local churches, including two Episcopal parishes - St. Joseph's and Grace. The former was the headquarters of much of the protest activity, causing the DETROIT NEWS to say that the school system could not be run "from the sidewalks, or from a nearby church rectory."

SURVEY OF INSTITUTIONS

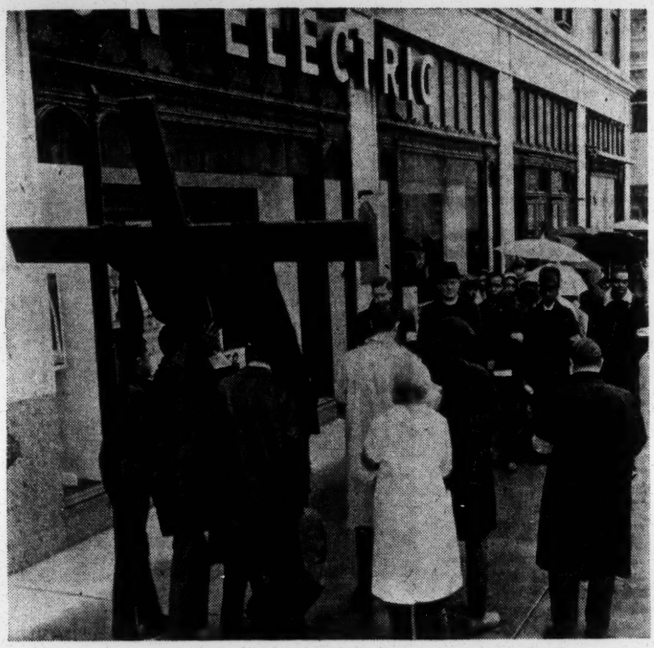
ESCRU's survey of Church and Church-related institutions may never result in a comprehensive report, but it has caused innumerable schools, homes and hospitals, etc., to examine their present racial policies and, in some instances, take steps to implement their stated position. Because the situation has been so fluid since the survey was started two years ago, and because the data is incomplete in some areas, it will probably be best not to attempt publication. The greatest service has already been rendered in the asking of questions of these institutions, causing the issue of racial makeup to be raised before trustees, vestries and boards. Interesting tendencies were noted in the response to our inquiries, such as the fact that Northern Church-related institutions generally responded readily, as contrasted with a general reluctance or refusal on the part of facilities in the South to discuss their racial policies or makeup. Some of the latter, however, acknowledged they were segregated, although in instances where this is suspected we usually did not get a reply to repeated letters. Atlanta's Church-related Lovett School wrote finally indicating they were still segregated, although the Headmaster would prefer it not be so. Lovett's Baccalaureate Service this year will again be held at the Diocese of Atlanta's cathedral, the scene of picketing by local members of ESCRU last year. In the Diocese of Southwest Virginia, Boys Home, Inc., at Covington, presumably remains segregated since it remains probably the only institution having the designation "white" to appear in the 1966 Episcopal Church Annual. The results of our survey suggest that there are many more Church facilities which remain segregated by design and more than a few which desperately hope not to become the object of attention by Negro Churchmen.

OTHER REPORTS PENDING

ESCRU Director Karl Nordling will visit Alabama soon for fact-finding in preparation for writing ESCRU's "Special Report" on conditions in the Church there, as called for by January's Board meeting.....ESCRU's Vice-President, Fr. James P. Breeden, has been meeting with New York area clergy for consultation on a "Special Report" on clergy placement. Consideration is being given to further "haunting" of the House of Bishops on this subject when they meet in West Virginia in the fall, as when the six priests from ESCRU went to their meeting in Montana last year.

PARISH SPONSORS MARCHES DURING LENT

Witnessing to cultural and racial unity, and to protest job discrimination by utility companies in St. Louis, about 100 persons walked silently each Sunday afternoon during Lent past the company headquarters, with periodic pauses for prayer. Led by a huge wooden cross, the marchers were under the direction of St. Stephen's Church, which gave them the name of "Jericho Marches", recalling the account in Joshua 6:1-21.



Commenting on the marches, William Matheus, parish worker at St. Stephen's, said: "...people who had opposed the marches gradually became fascinated with the idea and were stirred by the commitment and dedication of those who plodded along Sunday after Sunday....things have not settled down yet, nor will they ever be the same again."

AROUND THE CHURCH

Kentucky has just adopted a Civil Rights Bill considered stronger than Federal legislation. Adoption was pushed by the Dean of the Cathedral in Louisville, the Rev. Robert W. Estill, who serves as Chairman of the state Commission on Human Rights. We'll send a brochure on the new laws on request. .....Savannah's "St. John's Church", which pulled out of Episcopal ranks last year rather than admit Negroes to services, has called a Methodist minister from Beaufort, S.C., to be associate rector... ....The Diocese of Washington called on its vestries and bishops to call and appoint clergy "on the basis of merit"; and in Los Angeles, Bishop Bloy did appoint the Rev. Atwell Stewart vicar of St. Mary's, Imperial Beach, succeeding the Rev. Frederick Fenton, Chairman of San Diego ESCRU, who has moved to the parish at Chula Vista. St. Mary's is predominantly white, while Fr. Stewart is of Negro ancestry.....The Diocese of South Carolina will desegregate its summer camps, but at the request of the Bishop will open them on an "all-boy, all-girl" basis.....Bishop West of Florida has refused to license ESCRU Director Fr. Robert Hampshire who is now teaching at a Negro college at St. Augustine where he had earlier participated in demonstrations sponsored by SCLC.

THE DELTA MINISTRY: AN OASIS

Seldom in the annals of Church History have various Church groups cooperated on so significant and pioneering an effort as the Delta Ministry. A flyer is enclosed on Freedom City, an exciting, bold idea to which DM is closely related. Stemming from the Hattiesburg Ministers' Project, which we helped to launch, and the ensuing Summer Project of 1964, the Delta Ministry's Chairman is former ESCRU Director Bishop Paul Moore, who has had to absorb a certain amount of abuse for his defense of DM in times of great criticism. Other Churchmen are working directly on the scene with DM, including Patricia Mutch, a former member of NYC ESCRU's Steering Committee. If you haven't already, we suggest you send DM an annual contribution and ask them to add you to mailing list.

JONATHAN DANIELS HONORED POSTHUMOUSLY

Former Presiding Bishop Arthur Lichtenberger and Mrs. Philip Daniels look at the "Bishop Lichtenberger Human Rights Award" cross just presented Mrs. Daniels by ESCRU's Executive Director on behalf of the Chicago Chapter of the Society at a dinner on February 20th. Mrs. Daniels' response, on receiving the award for her son, Jonathan, was cited in full in a letter from Fr. Morris to all ESCRU members on March 30th. Two days later Mrs. Daniels attended another dinner in Chicago honoring Fr. Richard Morrisroe who was wounded at the same time Jon was killed in Hayneville, Alabama, last August 20th. The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago gave its annual award to Father Morrisroe. Also during February the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles adopted a memorial express-thanksgiving for the life and witness of Jonathan Daniels. A similiar resolution before the Convention of the Diocese of Arizona also proposed that the Liturgical Commission consider the appointment of Propers for a day to honor Jonathan, but this motion was tabled. Elsewhere preparations are being made for publication of a book on Jonathan, which will also contain some of his writings.
(Photo above - Courtesy of Chicago Sun-Times)

ROSTER OF CHAPTER CHAIRMEN

At the local level ESCRU is at work through 28 chapters spread across the country. Since we have not issued a Directory of such personnel for some time, the names & addresses of the heads of these local units are provided here. Members who have moved should advise the Chairman of their arrival so that they will be informed about local meetings and activities. Also, it is helpful to the well-being of the organization if local units will share their newsletters, etc., with chapters elsewhere.....

ATLANTA: _____, c/o St. Bartholomew's Church, 1790 LaVista Road, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30329
BOSTON: Mr. Peter Albrecht, 10 Spruce Hill Road, Weston, Mass. 02193
CENTRAL NEW YORK: The Rev. H. A. Vermilye, 1040 Westmoreland Ave., Syracuse, N. Y. 13210
CHICAGO: The Rev. Earl Neil, 6457 S. Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60637
CLEVELAND: The Rev. David Earnest, 2747 Fairmount Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106
CONNECTICUT: The Rev. Ruel S. Kaighn, 147 W. Main Street, New Britain, Conn. 06052
DELAWARE: Mr. Don Crawford, 10 South Trail, Indianfield, Wilmington, Del. 19803
HOUSTON: The Rev. John Sanders, 3129 Southmore, Houston, Texas 77004
INDIANAPOLIS: Mr. Gordon E. Mallett, 7321 Glenview Drive E., Indianapolis, Ind. 46250
IOWA: Mr. Paul M. Neuhauser, 914 Highwood Street, Iowa City, Iowa 52241
KANSAS CITY: Mr. Robert S. Staples, 435 W. 61st St., Kansas City, Mo. 64113
LONG ISLAND: Mr. Norman A. Berhannan, 3 Hamlin Ave., West Babylon, N. Y. 11704
LOS ANGELES: Mr. Murray McDougal, 603 Arbor Street, Pasadena, Calif.
MAHONING-SHENANGO: Mr. John M. Morris, 3033 Logan Road, Youngstown, Ohio 44505
MARYLAND: Mrs. Robert V. Walsh, 1709 Ruxton Road, Ruxton, Maryland 21204
MICHIGAN: The Rev. E. Howard McClintock, 7620 LaSalle Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48206
MILWAUKEE: Mrs. Lawrence Howard, 2605 E. Hartford Ave., Milwaukee, Wis. 53211
MINNESOTA: Mrs. Van S. Lawrence, 1961 Kenwood Parkway, Minneapolis, Minn. 55405
MISSOURI: The Rev. Robert Mayo, 5855 DeGiverville, St. Louis, Mo. 63112
NEWARK: The Rev. Ivan A. Backer, 144 Boiling Springs Avenue, East Rutherford, N. J. 07073
NEW JERSEY: The Rev. Robert R. Spears, Jr., 22 Stockton St., Princeton, N. J. 08540
NORTHERN VIRGINIA: Mr. Paul McGann, 3200 Glenwood Place, Falls Church, Va. 22041
PENNSYLVANIA: Mrs. Barbara Rollins, 6342 Magnolia Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19144
PITTSBURGH: Mr. David T. Williams, 301 Grove Road, Verona, Pa. 15147
RHODE ISLAND: Mrs. Alan N. Mason, 134 Oxford St., Providence, R. I. 02905
RICHMOND: The Rev. Edward M. Gregory, 520 North Boulevard, Richmond, Va. 23220
SAN DIEGO: The Rev. Frederick A. Fenton, 397 Vista Way, Chula Vista, Calif. 92010
WASHINGTON: Mr. Karl Nordling, 1400 20th Street, N.W., Apt. 714, Washington, D. C. 20018

Annual Renewal Notices Are Sent During the Month You Joined/Remit Early & Save Us Sending Reminders!!

The Presiding Bishop's 1963 Whitsuntide Message

Recent events in a number of American communities—Birmingham, Chicago, Nashville, New York, and Raleigh, to mention only the most prominent—underscore the fact that countless citizens have lost patience with the slow pace of response to their legitimate cry for human rights. Pleas of moderation or caution about timing on the part of white leaders are seen increasingly as an unwillingness to face the truth about the appalling injustice which more than a tenth of our citizens suffer daily. While we are thankful for the progress that has been made, this is not enough.

Our Church's position on racial inclusiveness within its own body and its responsibility for racial justice in society has been made clear on many occasions by the General Convention. But there is urgent need to demonstrate by specific actions what God has laid upon us. Such actions must move beyond expressions of corporate penitence for our failures to an unmistakable identification of the Church, at all levels of its life, with those who are victims of oppression.

I think of the words we sing as we hail the ascended Christ, "Lord and the ruler of all men," and of our prayers at Whitsuntide as we ask God to work His will in us through His Holy Spirit. And then in contrast to our praises and our prayers our failure to put ourselves at the disposal of the Holy Spirit becomes painfully clear. Only as we take every step possible to join with each other across lines of racial separation in a common struggle for justice will our unity in the Spirit become a present reality.

It is not enough for the Church to exhort men to be good. Men, women and children are today risking their livelihood and their lives in protesting for their rights. We must support and strengthen their protest in every way possible, rather than give support to the forces of resistance by our silence. It should be a cause of rejoicing to the Christian community that Negro Americans and oppressed peoples everywhere are displaying a heightened sense of human dignity in their refusal to accept second-class citizenship any longer.

The right to vote, to eat a hamburger where you want, to have a decent job, to live in a house fit for habitation: these are not rights to be litigated or negotiated. It is our shame that demonstrations must be carried out to win them. These constitutional rights *belong* to the Negro as to the white, because we are all men and we are all citizens. The white man needs to recognize this if he is to preserve his own humanity. It is a mark of the inversion of values in our society that those who today struggle to make the American experiment a reality through their protest are accused of disturbing the peace—and that more often than not the Church remains silent on this, our greatest domestic moral crisis.

I commend these specific measures to your attention:

1) I would ask you to involve yourselves. The crisis in communities North and South in such matters as housing, employment, public accommodations, and schools is steadily mounting. It is the duty of every Christian citizen to know fully what is happening in his own community, and actively to support efforts to meet the problems he encounters.

2) I would also ask you to give money as an expression of our unity and as a sign of our support for the end of racial injustice in this land. The struggle of Negro Americans for their rights is costly, both in terms of personal sacrifice and of money, and they need help.

3) I would ask you to take action. Discrimination within the Body of the Church itself is an intolerable scandal. Every congregation has a continuing need to examine its own life and to renew those efforts necessary to insure its inclusiveness fully. Diocesan and church-related agencies, schools, and other institutions also have a considerable distance to go in bringing their practices up to the standard of the clear position of the Church on race. I call attention to the firm action of the recent Convention of the Diocese of Washington which directed all diocesan-related institutions to eliminate any discriminatory practices within six months. It further requested the Bishop and Executive Council to take steps necessary to disassociate such diocesan and parish-related institutions from moral or financial support if these practices are not eliminated in the specified time. I believe we must make known where we stand unmistakably.

So I write with a deep sense of the urgency of the racial crisis in our country and the necessity for the Church to act. Present events reveal the possible imminence of catastrophe. The entire Christian community must pray and act.

ARTHUR LICHTENBERGER
Presiding Bishop

A Call To Witness

Whitsunday, 1964

On May 17, 1964, we observe the tenth anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. At the same time the Church marks the Day of Pentecost or Whitsunday, commemorating the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon Christ's followers who were gathered "all with one accord in one place." As a nation we look back on ten years that were too long in coming, conscious of how much further we have to go in implementation of the spirit of the Court's decision. As Churchmen we look back through the ages to our original wholeness and oneness in Christ, penitently aware of the departures we have taken from the unfragmented Body of Christ which was filled with power on Pentecost and overcame all barriers of tongue and race. From the past we turn to the present and future and know that God is calling us both as citizens and Churchmen to take bold steps that will witness to our unity in Him while there is yet time.

In Whitsuntide of last year the Presiding Bishop said: "Discrimination within the Body of the Church itself is an intolerable scandal. Every congregation has a continuing need to examine its own life and to renew those efforts necessary to insure its inclusiveness fully." He called upon Churchmen to take action for this. Now, on Whitsunday of 1964, there is no more appropriate time for action that will witness to and call forth the unity of all men in Christ. Let the Church be renewed and stand as a beacon to guide a perplexed nation. Let the Faithful in Christ Jesus come together each Sunday with one accord in one place, so that it can no longer be said to be the most segregated hour of the week. Let us put aside our old patterns of "separate-but-equal" congregations and so live together that it will be said: "Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" Let this begin with the witness of each Churchman who hears and responds to this call.

The Board of Directors of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, having duly met in Atlanta, Georgia, on February 2-4, 1964, calls upon all Churchmen, and especially those who are members of the Society, to examine their situation to determine whether they may witness to the wholeness of the Church on Whitsunday of 1964, and thereafter, by transferring from their present parish to one where the members are predominantly of another color. We rejoice in those few congregations which already reveal the richness of God's handiwork and light the way for the rest of us.

We believe that the inclusiveness of the Church must be demonstrated by both Negro Churchmen transferring to predominantly white parishes, as well as by white Churchmen transferring to predominantly Negro parishes, but we would lay special emphasis on the latter. For too long have we expected the Negro alone to take the initiative. Because the Church is the People of God, and not the house in which they dwell, each congregation is equally important and intended to be inclusive of all persons. It has been necessary for the Negro American to lead the nation into freedom through his entry into places from which he was previously excluded. Now, let white Christians demonstrate their commitment by joining in minority status with Negro Churchmen. Neither may say he has no need of the other.

Let each witness as he is able and persuaded, all for the Glory of God. Let the Church in the cities rejoice in the witness and corporately march in solemn procession to accompany those who will transfer parishes. Let Whitsunday of 1964 more nearly find the people "all with one accord in one place." Let brothers dwell together in unity and see Him so lifted up that He will draw all men unto Him.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LEST WE FORGET

WHITSUNDAY

1963 - The Presiding Bishop Spoke

1964 - ESCRU Statement

1965 - Selma Happened. We went.

1966 - ? ? ? ? ? ?

HAVE WE FORGOTTEN?

IT IS SO EASY

A RESOLUTION OF THE ESCRU BOARD, JANUARY, 1966

WHEREAS, civil rights in the United States and human rights around the world are inseparable; therefor be it

RESOLVED, that ESCRU expand its program within the meaning of its current objectives, looking forward to Human Rights Year of 1967, to include active support of the Church's program against apartheid and for the ratification of the U.N. Human Rights Convention, and be it further

RESOLVED, that every avenue of cooperation be explored between local ESCRU chapters and diocesan World Affairs Committees, toward collaborative and aggressive education and action programs for civil and human rights at home and abroad in the spirit of Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence.

ESCRU Chapters, and other concerned persons, wanting to move in this area should contact their diocesan World Affairs Committees and/or write to

The Rev. Herschel Halbert
815 Second Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

SING UNTO THE LORD A NEW SONG!

Praise the Lord, Negroes & whites! Praise the Lord!

Praise God in His sanctuary;
Receive Him, kneeling together.

Praise Him side by side, in the labors of your calling;
Share His joy in the fellowship of food and drink.

Praise God with open witness;
Praise Him with prayer and picket lines.

Praise Him with patient demonstration;
Praise Him with suffering and forgiveness.

Praise Him with responsible words;
Praise Him with the haunting truth of folk-song.

Let everything that hopes and strives and dares to
Praise the Lord. / love

Praise God with your lives.

- The Rev. Layton P. Zimmer
Diocesan Missioner,
Diocese of Pennsylvania

The EHS Chronicle

VOLUME LXXVII, NO. 4 — FEBRUARY 12, 1966

EPISCOPAL HIGH SCHOOL, ALEXANDRIA, VA.

HEADMASTER OUTLINES ADMISSIONS POLICY

For the Sunday Program of January 30, the Headmaster gave a talk on the admission policy of the High School regarding integration. He reviewed Episcopal's past experiences with the racial question and presented the present school position as expressed in the unanimous statement by the Board of Trustees issued at their December meeting.

Mr. Thomsen spoke on what he termed "a question that is of utmost importance to the High School and its supporters." He noted that for years many Old Boys had expressed concern over recent trends regarding integration. After reading a letter expressing such concern, he remarked that all should realize that a positive stance would be most beneficial to Episcopal. He observed that he would personally have reservations concerning the admission of a Negro for it would manifest, under present conditions, difficult problems of social adjustment to both the School and the Negro, but that E.H.S. should be prepared to accept all qualified candidates who seek admission.

Mr. Thomsen cited a number of instances in which the school profited by adopting a moderate racial stance, principally in the area of interscholastic athletics, and pointed out how attitudes have changed over the past years. Following this background, he read from the statement of the Board of Trustees:

"Any and all applicants for admission shall be considered on an equal basis after giving due regard to their scholastic preparedness and their ability and desire to meet the standards of the school. Special consideration shall be given to qualified applicants who are sons and close relatives of former students. The applicant's prospects for successful participation in the life of the school and the date of his application shall also be considered."

Mr. Thomsen stated that "the best interests of the school would be better served by accepting a clearly qualified Negro than by turning him down." He explained his belief as being a pragmatic one, not based just on right and wrong, but on the possible results of accepting or rejecting such a candidate.

The Headmaster then spoke of the consequences of such an acceptance. There would, of course, be a stream of protest from Old Boys, parents, and friends, but this would be counterbalanced as the school would be in accordance with conscience, the Episcopal Church, and the prevailing "law of the land." The Negro, if accepted, may not accept or attend only long enough to set the precedent. It would establish the willingness of the High School to integrate and would spare it the active opposition of the particularly active D.C. area civil rights groups.

On the positive side, the Headmaster spoke of how the cultural exchange between a Negro and E.H.S. boys would be an enlightening and socialy broadening experience since few Episcopal boys ever see the Negro in anything other than a subserviant capacity. Mr. Thomsen found this particularly valuable as the future Old Boys would occupy important positions in their respective communities in which the establishment and perpetuation of community relations would be an important task.

After reading a January 29th letter from an Old Boy concerning the Board statement, the Headmaster concluded by saying that the fears of the writer were unjustified in that there would be no active search for Negro candidates as is carried on by some Northern schools. The very lack of qualified Negro applicants and the corresponding adjustment problem they would have to face would militate against a colored student at Episcopal in the near future, but nevertheless, the school should be prepared to accept one.

Jim Beckwith

MORE ON E.H.S.

Page 3, with its reference to Episcopal High School's change in admissions policy, was completed before we received the full account of Headmaster Thomsen's remarks, now reprinted to the left. They appeared in the school paper & epitomize the nature of "progress" oftentimes in the Church. How many other Church schools across the nation take the same position, but conceal it behind a facade of liberal protestation? That the number of Church-related schools in the South, started since 1954, greatly exceeds their growth elsewhere clearly reveals their correlation with the efforts of white Churchmen to escape integration in the public schools. Executive Council and the Episcopal School Association are not taking enough initiative to combat segregation in Church institutions. Each year makes the shame greater.

MOBILIZATION FOR SEATTLE (Cont. from page 1) and then wrote all delegates to diocesan convention and ESCRU members about the issues at stake. Write the Chapter Chairmen (See page 5) if you are trying to organize effectively in your diocese and ask for a detailed picture of how they did it. If you want further information or clarification on the proposals, write to Mrs. George Edwards, 19925 Briarcliff, Detroit, Mich., or the Rev. Gordon Jones, 306 North Division, Ann Arbor, Mich. Also, keep them advised of progress in your area for support of the reform measures. During the summer Bishop Sterling will begin efforts to enlist other groups and concerned persons throughout the Church under the banner of "Episcopalians for Effective Conventions". FLASH: Rhode Island ESCRU sponsored a move at convention in support of the reforms.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE (Cont. from page 1) Clerical Directors are to be elected this year from Provinces 1,2,3 and 7; with lay directors to be chosen from Provinces 4,5,6 and 8. The Nominating Committee must have your suggestions for vacancies by September 10th. Write: Mr. Everett Bell, Box 325, Texas Southern Univ., Houston, Texas 77004.

The following Directors' terms expire: Oliver, Stevens, Castle, Stringfellow, Willie, Hampshire, Frey, Lawrence, Dennis, Edwards, Breeden, and Myers. The last five may not be reelected to the Board for a period of one year, since they have servedtwo consecutive terms.

The following Directors' terms do not expire: Hood, Peabody, Nordling, Montgomery, Ward, Upham, Johnson, Saussy, Gray, Fenton, Hughes and Anderson.

CHAPTER NEWS

Brief notes on local ESCRU activity not otherwise reported: BOSTON: March meeting on South Africa. May meeting to hear the Rev. Warren McKenna of the Delta Ministry. Planning ESCRU-in-the-Budget campaign... CHICAGO: Sponsored conference on "A Theology for the Freedom Movement" featuring Frs. Langmead Casserly and Robert Hood....CLEVELAND: Successfully sought adoption of new diocesan canon insuring sale and rental of all Church properties on non-discriminatory basis....CONNECTICUT: Worked for election of effective persons to diocesan posts and as Deputies to General Convention.....DELAWARE: Encouraged passage of resolution at diocesan convention seeking inclusion of teaching about equality in Confirmation instruction....HOUSTON: Participating in efforts to combat de-facto school segregation. Seeking financial support from parishes for ESCRU.....IOWA: Chapter Chairman playing key role on diocesan committee seeking strong commitments by diocesan convention on racial matters, including concern for investment of Church funds.....LOS ANGELES: Helping churches in ghetto area improve their plant & program so as to permit their involvement in Project Headstart. Working cooperatively with diocese on continuing concerns in the Watts area.....MARYLAND: To hear The Rev. Layton Zimmer at June Annual Dinner....MICHIGAN: Spring meeting to focus on "ESCRU And Its Relationship to the Community". Annual 4th July service & picnic set for Trinity, Farmington.....MILWAUKEE: Heard Executive Director Morris speak at a dinner meeting at St. Mark's Church.....MINNESOTA: Had full schedule of engagements for Mr. Morris during late February visit. Plugging ESCRU-in-the-Budget.....MISSOURI: Supported St. Stephen's "Jericho Marches". Called on diocesan convention to appoint committee to report back on implementation of House of Bishops' position on clergy placement.....PENNSYLVANIA: Wrote 728 clergy, wardens and BCW heads calling for advances in clergy placement customs. Encouraged support of Delta Ministry fund & clothing drive. Raised questions about perpetuation of "Fernandina-like" Negro & white churches in close proximity. Took some pride in Bishop DeWitt's receipt of annual award from Fellowship Commission for his work for human rights. ESCRU Director Fr. Jesse Anderson recently named a Vice-President of the Commission.....NEWARK: Exposed racist and anti-Semitic aspects of local Young Republicans organization's songbook.....NEW JERSEY: Encouraged use of ESCRU "Special Report" on THE CHURCH AND THE RIOTS as basis for study & action by diocesan personnel. Sponsored meeting on "The Growing Racial Tension in the Cities of New Jersey".....RHODE ISLAND: In addition to successful effort at diocesan convention in support of reforms at General Convention, also sought election of forward-looking Churchmen to diocesan posts. Planning summer picnic for membership.....SAN DIEGO: Immersed in de-facto school segregation issue involved in pending school bond referendum. Shared booth at diocesan convention with L. A. Chapter. Expressed support for Bishop Bloy for his appointment of Negro priest to a white parish. .....

SOUTH AFRICAN BISHOP TO VISIT - The Rt. Rev. Edward Crowther, Bishop of Kimberly, will be in this country in September & October, along with his wife and Chaplain, all of whom will be available for speaking engagements. Formerly in California, Bishop Crowther, has fast become one of the Church's more eloquent spokesmen in behalf of justice in his newly adopted country. To invite him to speak or to contribute to his work, contact BCSA. (Item to right)

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA is an organization which every member of ESCRU should support, both to become more informed about the situation there and as a channel for providing assistance. Write them: c/o All Saints Church, 229 East 59th St., New York, N.Y. 10022. Send a contribution & ask for their Easter 1966 Newsletter. It has a wealth of information on what is going on and how the Church is involved.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Georgia

President - Mr. Malcolm E. Peabody, Jr.
Executive Director - The Rev. John B. Morris
Field Representative - The Rev. Malcolm Boyd
Associate Director - The Rev. Albert Dreisbach, Jr.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

Rec'd 6/3/66

File

STATEMENT

June 2,1966

Emory University's President Atwood rightly affirms that God has not left his campus, for God is surely no more dead at this citadel of Methodism than He is in any of Atlanta's ecclesiastical structures. The problem at Emory is that they have a controlled deity Who is conveniently shunted aside when such decisions as allowing the Lovett School on campus are made. It is apparent that Emory officials are more responsive to the old guard of Atlanta's power structure, represented on the Lovett Board of Trustees, than they are to God's spokesmen on campus who have been protesting the use of Emory's Glenn Memorial Auditorium for two years.

When Lovett holds its Commencement Exercises at Emory this coming Monday evening, it will be in spite of the fact that a committee of faculty visited President Atwood two years ago to protest allowing this segregated private school on campus; and in spite of the fact that Emory faculty and students picketed the Commencement ceremonies at Glenn Memorial last year. At that time the clergy at Glenn Memorial said that University officials had made the decision to allow Lovett in, while this year the University claims the clergy are responsible. It is plain that neither group wants to offend Atlanta's old guard, which appears to have successfully bought off the institution, as they have bought off most of Atlanta's ecclesiastical institutions, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese.

To look at the list of Lovett trustees is to view the old guard of Atlanta's power structure in its most distilled form. Atlanta's progress in race relations has been made in spite of this coterie of bankers, lawyers, sometime gubernatorial aspirants and businessmen. They have retreated in their racial views only enough to insure their continued economic well-being, but they still hold tenaciously to the old order wherever they can, as at the Lovett School. They keep their money, derived from Atlanta's otherwise progressive spirit, in an old-line trust company.

OVER

They spend it at an exclusive driving club which is so segregated that not even the Metropolitan Opera can break through. They send their children to Lovett. And they tip their hats to God at the Cathedral of St. Philip and other socially prominent churches.

It is clear that God is no more dead at Emory than He is in Atlanta's other Churches and Church-related institutions to which this old guard seems to hold title. It is not so certain what the future holds for our city so long as the core of our community's leadership is represented in such symbols as Lovett and its first cousins.

- The Rev. John B. Morris
Executive Director

- -

The Lovett Board of Trustees

H. W. BEERS, JR.
Beers Construction Co.

WILLIAM R. BOWDOIN
Trust Company of Georgia

SIMS BRAY
Lipscomp Ellis Co.

NORRIS BROYLES, JR.
E. F. Hutton & Co.

J. S. BUDD, JR.

JACKSON P. DICK, JR.
E.F. Hutton & Co.

ALEX P. GAINES
Alston, Miller and Gaines

WARREN GRIFFIN
National Life of Vermont

DR. EDWIN D. HARRISON
Georgia Institute of Technology

VIRGIL JONES
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THORNTON KENNEDY
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Smith, Kilpatrick, Cody, Rogers and McClatchey

GILMER A MacDOUGALD
MacDougald-Warren Construction Co.

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Candler, Cox, McClain & Andrews

VIRGIL W. MILTON
Sears Roebuck and Co.

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RANKIN M. SMITH
Life Insurance of Georgia
Atlanta Falcons

JOHN C. STATON
The Coca-Cola Company

AUGUSTUS H. STERNE
Trust Company of Georgia
Vice-President, Chamber of Commerce

JAMES E. THOMAS
Alston, Miller & Gaines

NOTE: A check of directories will show that many of these men hold other important positions in the community, and several serve on various diocesan and cathedral boards.

Rec'd 10/3/66

File

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

St. Michael and All Angels NEWSLETTER September 29, 1966

NEW DIRECTORS TO BE ELECTED

A ballot is enclosed with this newsletter for each member to use in voting for a member of ESCRU's national Board of Directors. Vote only in the contest for your Province. Ballots must be returned to the Chairman of the Nominating Committee in Houston, as indicated, by October 31st.

MILWAUKEE CHURCHMEN PICKET SEGREGATED CLUB

Shown below are members of Milwaukee ESCRU who joined with others in protesting the white-only policy of the Eagles Club in Milwaukee. Note also

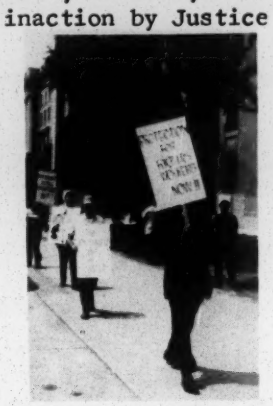
the excellent editorial in the September 25th copy of THE LIVING CHURCH on the responsibility of all Christians to examine the racial policies of clubs and fraternal orders to which they belong. // NEWS FROM OTHER CHAPTERS: Massachusetts has raised funds to help two former civil rights workers now studying at Tuskegee Institute. // Los Angeles heard Bishop C. Edward Crowther of Kimberly, South Africa, (a member of ESCRU), talk about the Church's task in his country. // Houston bringing pressure on St. John's School which is segregated. "Emergency Action Committee", trying to implement ESCRU Special Report "The Church & The Riots", met throughout the summer. // Richmond and Northern Virginia Chapters will merge. Latter helped two girls from Meade Parish in Alexandria attend diocesan camp. //Newark had planned a protest of anti-Jewish statements at dinner for King Faisal, but Churchman John Lindsay, the Mayor of New York, cancelled the affair. // San Diego members instrumental in cancellation of white Citizen's Council meeting. // Chicago members much involved in local scene through CCCO & SCLC. Planning late September theater benefit. // New Jersey assisting in protest of slum housing conditions & segregation in Camden public housing. // Cleveland encouraging action in matter of clergy placement. Mobilizing support for Fair Housing Council. ////////////////

BISHOP MYERS WILL PREACH AT ANNUAL MEETING

The Rt. Rev. C. Kilmer Myers, Bishop-elect of California and an ESCRU Director, will preach at the closing service for the 6th Annual Meeting of the Society which opens in New York City on November 10th. Other speakers were reported in the last Newsletter and are noted in the enclosed flyer. It promises to be one of the best-attended ESCRU conferences yet. Send in your registration now and make hotel reservations (or ask a friend in New York to put you up). Several chapters are making group travel plans.

FAILURE OF JUSTICE DEPARTMENT PROTESTED

On August 20th, 1966, one year from when Jonathan Daniels was murdered in Hayneville, Alabama, ESCRU issued a statement protesting inaction by Justice Department officials in their investigation into the shooting. Though signed by heads of 16 groups, including major civil rights organizations, it was ignored by the Washington press where it was released. Citing reasons why they could have brought charges against Daniels' assailant, the statement said: "It is time for... (Federal officials)..to stop merely collecting reports.... and get on with the business of acting vigorously on the basis of existing laws." ESCRU's Executive Director and the Chairman of Washington ESCRU led some 35 members in picketing the Department of Justice on the afternoon of August 20th.



SELMA: NOT ENTIRELY FORGOTTEN

Miss Corine Bell, a high school senior from Selma, spent the summer in San Diego at the home of ESCRU Director Mary Eunice Oliver, whose two sons, Darrel and Marc are shown here with their guest. Marc stayed at the Bell's home in Selma last summer when he worked with Jon Daniels. Still on the scene in the Selma area is the Rev. Francis Walter who heads up the Selma Interreligious Project, for which ESCRU handles receipts & disbursements. We'll send upon request a complete Program Report on S.I.P. Like the Delta Ministry in Mississippi it represents a pioneering aspect of the Church's ministry.

BLACK POWER REVIEWED

In a supplement to this Newsletter ESCRU's Executive Director reflects on the slogans and directions taken by some civil rights groups. This also receives much attention in the most recent issue of NEW SOUTH, a quarterly from the Southern Regional Council. Available from ESCRU for $1.00. An article on "Racism in Southern Africa & American Initiative" by John Morris also appears therein.

BRIEFLY NOTED

Former national President Joseph Pelham represented 5 shares of ESCRU-owned stock at the General Motors stockholders meeting & asked what GM was doing about racial practices at plants in South Africa. The reply amounted to nothing. Consideration is being given to further steps next year... ...Report on state of the Church in Alabama will be out soon....ESCRU-encouraged "Episcopalians for Effective Conventions" met at Seabury House to map plans for Seattle....Vice-President Fr. James P. Breeden reports follow-up to Montana statement by House of Bishops on clergy placement underway.... ESCRU staff helped mobilize Atlanta human relations agencies for common cause during recent riots.

FROM RECENT CORRESPONDENCE

Fr. Robert Carlson writes from Guyana in South America about that country's "explosive racial situation", but says: "The bright spot is that within the Church this has been overcome somewhat, and in many parishes....people of all 6 races worship together, associate together, intermarry..." An impoverished member sends $1.00 and says: "I hope you go on practicing what Gert Behanna calls 'tough love'. And don't mind too much when marshmellowed souled ladies think your 'tough love' is anger...." A couple from Michigan writes: "We have recently become disenchanted with the tack taken in integration; therefore, are not renewing our membership."

STAFF TRAVEL: Newly-arrived Director of Southern Field Service, Fr. David Nickerson, has already made visits to points in Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and is participating in planning for a state-wide conference on Religion & Race in South Carolina. // ESCRU's Executive Director joined the Meredith March in Mississippi for the last 2 days, relieving Frs. Robert Castle & Brian Kelley who had walked much longer!

SERVICE FOR LOVETT AT CATHEDRAL PROTESTED IN JUNE

On the night of June 1st this past summer the clergy serving Atlanta's two predominantly Negro congregations entered the Cathedral of St. Philip on Peachtree Road to remain there, fasting, through the Baccalaureate on Sunday evening, June 5th, for the Lovett School. Cathedral authorities let them remain inside where they were visited by numerous Atlantans concerned that the school still enjoyed the use of St. Philip's, notwithstanding its well-known policy of segregation. On Saturday, Fr. Robert Hunter, Rector of St. Paul's, and Fr. Kim Dreisbach, supply priest at the time at the Church of the Nativity and on the ESCRU staff, were visited by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., whose son was the first Negro applicant rejected by Lovett. Mrs. King was with her husband who is shown below talking with the press outside St. Philip's. Seventy-five Atlanta Churchmen stood in silent vigil outside during the service Sunday evening. The end of the Lovett saga came 3 months later.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Monday, Sept. 12, 1966

Lovett School to Admit Negroes, Ending Dispute

By BILL SHIPP

The Episcopal-oriented Lovett School, center of a segregation dispute for the past three and a half years, has announced it will accept Negro students beginning in 1967.

In a letter last week to parents of children in the private school, James M. Sibley, chairman of the private school's board of trustess, said that "subject to limitations of space and facilities, those applications deemed best qualified . . . will be admitted without regard to race or religion." Thus ended the school's long standing policy of accepting only white students.

"Some three or four years ago, your trustees took a position which was controversial but one which the board believed at the time to be in the best interest of the school," Sibley wrote. "Neither then nor now have we allowed our personal views, opinions or prejudice to interfere in any way with the action that we considered wise for the school."

Neither Sibley nor headmaster Rual Stephens were available for comment Sunday on the announced end of segregation at Lovett.

The Rev. John B. Morris, executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU), welcomed the news. The Rev. Mr. Morris' group, ESCRU, had led protests against the school's segregation policy.

"Their good faith will have to be demonstrated now in the extent to which integration is implemented in the school," the Rev. Mr. Morris said. "The acceptance of the principle of desegregation is the first step. It will require positive steps by Lovett now if qualified Negro students are to be attracted to the institution and provide it with an inclusiveness and wholeness which can best serve both the students and the community.

"ESCRU gladly lays aside its continuing protest of Lovett's former policy of segregation and joins with all persons of good will in hoping that we will see a speedy implementation of the new position," the Rev. Mr. Morris added.

Lovett's racial problems were touched off early in 1963 when the school refused to admit a child of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Later the school turned down applications of two other Negro children.

The Episcopal Church then severed some ties with the school, although Lovett remained an Episcopal - oriented institution.

The school was picketed often after that. Two Episcopal ministers, the Rev. Robert B. Hunter and the Rev. Albert Dreisback Jr., fasted for five days in June in the Cathedral of St. Philip last June to protest the holding of Lovett's baccalaureate service in the church.

Protesters later announced plans "to focus" on the business ties of the school's trustees.

ORCHIDS to the Church & Race Fund which gave $1000. to the Meredith March and recently sent through a grant of $2500. toward the support of the Selma Inter-religious Project. Now let's work to have the Fund made a part of the Church's official budget, or at least that part which supports the NCC Commission on Religion & Race. Voluntary contributions are not sufficient to meet the needs, nor is this approach an adequate expression of the Church's commitment.

HERE AND THERE

N. Hamner Cobbs of Greensboro, Alabama, is a member of the Joint Commission on Ecumenical Relations of the General Convention and serves as one of the Episcopal Church's delegates to the General Assembly of the NCC. He also imagines himself an authority on Negroes, for in a recent talk to the Rotary Club in Birmingham he said: "The humor of the Southern Negro is being destroyed by the civil rights people." He went on to advise the Rotarians and Negroes to "...retain all this humor that you can...", and he added his feeling that "this racial unrest will pass over." /// "TWO VESTRIES CONDEMN ALL SOULS" stated the headline in a Washington, D. C. newspaper reporting that the parish which had cut its diocesan support due to civil rights & home rule efforts of Bishop Paul Moore was coming in for criticism from other parishes in the area, some of which are raising funds to offset the loss. /// A recording of Dr. Martin Luther King's address to the ESCRU Dinner at the 1964 General Convention has been banned by the Government of South Africa. About 1,200 copies of the record were made from a tape still available from the ESCRU office at $3.00 each. // // Columbia Records has issued an album on "Are You Running With Me, Jesus?", the book by Malcolm Boyd of the ESCRU staff now in its 7th printing. /// In a letter to some fellow Bishops, not members of ESCRU, Bishop Cadigan of Missouri said of the Society: "....We need this kind of group within the fellowship to serve as our unsettlers and as frontiersmen in our times." Several joined, bringing the total of Bishops in ESCRU to 51 paid-up. /// Presiding Bishop Hines sent a telegram on May 16th to Congressman Celler. It opened with: "As an individual I strongly support the general principles embodied in House Bill H.R. 14765 concerning civil rights." Said Bill died in the Senate on September 19th for lack of adequate support. /// Newly formed: Association of Episcopal Clergy, 370 Alvin Dr., Salinas, California 94102, to investigate, mediate, and - if necessary - protest abuses suffered by clergy in the Church. If interested, write for information. /// The American Committee on Africa and the National Student Christian Federation have joined in an effort to encourage New Yorkers to withdraw accounts from the Chase Manhattan and National City Banks to protest their involvement with racism in South Africa. /// Fernandina Beach's (Florida) two Episcopal congregations seem to be moving successfully toward a fully integrated status. (See ESCRU Newsletter, 10/28/65.) /// In a different Southern diocese, though, (not deep South at that), the Bishop has advised the Rector to go slow with integration which has been moving along just fine. /// Yes! The "backlash" is hurting us financially, too. $$$ needed!

FITTING PARSONS TO PLACES: (And the reverse!) Let us know if you need a Rector; or, if you are one & want to move, we invite a letter. Periodic requests come both ways and we are sometimes helpful in putting folks together - interracially & otherwise. For instance, an integrated parish in a northern urban area needs a Rector: predominantly Negro, on moderate to low side in Churchmanship, near N.Y.C.

LEGISLATION: Killed by Senators Dirkson & Russell, and not too much pushed by Mansfield, the 1966 Bill also died for lack of sufficient support from all of the groups which turned out so well in 1964 to back new legislation. /// The Diocese of Maryland has called for repeal of that state's laws against intermarriage - an effort worthy of attention for its symbolic value as well as practical effect.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

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Associate Director - The Rev. Albert Dreisbach, Jr.
Director, Southern Field Service - The Rev. David B. Nickerson / 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Georgia

(Not Printed at Government Expense) 11

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Congressman Fraser Urges Forceful Action to Bring Majority Rule to Rhodesia

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in recent months, a small clique in the United States has been spreading the fiction that the unilateral declaration of independence proclaimed in Rhodesia on November 11, 1965, is akin to that of July 4, 1776. This is fiction because the Rhodesian declaration was made by a small, privileged minority seeking to perpetuate its position against the threat of democracy in its own country. This clique, which calls itself the Friends of Rhodesian Independence, throws up a smokescreen of false issues and absurd assumptions. In a way this is useful, since to answer we have to return to fundamentals, to the nature of our society and our ideals, to what the United States stands for and wants to stand for in the contemporary world.

The rebellion of Ian Smith, the leader of the Rhodesian rebels, was designed to perpetuate the control of a small racial minority over the vast majority of Rhodesian citizens. He leads an effort by 6 percent of the population to permanently control the other 94 percent. It is a distortion of history to equate this purpose with the ideals which inspired the American Revolution and the principles for which we have been striving throughout our history.

The Smith regime seized power to prevent Britain from granting a role in government to all the people in Rhodesia as she did in all her other former African colonies; we rebelled against George III because England sought to maintain her colonial control over us. The Smith government favors rule by a racial minority through policies aimed at excluding virtually all Africans; our history has been a struggle to secure equal rights for all races. The Smith regime refuses to provide education above the primary school level for a meaningful number of Africans; we have tried to provide full public education to all citizens.

Racial injustice is no stranger to the United States. For centuries we enslaved Americans of African ancestry. We fought a Civil War to end this abominable practice, but we have moved too slowly to allow our Negro citizens full participation in our society. We have broken treaties with the Indians, and we have shunted them to reservations which are inadequate to support them.

The opponents of majority rule in Rhodesia point to these injustices and say that they justify American support for the minority in Rhodesia. But we are not proud of that part of our history, and it would be shameful for us to side with a group of people who desire only to emulate our mistakes. We have made great strides in racial equality and an aroused American conscience demands even more. We shun minority rule at home, and we cannot stand for this position abroad.

Ian Smith, the leader of the Rhodesian whites, is not George Washington reborn. Smith is defending a system which has existed in Rhodesia since at least 1923. The majority of the Rhodesian population oppose Ian Smith and proclaim the principle of majority rule. The Africans of Rhodesia say to the world that they know their own interests better than anyone else knows them, and that anyone who claims for himself a right to make decisions for other adults is by that very fact demonstrating his incapacity for responsibility in a democratic world.

THE REAL STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN RHODESIA

The real struggle for independence in Rhodesia today is led by African nationalists against a privileged minority. That this privileged minority was able to seize de facto power because of the errors of the colonial power, Great Britain, does not make its case any stronger. The African nationalists of Rhodesia are struggling for their freedom, however ineffectual their struggle may now seem. They should, one hopes, eventuall win. We should do whatever we can to aid this struggle and to applaud its victories.

But one can hear the defenders of Ian Smith now. Does the United States want another Congo? Is not independent Africa one long series of coups, rebellions, and anarchy? Thus, it is argued, the bad state of postindependence Africa should warn us off our hasty and ill-advised support for African nationalist movements. But these arguments misread the state of postindependence Africa. And even if they did not, it is never an argument against the possession of freedom that it may be misused.

The struggle for freedom is never simple or cut and dried. The struggle for independence in African countries has been going on since 1945. It is not yet over. Africa is still in the middle of its revolution, and it is absurd to demand that all be peace and gentility. We in the United States had to fight a second war for independence in 1812 and fought a bloody and unhappy civil war among ourselves some 85 years after our independence. We know that stability and peace are never achieved easily or rapidly.

RHODESIA IS PART OF A LARGER STRUGGLE

We cannot understand what is going on in Rhodesia today unless we remember that it is part of a larger complex—that of southern Africa. Ian Smith is fighting for the rights of the privileged minority not only in Rhodesia but in Angola and Mozambique, in South Africa and South-West Africa. If these friends of Ian Smith talk of turmoil in independent Africa, it is to make us forget oppression in minority-ruled southern Africa. If they boast of the small crumbs they have thrown the majority Africans in education, health, and living standards, it is to make us forget the enormous discrepancy between the style of life of the minority who have privilege and the lives of the majority who must work for them. If they talk of the defense of order, it is to make us forget that this status quo is not based on the consent of the governed.

VIETNAM AND RHODESIA

Another part of the smokescreen is the claim that Ian Smith and his supporters are alined with us on Vietnam and in other struggles against communism. But our Government has emphatically stated that it is fighting in Vietnam to assure the right of the people to rule themselves. Our Government rejects the claim that anyone has the right to dictate a government for the Vietnamese; we believe the people should make their own choice in free elections. To be consistent with our position in Vietnam, we must support these principles in Rhodesia as well. If Ian Smith is so sure that he represents the best interests of Rhodesia, let him present himself before an electorate where all adults can vote. He will not do it, because he would stand no chance of being elected.

The United States stands for self-determination. We have stood for this principle throughout our history. Let us make it very clear that we stand for it in Rhodesia, that we support majority rule there—not because the majority is always right, but because there is no system of government better than that of majority rule.

AMERICAN OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

If we do believe in self-determination in Rhodesia, what then should the United States do? We must do more than we have done hitherto. We have been equivocal. We have not, to be sure, supported the actions of Ian Smith. We have even sought in cautious ways to help him to disappear into the remote recesses of history where he will eventually be lodged. But neither have we clearly stated our positive objectives in the Rhodesian crisis.

The U.S. Government should state its commitment to the achievement of governments based on universal suffrage throughout southern Africa—in Rhodesia, to be sure, but also in Angola and

Mozambique, in South Africa and South-West Africa. A statement by itself, of course, changes nothing. But it gives the world and ourselves a measure by which we can judge the adequacy of American policies in the immediate present. We can then ask about each decision in Washington or at the United Nations: Will that decision bring us closer to achieving governments based on universal suffrage throughout southern Africa?

Given a commitment to majority rule in southern Africa, our present position of support for the British boycott of the Ian Smith regime, while commendable, is inadequate. If we are the leader of the free world, we should take the initiative, something we have never previously done on issues involving southern Africa. If mandatory economic sanctions are needed to topple the Smith regime and bring self-determination, we should work to bring this about through the United Nations. We should not wait until we are pushed by the African and Asian nations and then try to achieve the weakest possible compromise.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN SMITH FALLS?

The next question which is crucial and cannot be ignored is, What will Britain do should Ian Smith fall and power revert to the British Government? And in this House, the crucial question is, What does the U.S. Government think Britain should do? Because to replace Ian Smith with a slightly more flexible member of this same ruling minority group in Rhodesia does not bring us one whit closer to achieving a democratic society in Rhodesia. Britain must proclaim now its eagerness to negotiate with African nationalists the transfer of power within a reasonably short time. A government should be established based on universal suffrage and should receive its full independence. And the United States should press Britain to make clear this objective now.

Some may say, in a false shrewdness, that to do this would alienate some potential support for Britain's position among Rhodesian whites. But who can believe today, 6 months after the November 11 declaration, that such support exists in any meaningful amount? And in any case, what about the support of the overwhelming majority of the population which is not struggling for a return to British colonial rule, but for a government based on universal suffrage that would then receive its independence and full membership in the polity of nations?

DEMOCRACY VERSUS MINORITY RULE

If one wants to make a case against democracy, against majority rule, there are always arguments. The majority is never as educated, as rational, as foresighted as some of us would wish. But neither is the minority. Between the mistakes of the majority and inevitable self-serving decisions of even the most dedicated minority, those who believe in democracy must always choose the former. The decision in Rhodesia is today a simple one in the light of this fundamental principle. The majority of Rhodesians are not permitted to vote. It is said that many, if not most of them, are not civilized enough to vote. It is said that if they got the vote, they would use it in all sorts of ways that other people wouldn't like. Perhaps, but the majority is still the majority. Perhaps Ian Smith honestly believes he knows its interests best. That is irrelevant. The faith in democracy is based on the belief that all men are created equal. Equal in what? In native ability? In attained culture? Of course not. No, equal in the right to have a voice in the government.

Winston Churchill once said:

> No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.

AMERICA MUST SUPPORT FREEDOM

This is as true for Rhodesia as elsewhere. That is why our Government must make its position far clearer than it has done up to now. That is why we may not hide in the protective coat of British initiative. That is why we ought once again to take the risks of supporting the cause of freedom.

10-10-66

File

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
4655 JETT ROAD, N.W.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

DEAR FELLOW GEORGIAN:

"The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." Seldom has the truth of this been more evident than in the State of Georgia today. As Atlantans woke up after the Temple bombing in 1958 and began to work for a more progressive climate, so Georgians from all over awakened last week to the political disaster that befell the State and its demand upon ordinary citizens to take a stand for good government and continued racial and political progress.

It is in that spirit that we are writing everyone in the State we know personally and whom we believe share similiar concerns for the future of Georgia. We don't know whether you consider yourself a Republican or Democrat; and we respect the fact that some of you may choose another way for the expression of responsible citizenship on election day.

For our part, we shall join with thousands of Georgians on election day and write-in the name of Ellis Arnall for Governor of the State. We hope you will seriously consider doing the same.

We are realistic enough to recognize that Arnall probably cannot win. But a significant write-in vote for him would be a victory for some recovery of integrity in state politics. It would constitute the beginnings of statewide reform efforts within the Democratic Party. It would help to take the Democratic Party out of Senator Talmadge's hip pocket. A substantial write-in vote might throw the contest into the state legislature, and even if Maddox were named there, it would be less of a victory for him and would say something about the determination of Georgians to rid themselves of his kind.

Some say that Callaway would be better than Maddox, and it is true that most of us middle-class folks would probably feel more comfortable with his button-down manner than with Lester's brand of conservatism. We believe that Congressman Weltner, a Georgian who reminds us that greatness is still possible in our State, was right when he said, as quoted in the October 4th NEW YORK TIMES, that "Callaway is the same as Maddox on race except in a slicker way. He uses code names such as property rights, which means we ain't gonna serve no niggers."

Georgia might recover from the excesses of a Maddox as Governor; and we'll have to, for all predictions are that he'll win. It will be more difficult to renew our progress after Callaway's right-wing, polished Goldwaterism has made its mark on the state.

This is why we're going to write-in ELLIS ARNALL, a man who was a good governor once and who now is the symbol of progress and moderation in our State. We hope you'll do the same. Also, we encourage others to write all of their friends as we are doing to support the write-in effort and the principles behind it.

Sincerely,

October 7, 1966

Patsy and John Morris

Patsy and John Morris

P.S. For the long-haul recovery of political sanity in Georgia we commend to you the enclosed memorandum supporting a grass-roots effort to restore a progressive spirit to our political life. Both parties could use this kind of endeavor!

M E M O R A N D U M

Telephone: 525-8549

To:

October 6, 1966

From: E. T. Kehrer
Suite 1422
40 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Subject: Georgia Independent Democratic Caucus

Regardless of the outcome of the November Governor's race, i.e., whether Maddox wins or not, the fact remains that he and his radical right "wool hat" group will control the Georgia Democratic Party machinery for the next four years. Under this "leadership" there will be no place for the moderate Georgian. The resulting vacuum could very well have disastrous results for the Democratic Party and the future of our State.

I would like to suggest the formation of an Independent Democratic Party Caucus to meet this urgent need for a viable structure under which the moderate Georgian, Negro and white, could coalesce.

The chief purposes of this Caucus would be:

1. To provide a district, county, and state delegate organization to reach the rank and file voter, and a communication link up and down the organization and throughout the State.

2. To serve as a program formulating, issue stating, and problem focusing structure for Georgia. This role would be two-fold - pressures on the incumbent administration in an effort to prevent erosion of already existing programs - and development of a framework of program on which to build the next campaign.

To carry out such an important and imperative program it would require that a number of Georgians of stature issue a call for the Caucus and also the commitment of some money for a modest budget.

I would be interested in your reaction to the above proposal.

ETK:sjs
opeiu #21
afl-cio

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
4655 JETT ROAD, N.W.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

DEAR FELLOW GEORGIAN:

As a recipient of the letter Patsy and I sent friends on October 7th, this is just to let you know that our mind hasn't changed with regard to the Write-In effort and to once again invite your own support of it. Our thanks to those who let us know of their commitment to the undertaking, and especially to those who picked up on the suggestion of writing their own letter to friends.

This should be taken as a post-script to our earlier letter, for we can't add substantially to what we said then. If anything more need be said, it would be that Write-In advocates must expect the possibility of Governor Arnall once again publicly disavowing the effort in his behalf. It is known from reliable sources that he has been under great pressures from representatives of the power structure.

The Write-In Georgia group has, from the beginning, anticipated the probability that Governor Arnall would have to take such a position. It will no more affect their determination, than have the clever barbs of a few local editorialists - some of whom have been termed "the kept press". I believe that Governor Arnall respects the integrity of the Write-In effort and privately does not abjure what we are trying to do.

Backing up our own commitment to the Write-In Arnall movement, Patsy and I have been variously involved. She has been working almost daily at the Write-In office, which can use all the volunteer help it can get. Acting as a private citizen, and not in my professional capacity, I have become a plantiff in a suit filed by the ACLU to determine the legality of stickers for the write-in and certain other procedural matters. I spoke recently at a political meeting at a local church and am speaking at a write-in rally in a nearby community tonight.

In preparation for speaking the other night I prepared the enclosed sheet on the Callaway record. I will be glad to supply you with copies if you are contemplating writing people you know. Other materials may be obtained at the Write-In office in downtown Atlanta.

Issues too-numerous to discuss here are being pondered by folks wavering between the Write-In and a distasteful vote for Callaway. While I respect the fact that some people in good conscience will take the latter step, I wish we could have a long chat about the implications of the vote in either of the three directions now offered. There are valid arguments on several sides, although I discern that the more that is known about the Callaway record - the more voters are turning to the Write-In.

I hope you will do the same. For my part, I am so fed up with the political leadership we have had in Georgia, I intend, also, to write-in someone against Senator Russell as well. That will be an outright protest vote. When I write-in ELLIS ARNALL FOR GOVERNOR it will be an affirmative vote for a man who served Georgia well twenty years ago and whose platform now is one I can wholeheartedly support!

Faithfully,

John B. Morris

October 20, 1966

File

BO CALLAWAY: THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS? AS EVIL? WORSE?

Some well-meaning folks are still trying to persuade themselves that Howard H. "Bo" Callaway is the lesser of two evils in the choice they feel they have for governor of Georgia.

Let's look at his record:

1. Bo Callaway backed reactionary Marvin Griffin over moderate Carl Sanders in the race for governor four years ago.

2. Until Lester Maddox won them back to the old party, Bo Callaway was the choice for Governor this year of Marvin Griffin and his crowd. (And, if he wins over Maddox, they'll jump right back in the bed with him!)

3. Bo did nothing to dissuade 75,000 to 100,000 Republicans from crossing over and helping elect Lester in the Democratic Primary run-off. They thought then that Lester would be easier to beat than Arnall. Now Bo thinks that moderate and liberal thinking folks should get behind him!

4. Bo said himself that the only difference between himself and Maddox was "in approach", and he promised that he would "fight for our way of life in the South..." We know what this "way of life" business means! Segregation! (ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, October 8, 1966)

5. Here's some of Bo's voting record which he thinks moderates and liberals are going to swallow:

HE WAS AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION IN 1965 AND 1966!
HE VOTED AGAINST MEDICARE!
HE VOTED AGAINST THE MINIMUM WAGE LAW!
HE VOTED AGAINST FEDERAL AID TO URBAN AREAS!
HE VOTED AGAINST FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION! Several times!!
HE VOTED AGAINST MILITARY & CIVILIAN PAY INCREASES, VETERANS BENEFITS, ETC.
HE VOTED AGAINST STRENGTHENING FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES LEGISLATION!

And the list could go on and on. But, that's not all....

6. ....Bo has had one of the worst attendance records for a new congressman the House of Representatives has seen in recent years, and he's not been out of the country about the government's business. When he could strike a blow for his brand of right-wing, reactionary Goldwaterism (He was for him in '64!) he managed to vote. When they wanted to appropriate money for the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan, Bo was gone!

7. It is a part of Bo's record that he has been praised several times by Georgia's KKK Grand Dragon, Calvin Craig, who said he "had high praise for Bo Callaway as a staunch conservative who was helping preserve the American way of life..." Bo has been mighty slow to disavow the KKK (and he'd really rather not be asked about the subject, because, after all, a vote is a vote), and he has refused to disavow the extremist John Birch Society, an organization so fanatical that their leader has claimed Dwight D. Eisenhower is a part of the Communist conspiracy!

We know from his ax-handles how bad Lester is! Bo went to West Point, has a little money, and raises flowers down at LaGrange, and it's probably true that he wouldn't use an ax-handle himself. A man as big as Bo has always been able to let others get their hands dirty down South. His ax-handles have been his consistent votes against the underprivileged, against Negroes, against workingmen, and against improved education and the elimination of blight in our cities.

It could be said that Lester doesn't know much better than to pick up an ax-handle and rant and rave about His Government, His President, and all that; but Bo, on the other hand, has been around some more, studied a little history, and had all the opportunities to know better about how people should live together and how government should operate for the greatest good of all the people. In spite of it all, he's got an ax-handle voting record! The lesser of two evils? Does anyone still believe that?

Congressman Charles Weltner put his finger on it when he said: "Callaway is the same as Maddox on race except in a slicker way. He uses code names such as property rights, which means we ain't gonna serve no niggers." (NEW YORK TIMES, October 4, 1966)

There are thousands of Georgians who don't like Bo's slick manner on a lot of issues and who see him as just a dressed-up Lester Maddox, using a different kind of ax-handle. THEY'RE GOING TO WRITE-IN ELLIS ARNALL FOR GOVERNOR ON NOVember 8TH!

Will you do the same?

FOR RELEASE: AM Papers, Saturday, August 20th

For Information Call:

Atlanta: 525-7975

Washington: 582-6133
296-3077

File

A STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF JONATHAN DANIELS AND THE PROSECUTION OF JUSTICE

One year ago today, Jonathan Daniels was murdered by race hatred in Hayneville, Alabama. He was an Episcopal seminarian and civil rights worker for the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. The hand that held the murder weapon is still free a year later to strike again, for the assailant has been no more restrained by those of his community who mocked justice than by the routine investigation of Federal authorities.

As fellow workers with Jonathan Daniels in the struggle for racial equality, and as friends of ESCRU, we mourn his loss, and we fear for our country.

State and local law enforcement agencies did not prevent his murder and, indeed, there were strong indications that some of them were implicated. Federal officials have not acted to bring the murderer to justice through the means open to them. Now we are about to enact more Federal civil rights law; but we have seen too many murders, too much brutality, and too much flouting of existing law to be confident that more laws will make much difference if there is not also a greater determination to uphold and enforce these laws.

The Department of Justice claims that its file on Jonathan Daniels is still open, but they admit that no present investigative activity is proceeding. What has happened to the likelihood that there was a conspiracy of local officials in this crime? What of the standing of the assailant as a law officer insofar as Federal intervention is concerned? What of the 1965 Civil Rights Act with its provisions regarding physical harassment of those associated with voter registration efforts? The file may still be open, but, sadly, it appears that it is largely empty because of inaction or disinterest?

The alienation, the disappointment, the bitterness and the hostility which are emerging this year from some sectors of the Negro community must be seen as the inevitable response to a society that murders a Jonathan Daniels, that kills many more black men and women whose names are not even remembered, and which then hides behind unenforced laws and meaningless open files.

It is time for the Department of Justice and the FBI to stop merely collecting reports and maintaining files and get on with the business of acting vigorously on the basis of existing laws. Without such determination, the new legislation will be a hollow symbol.

SIGNED BY:

The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director, Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, Executive Director, Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches
The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Mr. Whitney M. Young, Executive Director, National Urban League
Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., General Counsel, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Mr. John deJ. Pemberton, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union
Mr. Floyd McKissick, National Director, Congress on Racial Equality
Mr. Charles E. Silberman, Chairman, Commission on Religion and Race, Synagogue Council of America
Mr. Henry Schwarzschild, Executive Director, Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee
Mr. Stokely Carmichael, Chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Chairman, The Delta Ministry Commission
Mr. Bayard Rustin, Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute
Mr. John Wheeler, President, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Matthew Ahmann, Executive Director, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
The Rev. Richard Morrisroe, Assistant Pastor, Holy Name Cathedral, Chicago
(Fr. Morrisroe was critically wounded at the time Mr. Daniels was shot.)

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS GIVEN FOR PURPOSES OF IDENTIFICATION ONLY

Prepared and released by the Episcopal Society For Cultural And Racial Unity,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

"THE CAPETOWN PLACARD" AND THE LOVETT PROTEST

The only sign to be carried in the Lovett School protest will be large (22x28) representations of the "Capetown placard" as attached in smaller size.

This was originally executed at St. George's Anglican Cathedral in Capetown, South Africa, and placed on the Cathedral grounds in 1959 as a bold witness to the meaning of APARTHEID to the Christian.

The word APARTHEID, which in the original version of the placard was emblazoned on the strands of barbed wire, has been replaced in the adaptation prepared by the Episcopal Society with SEGREGATION and SEPARATION.

The controversial Capetown placard.
People may "draw their own conclusions."

St.George's Anglican
Cathedral, Sou.Africa
LIVING CHURCH 4/26/59

SEGRE GATION
SEPA RATION

LWD

Fowler - other cities

how much do you want, if anything, sent on the notes we have on this and the other small Florida city bi-racial committees?

bp

everything worthwhile

A. - .. -

- .. -

Segregation + Prejudice

3.

B. Race + Race Relations

Crime + Delinquency — 1960 done

Housing

C. Intergrp Org. Leg., Off. Com. (Mat.)

Law Enforcement — 1960 - done

3. please see me

Jackson v. Me

WOB — pre - Oct. 1960

Municipal level 60-61-62

CRIME & DELINQUENCY — Negro crime - riots - segregation laws - police training
human rights commission

LAW ENFORCEMENT

SEGREGATION — wait to Levin

& Prejudice — "partial biblio. tags - pamphlet file - want - let us know

Violence & — note PS

Intimidation — Sent Police & Minority Groups
Weckler & Hall
Intergroup Relations for Police Officers
Charlotte Epstein
The Newcomer - Pub. Welfare's Challenge
Amer. Pub. Wel. Assn
Race Tensions & Police
Curry & King

30

Skokie, Illinois Legislation Race Relations

ORDINANCE O-61-26

BE IT ORDAINED by the President and Board of Trustees of the Village of Deerfield that the following ordinance be and the same is hereby adopted, that:

1. A COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS COMMITTEE be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Board of Trustees, said Community Relations and Communications Committee to consist of five (5) members.

Said members to be chosen on the basis of knowledge of the community, and training or experience in the public information field. In addition, they must be residents of Deerfield.

2. TERM OF APPOINTMENT

A. Initially, two members shall be appointed for three (3) years, two members for two (2) years, and one member for one (1) year. All appointments thereafter shall be for a period of three (3) years.

B. The Board of Trustees shall, in the event of a vacancy on the Committee, appoint a replacement to fill out the unexpired portion of the vacancy.

C. Members of the Committee may be removed by the Board of Trustees by a majority vote at a regular meeting if, in their judgment, such action is required for the good of the Village.

D. Members may be re-appointed for such additional terms of office as the Board feels desirable.

3. PURPOSE AND FUNCTION OF THE COMMITTEE

A. The purpose of the Committee shall be twofold. The first, to provide considered recommendations as to proper procedures to assure increased knowledge on the part of citizens of the community of the activities and goals of their Village Government. The second, to provide considered recommendations as to those courses of action which will build a proper public image in the eyes of neighboring communities and states.

B. A chairman and vice chairman shall be elected by the five (5) members. The Chairman shall preside at the meetings of the Committee and direct its functions. In the absence of the Chairman, the Vice Chairman shall preside and exercise all of the powers of the Chairman. All members and officers have one vote each.

C. Three members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum. Where a quorum is present, official action of the Committee shall be determined by a majority of the members present.

4. OBJECTIVES

A. The primary objective of the Committee is to assure that all prudent means are employed to assure an informed citizenry in the community in regard to governmental goals and activities.

B. The secondary objective is to strengthen and improve the public image of the Village of Deerfield in the eyes of the people of our state and nation.

5. GENERAL OPERATING POLICIES

A. This Committee shall operate in a non-profit and non-political manner devoted exclusively to public information.

B. This Committee shall at all times operate in the general public interest reporting to the Board of Trustees their findings and recommendations. In no case will they work with public information media in a direct manner; instead they will work as an advisory arm of the Board of Trustees and take such steps only as have the full approval of the Board.

PASSED: This 10th day of July, 1961.

Approved: /s/ David C. Whitney
Village President

Attest:

/s/ Catherine E. Price
Village Clerk

May 28, 1962

Mr. David S. Arnold
Publications Director
The International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Arnold:

I have read your letter of May 23 with great interest. I need to ask you for a few days in which to consider whether we can undertake the report you have in mind; there is no question as to our wish to do so.

Perhaps you could, when convenient, let us know what, if any, deadline there would be for the report and whether you can offer any financial support to it. I raise the latter question because we quite likely would, if we go ahead with the job, want to engage a consultant to draft a memorandum which would serve as the basis for the finished report. Some years ago I used MIS regularly. I am, therefore, familiar with your reports. I wonder, however, if you could send us a couple of sample copies of recent issues?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/nmj

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK
INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

May 23, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAY 25 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The International City Managers' Association, as part of its Management Information Service (see enclosed folder) issues 12 reports per year on a wide variety of subjects in municipal government and administration. One of the subjects we would like to cover in a future report is that of city government practices and procedures in handling potentially explosive situations in the field of race relations. Many of the 1,200 MIS cities are medium-sized and small cities in the northern parts of the United States are experiencing for the first time the in-migration of Negroes from the South.

Although much has been written from the standpoint of southern cities, including your excellent report on "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement," we feel that there is a need to cover this subject from the standpoint of implementation of public policy. One aspect of implementation is police work which has been covered quite well in the recent Charles C Thomas book on "Race Tensions and the Police." Similar documentary information is not available in other aspects of city government services, including recreation, housing standards, and other phases of community government.

This letter is a request for help. We would like to prepare a report for our subscribing cities that shows what the city council, the city manager or other chief administrator, and city department heads can do to be better prepared for necessary community adjustment. We know of some cities, like Skokie, Illinois, that have handled this quite well. We also know of two cities in the South that have handled racial tensions well--Savannah, Georgia, and Rock Hill, South Carolina. We would like to pull together information from these cities, which we can obtain first-hand from their city managers, together with materials that have been written for the report.

Would the Southern Regional Council be willing to prepare such a report? We could help by gathering as much information as needed directly from cities. If not, can you suggest some person or organization who could undertake this assignment? We are not sure how to get started on this, but we do feel that the

subject is becoming a great importance in the North as well as in the South.

I shall look forward to any ideas you might have on this, and I will be glad to discuss this further--either by mail or by telephone.

Sincerely yours,

Dave S Arnold/WB

DSA:gn

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

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1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

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HOW MIS WORKS

The Chief Administrator Gets a Problem

He is asked by the council for advice in deciding municipal policy; or he receives a recommendation from a department head on a new service, change in procedure, or on some other matter which he must approve or disapprove; or he is in search of a better way of doing a particular job, etc.

What He Should Know

To guide him in solving a specific problem he wants to know: (1) what other cities are doing, (2) what is considered best practice, (3) the opinion of other specialists, and (4) what the national trend is. He needs up-to-date facts, methods, trends, opinions, and he needs to have them *now*. He does not have time to study voluminous reports, to search magazines, to read books, or to collect and tabulate data from other cities.

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The International City Managers' Association in the past 40 years has collected, through questionnaires, correspondence, conferences, and publications, a vast storehouse of information on municipal management problems. Since 1934 the Association has collected and compiled annually much data from more than 2,500 cities and towns. Thus the ICMA headquarters is enabled to furnish promptly on a specific problem: (1) the best methods and procedures developed by municipal officials and specialists; (2) factual information on what cities are doing and current trends on a nationwide basis; and (3) opinion and advice on questions of top management policy, such as how to organize to do the job, how better to coordinate activities, how to direct the work, how to exercise control, how to appraise or measure accomplishment, how to report to the public, etc.

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In addition to securing information on specific local problems, the city will automatically receive copies of special Reports dealing with subjects of wide general interest as indicated by officials of cities subscribing to MIS (see column at right for titles of recent Reports). This part of the Service includes a special loose-leaf binder in which these Information Reports can be filed. An index is supplied annually.

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Included in the Service are a certain number of subscriptions to *Public Management* (see table), the monthly journal of the International City Managers' Association since 1914, devoted exclusively to local government administration, and each year several copies of the *Municipal Year Book*, also published by ICMA, a 600-page authoritative resumé of activities and statistical data of more than 2,500 American cities. The city will designate the department heads or other officials who are to receive these publications.

REPORTS RECENTLY ISSUED

Preparation of the Capital Budget
Regulation of Solicitors and Peddlers
Trends in Revising Zoning Ordinances
Municipal Regulation of Subdivisions
Preparing the Agenda for City Council Meetings
Training for One-Man Police Patrol Cars
Regulating Outside Employment for Employees
Use of Longevity Pay for City Employees
Preparation of the Budget Manual
Preparation of the Purchasing Manual
Use of Committees in Management
Municipal Records Retention and Preservation
Charges for Outside Fire Protection Service
Use of Civilian Auxiliary Police
A Survey of Police and Fire Integration
Use of Women in Parking Meter Control
Public Safety Emergency Communications Centers
Financial Practices for Small Cities
Administration of Licenses and Permits
Procedure in Purchasing Municipal Insurance

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Less than 5,000.....	$ 35	1	1
5,000 to 10,000.....	50	2	1
10,000 to 25,000.....	75	4	2
25,000 to 50,000.....	100	6	4
50,000 to 100,000.....	150	8	6
100,000 to 250,000.....	250	10	8
250,000 to 500,000.....	400	12	10
Over 500,000.....	On Application		

See reverse side for order form

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Please enter the subscription of _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ *to Management Information Service for one year beginning* _____ *at* $ _____ *which according to the schedule on the reverse side applies to this municipality. Send copies of* Public Management *included in this Service to the attached list of names and addresses. Send all other publications and reports, binders, etc. directly to me.*

SIGNED _____

TITLE _____

Please be sure names and addresses of officials who are to receive *Public Management* are attached to this before mailing.

~~Jim~~
mmj

June 8, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I am sorry I could not get by last Friday. I had told the girls firmly that we were going to leave at 8:00 o'clock, but they were not ready until after 10:00,,and I got to feeling a little depperate about the length of the drive.

I had wanted to talk with you about two things chiefly, one being the matter of the voting project finances. There is no urgency about this, however. I understand that you and I wre going to be at Madison together and we can do it then.

The other thingsis a request from the International City Managers' Association that we do one of their MIS reports on practices and procedures in the field of race relations. This is too worthwhile, or at least prestigious, a thing to turn down and I want to do it. I wonder what you would think, however, about our doing it together. I ask this for two reasons. One is that we would very much like to have the good judgment of you and Art in the formulation of the report. The second is that we are a regional organization with no claimed competence

outside the region and, though Mr. Arnold's prose is fairly impenetrable, I surmise that he wants something on a national relevance.

Without having given a lot of thought to how this might be done my inclination would be that we acknowledge ourselves to be experts, thereby avoiding dependence on any social scientists, find someone who has some background of observations to draw upon to draft a report, and then edit and revise it and make it our own. A possible writer would be someone such as Fred Powledge of the Atlanta Journal, whose work in the last few months has impressed me. I would think no individual by-line would be appropriate.

Let me know what you think.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC. WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 22, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1962
RECEIVED

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

It was good talking to you yesterday about the MIS race relations report for the International City Managers' Association and both Harold and I look forward to a joint undertaking with you.

Since several weeks have gone by since you last heard from David Arnold on June 6, I guess it would be important, as the first order of business on this project, to inform Mr. Arnold that you will be delighted to undertake this project, and at the same time inform him about your intention to have the Potomac Institute co-sponsor. I am sure you will also want to let him know that you will in a short time furnish information about the scope and coverage of the report, and that at that time you will give him a cost estimate. Since I believe we agreed that we would both like to undertake this project irrespective of whether the City Managers' Association reimburses us at all, you might want to indicate to Mr. Arnold that he can count on us to undertake this job without regard to the cost problem, which you are sure ~~to~~ will be ~~able to~~ worked out on a mutually satisfactory basis. It was Harold's and my thought that if the City Managers' Association were not able to make any other contribution, their share might be underwritten by way of furnishing both SRC and Potomac with a given number of copies of the printed MIS report for our own use.

We will present the project to our Board next Tuesday on the basis of our telephone conversation, in which we will request authorization up to the amount of $1,000 for our share; while we do not expect that such a joint amount on each of our parts will be necessary, we just thought we would cover any unexpected contingencies. In fact, there are several people in Washington now who have had considerable experience in municipal management affairs, including intergroup relations, who might well serve as a consultant for us, either on fee or free, who might even do the entire job within the framework we set. As soon as we have had a chance to get together to delineate the scope of the report, we can pursue this consultant matter further from this end, if this is how we decide to work it out.

May I suggest that you send us a copy of your reply to Mr. Arnold, and let us know when you think you can be available for us to get together to begin setting up the project. Since you will be seeing Harold in Wisconsin I am sure you will want to discuss it with him and it might be easier to arrange getting together in that way, after which we can take it from there.

I am looking forward eagerly to doing this job with you. Best regards to Peggy and to the office people.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:see

via air mail

June 25, 1962

Mr. David S. Arnold
Publications Director
The International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Arnold:

We shall be pleased to undertake preparation of an MIS report, as proposed by your letter of May 23, on municipal policies and procedures in the field of racial tensions. Within a short time we shall send on to you a tentative outline for discussion and comment; this will be accompanied by an indication of method of work.

One of the reasons we have delayed decision here is that we have been discussing your query with the Potomac Institute (1501-18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.). Our aim was to secure Potomac's help in this and, in fact, if you were approving, its partnership. This has now been agreed. Because this is a fairly new organization you may want a word of description. Briefly, the Potomac Institute is a study and advisory agency in the field of national race relations and civil rights. Its operating head is my predecessor at SRC, Harold C. Fleming. The Staff Director is Arthur J. Levin, former Southeastern Staff Director for the Anti-Defamation League.

When we forward the outline, we shall send at the same time a cost estimate. We believe a good report can be done without extravagance; furthermore, both Potomac and SRC are prepared to share in the costs.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
bc: Mr. Arthur J. Levin

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK
INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

June 6, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It was a pleasure to receive your cordial letter and to learn of your interest in preparing the report on race relations. I would very much appreciate, when you get the time, your writing me and giving me an outline or your general ideas for the scope and coverage of the report. I am sure that the suggestions in my letter of May 23 can be improved upon.

We feel the need for this report for at least two reasons. One is that city managers, like superintendents of schools, are a mobile group. Many managers serve during their career in three, four, or even five cities. This mobility means that many managers from the North have taken positions in the South in recent years, especially in Florida, North Carolina, and Texas. A second factor is that many managers do not have a good understanding of community and social problems. Few have worked directly with minority groups or have attended schools or lived in neighborhoods with substantial minority groups.

In addition to your ideas for the report, I would appreciate your giving me an approximation of the cost. I hasten to add that this would not involve any commitment on your part, or on ours, but it would help in discussing this question with our Director.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:cap
Encls. 2

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK
INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1962

June 28, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This will acknowledge your letter of June 25 to Mr. Arnold. He is presently out of the office and as soon as he returns I am sure you will be hearing from him.

Sincerely yours,
MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE

William E. Besuden

WEB:gn

William E. Besuden

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK
INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

copy to Art Levin 7/16/62

RECEIVED JUL 16 1962

July 13, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for phoning me. It was very helpful in giving me a clear idea of the subjects to be covered in the proposed report. I shall look forward to the outline and the cost estimate.

I have enclosed a list of the cities that subscribe to our Management Information Service so that you can get a clearer idea of the coverage for the report. The cities range in size from New York and Los Angeles to places of only a few thousand people.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:gn

Enclosure

MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE

ROSTER OF SUBSCRIBING CITIES

1,130 Cities

September 1, 1961

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60TH STREET • CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

Figure after name of city is latest official population in thousands.

ALABAMA (1)
Dothan 31

ALASKA (5)
Anchorage 44
Fairbanks 13
Ketchikan 6
Kodiak 3
Seward 3

ARIZONA (11)
Chandler 10
Eloy 5
Glendale 16
Mesa 34
Phoenix 439
Prescott 13
Scottsdale 10
Tempe 25
Tucson 213
Wickenburg 2
Willcox 2

ARKANSAS (3)
Camden 16
Hope 8
Little Rock 108

CALIFORNIA (173)
Alameda 61
Alhambra 55
Anaheim 104
Antioch 17
Arcadia 41
Atwater 7
Auburn 6
Azusa 20
Bakersfield 57
Baldwin Park 34
Barstow 12
Berkeley 111
Beverly Hills 31
Brawley 13
Brea 8
Buena Park 46
Burbank 90
Burlingame 24
Campbell 12
Chico 15
Chula Vista 42
Claremont 13
Colton 19
Colusa 4
Compton 72
Concord 36
Corona 13
Coronado 18
Covina 20
Culver City 32
Cypress 2
Daly City 45
Davis 9
Delano 12
Downey 83
El Cajon 38

CALIFORNIA (Cont'd)
El Centro 17
El Cerrito 25
El Segundo 14
Estero Mun. Impvt. Dist.
Eureka 28
Fairfield 15
Fremont 44
Fresno 134
Fullerton 56
Gardena 36
Garden Grove 84
Gilroy 7
Glendale 119
Glendora 21
Hanford 10
Hayward 73
Hemet 5
Hermosa Beach 16
Hollister 6
Indio 10
Inglewood 63
Laguna Beach 9
La Habra 25
Lakewood 67
La Mesa 30
Larkspur 6
Laverne 7
Lawndale 22
Lindsay 5
Livermore 16
Lodi 22
Lompoc 14
Long Beach 344
Los Altos 20
Los Angeles 2,479
Los Angeles County 6,039
Los Banos 5
Los Gatos 9
Madera 14
Manhattan Beach 34
Martinez 10
Merced 20
Millbrae 16
Mill Valley 10
Milpitas 7
Modesto 37
Monrovia 27
Montclair 14
Montebello 32
Monterey 23
Monterey Park 38
Mountain View 31
Napa 22
National City 33
Newark 10
Newport Beach 27
No. Sacramento 13
Norwalk 89
Novato 18
Oakland 368
Oceanside 25
Ojai 5

CALIFORNIA (Cont'd)
Ontario 47
Orange 26
Oroville 6
Oxnard 40
Pacific Grove 12
Palm Springs 13
Palo Alto 52
Pasadena 116
Paso Robles 7
Petaluma 14
Pittsburg 19
Placentia 6
Pleasanton 4
Pomona 67
Porterville 8
Red Bluff 7
Redding 13
Redlands 27
Redondo Beach 47
Redwood City 46
Richmond 72
Riverbank 3
Riverside 84
Rosemead 15
Roseville 13
Sacramento County 503
St. Helena 3
Salinas 29
San Bernardino 92
San Bruno 29
San Clemente 9
San Diego 573
San Diego County 1,033
San Fernando 16
San Francisco 743
Sanger 8
San Jose 204
San Leandro 66
San Luis Obispo 20
San Marino 14
San Mateo 70
San Mateo County 444
San Pablo 20
San Rafael 20
Santa Ana 100
Santa Clara 59
Santa Cruz 26
Santa Fe Springs 16
Santa Maria 20
Santa Monica 83
Santa Paula 13
Santa Rosa 31
Sausalito 5
Seal Beach 7
Sebastopol 3
Sierra Madre 10
So. Pasadena 20
So. San Francisco 39
Stanton 13
Stockton 86
Sunnyvale 53
Temple City 32

CALIFORNIA (Cont'd)
Torrance 101
Tracy 11
Tulare 14
Ukiah 10
Upland 16
Vacaville 11
Vallejo 61
Visalia 16
Walnut Creek 10
Watsonville 13
West Covina 51
Whittier 34
Yuba City 12

COLORADO (17)
Alamosa 6
Arvada 19
Aurora 49
Boulder 38
Colorado Springs 70
Delta 4
Durango 11
Englewood 33
Fort Collins 25
Golden 7
Grand Junction 19
La Junta 8
Monte Vista 3
Montrose 5
Pueblo 91
Sterling 11
Westminster 14

CONNECTICUT (16)
Bloomfield 14
Fairfield 46
Farmington 11
Glastonbury 15
Greenwich 54
Groton 30
Hartford 162
New Canaan 13
New Haven 152
Newington 18
Norwich 39
Wallingford 30
West Hartford 62
Wethersfield 21
Willimantic 14
Windsor 19

DELAWARE (1)
Smyrna 3

FLORIDA (74)
Atlantic Beach 3
Auburndale 6
Bal Harbour 1
Bartow 13
Belle Glade 11
Boca Raton 7
Clearwater 35
Cocoa 12
Cocoa Beach 3

FLORIDA (Cont'd)
Coral Gables 35
Dade City 5
Dade County 935
Daytona Beach 37
Deerfield Beach 10
Delray Beach 12
Dunedin 8
Eustis 6
Fernandina Beach 7
Ft. Lauderdale 84
Ft. Meade 4
Ft. Pierce 25
Ft. Walton Beach 12
Gainesville 30
Gulfport 10
Haines City 9
Hallandale 10
Hollywood 35
Homestead 9
Jacksonville Beach 12
Jupiter Island 1
Kissimmee 7
Lake Alfred 2
Lakeland 41
Lake Wales 8
Lake Worth 21
Leesburg 11
Lynn Haven 3
Madeira Beach 4
Madison 3
Melbourne 12
Miami 292
Miami Beach 63
Miami Shores 9
Miami Springs 11
Naples 5
New Smyrna Beach 9
No. Miami 29
No. Palm Beach 3
Ocala 14
Ocean Ridge 1
Opa-Locka 10
Palm Beach 6
Panama City 33
Pensacola 57
Plant City 16
Pompano Beach 16
Punta Gorda 3
Quincy 9
Royal Palm Beach 1
St. Augustine 15
St. Petersburg 181
St. Petersburg Beach 6
Sanford 19
Santa Rosa Island Authority 5
Sarasota 34
So. Miami 10
Surfside 3
Temple Terrace 4
Titusville 6
Vero Beach 9
West Miami 5
West Palm Beach 56
Winter Haven 16
Winter Park 17

GEORGIA (21)
Albany 56
Brunswick 22
Carrollton 11
Cedartown 9
College Park 23
Columbus 117
Cordele 11
Decatur 22
Douglas 9
Eastman 5
Elberton 7
Forest Park 14
Gainesville 17
Griffin 22

GEORGIA (Cont'd)
Jesup 7
Manchester 4
Newnan 12
Rome 32
Savannah 149
Thomasville 18
Valdosta 31

HAWAII (1)
Honolulu 294

IDAHO (2)
Pocatello 29
Twin Falls 20

ILLINOIS (52)
Alton 43
Arlington Hgts. 28
Bloomington 36
Brookfield 20
Centralia 14
Champaign 50
Crystal Lake 8
Decatur 78
Deerfield 12
Downers Grove 21
Elgin 49
Elmhurst 37
Elmwood Park 24
Evanston 79
Galena 4
Galesburg 37
Glencoe 10
Glenview 18
Greenville 5
Highland Park 26
Hinsdale 13
La Grange 15
La Grange Park 14
Lake Forest 11
Lansing 18
Lombard 23
Mascoutah 4
Mt. Prospect 19
Northbrook 12
Northfield 4
Oak Lawn 27
Oak Park 61
Ottawa 19
Palatine 12
Park Forest 30
Park Ridge 33
Peoria 103
Riverdale 12
Riverside 10
Rock Island 52
St. Charles 9
Salem 6
Savanna 5
Skokie 59
Villa Park 20
Westchester 18
Western Springs 11
Wilmette 28
Winnetka 13
Wood River 12
Woodstock 9
Zion 12

IOWA (15)
Ames 27
Cedar Falls 21
Cedar Rapids 92
Clarinda 5
Council Bluffs 54
Des Moines 209
Dubuque 57
Fairfield 8
Grinnell 7
Iowa City 33
Manchester 4
Maquoketa 6
Ottumwa 34

IOWA (Cont'd)
Sioux City 89
Spencer 9

KANSAS (24)
Abilene 7
Arkansas City 14
Atchison 13
Belleville 3
Chanute 11
Colby 4
Concordia 7
El Dorado 13
Emporia 18
Garden City 12
Hays 12
Holton 3
Hutchinson 38
Junction City 19
LaCrosse 2
Larned 5
Lawrence 33
Manhattan 23
Newton 15
Parsons 14
Pittsburg 19
Salina 43
Stockton 2
Wichita 255

KENTUCKY (7)
Ashland 31
Fort Thomas 15
Glasgow 10
Hopkinsville 19
Lexington 63
Louisville 391
Paducah 34

MAINE (25)
Auburn 24
Bangor 39
Bath 11
Belfast 6
Berwick 3
Brewer 9
Brunswick 16
Calais 4
Camden 4
Dexter 3
Ellsworth 4
Falmouth 5
Ft. Fairfield 6
Gardiner 7
Houlton 8
Lisbon 5
Madawaska 6
Norway 3
Old Orchard Beach 4
Old Town 9
Portland 73
Presque Isle 13
Rockland 9
Skowhegan 8
Winthrop 4

MARYLAND (6)
Cumberland 33
Frederick 22
Montgomery County 341
Rockville 26
Salisbury 16
Westminster 6

MASSACHUSETTS (22)
Andover 16
Arlington 50
Brookline 54
Cambridge 108
Danvers 22
Gloucester 26
Ipswich 9
Lawrence 71
Mansfield 8

MASSACHUSETTS (Cont'd)
Marlborough 19
Medford 65
Newton 92
Peabody 32
Provincetown 3
Revere 40
Shrewsbury 17
Wakefield 24
Wellesley 26
Westwood 10
Williamstown 7
Wilmington 12
Worcester 187

MICHIGAN (99)
Adrian 20
Albion 13
Allegan 5
Alma 9
Ann Arbor 67
Bay City 54
Benton Harbor 19
Berkley 23
Big Rapids 9
Birmingham 26
Bloomfield Hills 2
Brighton 2
Buchanan 5
Cadillac 10
Center Line 10
Clawson 15
Coldwater 9
Crystal Falls 2
Durand 3
East Detroit 46
East Grand Rapids 11
East Lansing 30
Escanaba 15
Essexville 5
Farmington 7
Ferndale 31
Flushing 4
Fremont 3
Garden City 38
Gladstone 5
Grand Haven 11
Grand Rapids 177
Grandville 8
Grosse Pte. Farms 12
Grosse Pte. Park 15
Grosse Pte. Woods 19
Harbor Springs 1
Harper Woods 20
Hazel Park 26
Hillsdale 8
Holland 25
Howell 5
Hudson 3
Huntington Woods 9
Inkster 39
Iron River 4
Ishpeming 9
Jackson 51
Kalamazoo 82
Lincoln Park 54
Livonia 67
Ludington 9
Manistee 8
Marine City 4
Marquette 20
Marshall 7
Marysville 4
Midland 28
Monroe 23
Mt. Clemens 21
Mt. Pleasant 15
Muskegon 46
Muskegon Hgts. 20
Negaunee 6
No. Muskegon 4
Northville 4
Norway 3

MICHIGAN (Cont'd)
Oak Park 37
Otsego 4
Oxford 2
Petoskey 6
Pleasant Ridge 4
Plymouth 9
Pontiac 82
Port Huron 36
Riverview 7
Rochester 5
Rockford 2
Rogers City 5
Roseville 50
Royal Oak 81
Saginaw 98
St. Clair Shores 17
St. Johns 6
St. Joseph 12
St. Louis 4
Scottville 1
Southfield 32
Sturgis 9
Three Rivers 7
Traverse City 18
Troy 19
Vassar 3
Walled Lake 4
Wayne 16
Whitehall 3
Wyandotte 44
Wyoming 46
Ypsilanti 21

MINNESOTA (21)
Albert Lea 17
Anoka 11
Bemidji 10
Bloomington 50
Coon Rapids 15
Crystal 24
Edina 29
Fridley 15
Golden Valley 15
Hopkins 11
Mankato 24
Montevideo 6
New Ulm 11
No. St. Paul 9
Red Wing 11
Richfield 43
Roseville 23
St. Cloud 34
St. Louis Park 43
Wayzata 3
White Bear Lake 13

MISSISSIPPI (2)
Grenada 8
Meridian 49

MISSOURI (26)
Berkeley 19
Cameron 4
Charleston 6
Clayton 15
Columbia 37
De Soto 6
Excelsior Sprgs. 6
Ferguson 22
Flat River 5
Gladstone 15
Joplin 39
Kansas City 476
Marceline 3
Marshall 10
Maryville 8
Mexico 13
Moberly 13
Neosho 7
Nevada 8
Olivette 8
St. Charles 21

M[illegible]URI (Cont'd)
Slater 3
Springfield 96
University City 51
Warrensburg 10
Webster Groves 29

MONTANA (2)
Bozeman 13
Helena 20

NEBRASKA (11)
Alliance 8
Chadron 5
Fremont 20
Gordon 2
Kearney 14
Lexington 6
McCook 8
Omaha 302
Scottsbluff 13
Sidney 8
Valentine 3

NEVADA (7)
Boulder City 4
Elko 6
Las Vegas 64
No. Las Vegas 18
Reno 51
Sparks 17
Washoe County 85

NEW HAMPSHIRE (8)
Claremont 14
Concord 29
Conway 4
Hampton 5
Keene 18
Lebanon 9
Manchester 88
Northumberland 3

NEW JERSEY (31)
Asbury Park 17
Belleville 35
Bloomfield 52
Cedar Grove 15
Clark 12
Clementon 4
Clifton 82
Edison 45
Elizabeth 108
Fair Lawn 36
Franklin tp. 20
Haddon tp. 17
Keansburg 7
Lakewood tp. 16
Livingston 23
Manville 11
Medford Lakes 3
Mt. Holly 13
Moorestown tp. 12
New Milford 19
Parsippany-Troy Hills 26
Paulsboro 8
Princeton 12
Ridgewood 23
Roselle 21
Scotch Plains tp. 18
Sparta tp. 7
Teaneck 42
Tenafly 14
Westfield 31
Woodbury 12

NEW MEXICO (12)
Alamogordo 22
Albuquerque 201
Clayton 3
Clovis 24
Farmington 24
Gallup 14
Hobbs 26

NEW MEXICO ([illegible]d)
Las Vegas 8
Raton 8
Roswell 40
Santa Fe 35
Tucumcari 8

NEW YORK (21)
Batavia 18
Binghamton 76
Bronxville 7
Geneva 17
Hastings-on-Hudson 9
Horseheads 7
Lake Success 3
Long Beach 26
Mamaroneck 18
Mount Kisco 7
Newburgh 31
New Rochelle 77
New York 7,782
Niagara Falls 102
Pleasantville 6
Poughkeepsie 38
Rye 14
Scarsdale 18
Schenectady 82
Watertown 33
Yonkers 191

NORTH CAROLINA (39)
Asheboro 9
Asheville 60
Brevard 5
Burlington 33
Canton 5
Charlotte 202
Dunn 8
Durham 78
Edenton 4
Fayetteville 47
Gastonia 37
Greensboro 120
Greenville 23
Hickory 19
High Point 62
Jacksonville 4
Kinston 25
Laurinburg 8
Louisburg 3
Lumberton 15
Marion 3
Monroe 11
Mooresville 7
Mount Holly 4
New Bern 16
Raleigh 94
Rocky Mount 32
Roxboro 5
Salisbury 21
Southern Pines 5
Statesville 20
Tarboro 8
Thomasville 15
Tryon 2
Valdese 3
Washington 10
Wilmington 44
Wilson 29
Winston-Salem 111

NORTH DAKOTA (3)
Bismarck 28
Grand Forks 34
Minot 31

OHIO (37)
Alliance 28
Amberley Village 3
Bedford 15
Chillicothe 25
Cincinnati 503
Cleveland Hgts. 62
Clyde 5

OHIO (Cont'd)
Dayton 262
Delaware 13
East Cleveland 38
Fairborn 19
Franklin 8
Gallipolis 9
Hamilton 72
Huron 5
Indian Hill 5
Kettering 54
Madeira 7
Mayfield Hgts. 13
Middletown 42
Napoleon 7
Oakwood 10
Oberlin 8
Painesville 16
Portsmouth 34
St. Marys 8
Shaker Hgts. 36
Toledo 318
Trotwood 5
Twinsburg 4
Vandalia 6
Washington Ct. House 12
Westerville 7
Wyoming 8
Xenia 20
Yellow Springs 4
Zanesville 39

OKLAHOMA (17)
Ada 14
Ardmore 20
Bartlesville 28
Bethany 12
El Reno 11
Enid 39
Guthrie 10
McAlester 17
Muskogee 38
Norman 33
Okmulgee 16
Ponca City 24
Sapulpa 14
Shawnee 24
Tulsa 262
Walters 3
Woodward 8

OREGON (26)
Albany 13
Astoria 11
Bend 12
Coos Bay 7
Coquille 5
Corvallis 21
Empire 4
Eugene 51
Forest Grove 6
Grants Pass 10
Hermiston 4
Hillsboro 8
Klamath Falls 17
Medford 24
Milton-Freewater 4
Milwaukie 9
North Bend 8
Nyssa 7
Oregon City 8
Pendleton 14
Roseburg 11
Salem 49
Springfield 20
Sweet Home 3
The Dalles 10
Tillamook 4

PENNSYLVANIA (43)
Bellefonte 6
Bethel 24
Boyertown 4

PENNSYLVANIA (Cont'd)
Bristol 12
Carlisle 17
Chambersburg 18
Downingtown 6
East Stroudsburg 8
Ephrata 8
Fox Chapel 3
Grove City 8
Hampton tp. 11
Hanover 16
Holidaysburg 6
Indiana 13
Lehighton 6
Lewistown 13
Lititz 6
Lower Makefield 9
Lower Merion tp. 59
Lower Southampton 13
Middletown bor. 11
Middletown tp. 27
Monroeville 22
Mt. Lebanon 35
Newton tp. 2
Northampton 9
Pottstown 26
Quakertown 6
Radnor tp. 22
Ridgway 6
Sewickley 6
Sharpsville 6
Shippensburg 6
Springdale 6
State College 22
Stowe tp. 12
Stroudsburg 6
Turtle Creek 11
Upper Merion 17
Warren 15
West Reading 5
Whitehall tp. 15

RHODE ISLAND (3)
Barrington 14
E. Providence 42
No. Kingstown 19

SOUTH CAROLINA (14)
Aiken 11
Beaufort 6
Camden 7
Cayce 9
Charleston Co. 216
Columbia 97
Florence 25
Greenville 66
Greenwood 17
Orangeburg 14
Rock Hill 29
Spartanburg 44
Sumter 23
Winnsboro 3

SOUTH DAKOTA (3)
Brookings 11
Madison 5
Yankton 9

TENNESSEE (8)
Alcoa 6
Athens 12
Columbia 18
Gatlinburg 2
Humboldt 8
Johnson City 30
Lebanon 11
Oak Ridge 27

TEXAS (79)
Abernathy 2
Abilene 90
Alice 21
Aransas Pass 7
Arlington 45

TEXAS (Cont'd)
Austin 187
Beeville 14
Bellaire 20
Big Spring 31
Borger 21
Brownsville 48
Brownwood 17
Bryan 28
Burkburnett 8
Carthage 5
Childress 6
Coleman 6
College Station 11
Corpus Christi 168
Corsicana 20
Dalhart 5
Denison 23
Donna 8
Eagle Pass 12
Edinburg 19
Ennis 9
Farmers Branch 13
Fort Worth 356
Friona 2
Gainesville 13
Georgetown 5
Gilmer 4
Gonzales 6
Grand Prairie 30
Greenville 19
Harlingen 41
Hereford 8
Irving 46
Kerrville 9
Kilgore 10
Killeen 23
Lake Jackson 10
La Marque 14
Lamesa 12
Livingston 3
Lubbock 129
Lufkin 18
Marshall 24
McAllen 33
Mesquite 28
Midland 63
Monahans 9
Nederland 12
Odessa 80
Orange 26
Pampa 25
Perryton 8
Plainview 19
Plano 4
Port Arthur 67
Port Lavaca 9
Richardson 17
Rosebud 2
San Angelo 59
San Antonio 588
San Marcos 13
Snyder 14
Sweetwater 14
Temple 30
Terrell 14
Tulia 4
Tyler 51
Uvalde 10
Victoria 33
Waco 98
Weatherford 10
Weslaco 16
West University Place 15
Yoakum 6

UTAH (8)
Bountiful 17
Clearfield 9
Layton 9
Ogden 70
Provo 36

UTAH (Cont'd)
Richfield 4
St. George 5
Tooele 9

VERMONT (13)
Barre 10
Brattleboro 12
Essex Junction 5
Hartford 6
Hartland 2
Manchester 2
Middlebury 4
Montpelier 9
Northfield 5
St. Albans 9
St. Johnsbury 7
So. Burlington 7
Windsor 3

VIRGINIA (40)
Abingdon 5
Alexandria 91
Altavista 3
Arlington County 163
Big Stone Gap 5
Bristol 17
Charlottesville 29
Colonial Hgts. 10
Covington 11
Danville 47
Emporia 6
Fairfax County 275
Falls Church 10
Franklin 7
Fredericksburg 14
Front Royal 8
Hampton 89
Henrico County 117
Lynchburg 55
Marion 8
Martinsville 19
Narrows 3
Newport News 114
Norfolk 306
Norton 5
Orange 3
Pearisburg 2
Petersburg 4
Pulaski 10
Radford 9
Richmond 220
Roanoke 97
South Boston 6
South Norfolk 22
Suffolk 13
Virginia Beach 8
Waynesboro 16
Williamsburg 7
Winchester 15
Woodstock 2

WASHINGTON (15)
Des Moines 2
Ellensburg 9
Kennewick 14
Moses Lake 11
Mountlake Terrace 9
Port Angeles 13
Puyallup 12
Richland 24
Richland AEC 23
Spokane 182
Sunnyside 6
Tacoma 148
Vancouver 32
Walla Walla 25
Yakima 43

WEST VIRGINIA (7)
Bluefield 19
Clarksburg 28
Huntington 84

WEST VIRGINIA (Cont'd)
Morgantown 22
Moundsville 15
Princeton 8
Wheeling 53

WISCONSIN (20)
Beloit 33
Brown Deer 11
Eau Claire 38
Elm Grove 5
Fond du Lac 33
Ft. Atkinson 8
Fox Point 7
Greendale 7
Lake Mills 3
Oshkosh 45
River Hills 1
Shorewood 16
So. Milwaukee 20
Sparta 6
Sturgeon Bay 7
Superior 34
Two Rivers 12
Wauwatosa 57
Whitefish Bay 18
Whitewater 6

WYOMING (3)
Casper 39
Laramie 18
Sheridan 12

BRITISH COLUMBIA (5)
Kitimat 8
New Westminster 35
No. Vancouver 34
Vancouver 344
West Vancouver 23

GUAM (1)
Agana 9

NEWFOUNDLAND (1)
Corner Brook 23

NOVA SCOTIA (1)
Halifax 94

ONTARIO (5)
Oakville 10
Orillia 12
St. Catharines 41
Waterloo 15
Windsor 118

QUEBEC (22)
Arvida 14
Baie Comeau 8
Cap-de-la-Madeleine 26
Dorval 17
Grand Mere 14
Hampstead 4
Isle Maligne 2
Lachine 39
La Tuque 13
Montreal-East 5
Mount Royal 20
Quebec 238
Pointe Claire 21
Rimouski 11
St. Foy 24
St. Lambert 15
Schefferville 5
Seven Islands 15
Trois Rivieres 57
Val d'Or 10
Verdun 85
Westmount 31

SASKATCHEWAN (1)
Uranium City 5

file
DCMA -

July 16, 1962

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Art:

Our letters seemed to have crossed in the mail.

This morning I also received a letter from Arnold a copy of which is enclosed.

Give me a call or write after you have had a chance to think over our sketch and we can decide when and how to get together.

I hope you and Ida are making progress in settling down in Washington.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC. WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 13, 1962

RECEIVED
JUL 16 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I just wanted to touch base with you about the MIS race relations report for the International City Managers' Association.

First, I should tell you that our Board approved the project and authorized an expenditure of up to $1,000 for our share. They felt that the project represented an impressive opportunity. Therefore, we are ready to proceed from this end.

I received a copy of your letter of June 25 to David S. Arnold of the International City Managers' Association. Have you had any reply from Mr. Arnold as to the joint involvement of the Potomac Institue with SRC?

On the assumption that Mr. Arnold wants us to undertake the report, it would seem that the next step is for us to draw up a tentative outline and some cost estimates. When would you like to get together to do this?

Hope all goes well with you and the family -- both your own and the SRC "family." Warmest regards.

Cordially yours,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:see

Mr. Wolf

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC. WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 26, 1962

RECEIVED JUL 30 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Please excuse the delay in replying to your letter of July 13 and your draft outline for the M.I.S. report. Several other jobs intervened.

Your suggested outline is great -- too good, frankly. The comprehensive scope could be covered, it seems to us, only in a book-length document; the 2000 or 3000 words in a MIS report could hardly begin to do it justice. I have tried to condense the content of your outline, the result of which is attached for our further consideration.

Perhaps we had better start with some basic premises. In re-reading the letters from Arnold, particularly the letter of May 23, we would think that the report should propose no innovations, but rather draw on existing samples of good city practices. While it is very tempting to suggest advances which are beyond anything now being done by any city, we would feel that if we could not support any proposal by existing administrative practices, perhaps it would be better to omit the proposal. This might not be as restricting as it sounds on paper -- the attached outline does not include, as far as I can see, anything that is not being done someplace in the country. We are trying to think of this from a city manager's point of view, wherein any proposal he might make to the city commission or municipal executive would need to be supported by precedent and operational experience elsewhere.

Secondly, in such a piece we feel that we ought to devote this report to examples of good practices that can be emulated, rather than discussing pros and cons or giving examples of bad practices. It is our thought that it will be difficult enough to include all of the good practices in the limited space, and there is always the danger that some of the bad practices may be remembered out of context. Thirdly, and again because of limited space, we would feel that we should be able to make statements of "fact" on good human relations practices, without involved discussion or justification, presuming upon our "expertese" in the field. This would apply particularly to the first part of the outline (A. Background), so that the major portion of the report (B. and C.) can be devoted to examples.

If all of the above is acceptable, then it would appear to us that we would need only a good writer, sensitive to and well versed in this subject matter. We feel that there already exists adequate source material for every point in the outline, and it would be the writer's responsibility to find this material (with our help), condense it, and then write it in an interesting, narrative manner. We don't see the need for any original research which would require the services of an expert in either municipal work or human relations. We would then have in mind somebody like Charles E. Silberman (who wrote "The City and the Negro" for the March 1962 Fortune), or Bill Peters. If you agree, we would be glad to discuss with one or the other his taking on the assignment, once we have established the outline.

As to cost estimate, under the above circumstances, we would feel that SRC and Potomac should share in the writing fee (estimated $1000 total), and Arnold's contribution to the project would be to furnish us each with 1000 copies of the report (or more if you feel you could use more). Therefore, in writing to Arnold about this, we would not mention any dollar figure, but rather indicate that our share would be provided by furnishing a completed manuscript and his share would be to furnish the required number of copies.

Let us have your reaction to all of this, and perhaps we can come to an agreement without the necessity of meeting, although we are certainly not adverse to meeting because it would give us the chance to see you again.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:see

Attachment

August 3, 1962

Mr. David S. Arnold
Publications Director
The International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Arnold:

We have had further discussions with the Potomac Institute and have agreed on the enclosed outline for the report. As you will see, it is a general, topical outline. We thought it better to do this at this time than to work out a detailed sketch. The content will be very much along the lines that I discussed with you on the telephone.

Our expectation is that we shall be able to furnish you a completed report some time during the fall. If you, after examining your schedules, would care to give us a more precise deadline or target date please let me know. Otherwise, we shall plan simply to deliver the report some time in the October to December period.

If agreeable with you, we and the Potomac Institute are prepared to absorb the cost of the job in return for the following: (1) your assistance in obtaining first-hand information from the cities as we may request, and as you indicated in your letter of May 23 you could do; (2) 2,000 copies of the finished report for distribution by us and Potomac.

If your agreements with your subscribers would not permit you to do the latter, we would want to discuss the costs further. I think I can assure you neither the Potomac Institute or we would distribute the copies in any ways which would draw publicity or attention to ourselves. We think this is a most important thing to do, we are, therefore determined to do the very best and most professional job we can, and we would like to see that the report, as finally edited by you, reach as many of the people who should see it as we can manage.

Please let me know if this is satisfactory or if there are other questions.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

cc: Mr. Arthur J. Levin

Reproduce - 2 end.

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK
INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

August 9, 1962

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am pleased that the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute are prepared to go ahead with the report. The cost and distribution arrangements are satisfactory. We, of course, will pay for printing the additional 2,000 copies, and they will be shipped to you or to the Potomac Institute directly from the printer as you indicate. We are prepared to handle promptly the letters you wish to have sent out to individual cities.

The outline looks very good. For clarification, I assume that C-1, "Licensing Powers" refers to the administration of various kinds of municipal ordinances where discrimination could be involved. Also I assume that C-4, "Education," refers primarily to the policing of school areas where integration or other problems are occurring.

The only other comment I would make with respect to content is that the report should emphasize administration as much as possible. The report will be used primarily by city managers, police chiefs, recreation directors, and other administrative officials. I have enclosed a roster of MIS cities to show the kinds of communities where the report will be distributed.

As to length, I hope that the report can be kept to 15,000 words or less. This limitation would not apply to ordinances and other materials that it might be desirable to include as appendices. In addition, a brief, annotated bibliography would be useful.

You should feel free to use any appropriate parts of our out-of-print report, "The Police and Minority Groups." A copy has been sent to you under separate cover. Also under separate cover I have sent you copies of "The Newcomer: Public Welfare's Challenge" and "Race Tensions and the Police." I would appreciate your returning these materials when the report is completed.

With this letter I have enclosed an ordinance adopted by Skokie, Illinois, last year. I believe that Skokie is one of the cities that ought to be covered for this report.

Let us set December 1 as the target date for the report.

Again I want you to know how pleased we are that the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute will be preparing this report. I know it will be extremely useful for cities in all parts of the United States. I shall look forward to hearing from you soon with respect to securing first-hand information from cities.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:gn

Encls.

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK
INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

file

August 14, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the just-published "Intergroup Relations for Police Officers" by Charlotte Epstein. I believe it is worth perusal and a listing in the bibliography.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:gn

August 29, 1962

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mr. Levin:

Enclosed is a partial bibliography taken from SRC's pamphlet file. Whatever you want, let us know. In the meantime, we are at work pulling pertinent clips which will be sent in a few days. Under separate cover four books which Les wanted you to have are in the mail.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Sent: Police and Minority Groups, Weckler & Hall
Intergroup Relations for Police Officers, Charlotte Epstein
The Newcomer - Public Welfare's Challenge, American Public Welfare Association
Race Tensions and the Police, Curry & King

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

August 28, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for your letter of the twenty-fourth and your proposal to meet several weeks from now, after Margaret has had time to get into the job, makes excellent sense.

In checking with Harold, we find that it would be most convenient for our schedule if you could stop off in Washington on Friday, September 28, on your way back from New York to Atlanta. Harold has to go up to New York the previous Monday, so that we would have more time together on Friday. We'll consider this a date, and meanwhile Margaret will begin to gather background material.

In this latter connection, would you send to us the reports which Arnold sent to you (his letter of August 9, 5th paragraph), plus any materials which you think would have a bearing on the subject from your file. It would also be extremely helpful if you could put somebody on your research staff to going through SRC's clipping file to extract and forward to us relevant materials (either the originals, which we will return, or copies). I am enclosing another copy of the outline we agreed upon for reference purposes in this regard. Your suggestion of a bibliography of materials in your library would also be very helpful to Margaret, since there is no doubt that SRC probably has the best reference library available to us for this purpose.

Under separate cover I am sending a copy of the Kheel report and the other report which you requested. These are "collector's items", scarcer than hens teeth, and therefore guard them like foundation grants.

We look forward to seeing you on September 28. Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

P.S. Would you please notify whoever keeps your addresses current that Potomac is no longer at the Shoreham Building and that our current address is 1501 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

AJL:see

Enclosure

A. Background

1. A brief introduction

(a) Statement of subject of report

(b) Definition of urban racial tension and its implication for municipal policy

1. nature of prejudice and cultural separateness

2. population movement of Negroes; central city

3. community tensions

B. Municipal Instrumentalities

1. Leadership responsibilities of municipal executive

2. Ordinances and Laws (examples of several prohibiting racial restrictions)

3. Human Rights Commissions, Fep's, etc. (examples: composition, powers, effectiveness, relationship to other city agencies)

4. Police (including equal justice) (selected incidents of good police work in racial tensions, selected training programs of police forces)

C. Administration of Municipal Programs

1. Licensing powers

2. Public Facilities - recreation, parks, hospitals, housing, etc.

3. Employment - municipal and city contractor

4. Education

5. Boards and Commissions

September 4, 1962

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mr. Levin:

Under separate cover I am mailing this afternoon relevant clips for the City Managers' report. These are just a beginning, but I thought best to start with what we had and send the balance within the next few days as the clips get extracted. This has the advantage of letting you ask us for fuller information as topics come to your attention, and perhaps will offer leads on which we can dig further.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C.

Sept. 5, 1962

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you for sending the four books to Art Levin last week. I have them now and will return them to you when the current project is finished.

The clips you promise should be helpful for we seem to be short here on specific steps cities in the North and West have taken to meet racial tensions. Anything along this line, including action taken by cities in the South, will be most welcome.

I've marked several items on the bibliography you send which we would like to have and I'm enclosing a separate list of these.

Thanks so much for all your help.

Sincerely,
Margaret Price
(Mrs.) Margaret Price

sent 9/7/62

"Police--Community Relations," Louis A. Radelet, reprinted from Social Order, May, 1960.

Annual Report, Baltimore Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1960

"Guide to Community Relations for Peace Officers," State of California Dept. of Justice, March, 1958.

"Police--Community Relations Institute," Kellogg Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, May, 1959

"The Metropolitan Areas as a Racial Problem," Morton Grodzins, Univ. of Pittsburg Press, 1960.

Final Report of the Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity of the City and County of San Francisco, 1960

"[illegible]lation of Discriminatory Employment Practices," Alex

Margaret Price

Dear Barbara:

Thanks for the latest batch of clippings, etc. I hope none dropped out enroute for the envelope arrived unglued, thanks no doubt to our postal service. In answer to your question: no, the 1961 Baltimore report hasn't turned up.

MP

Tell LWD

Marg. Price

Memo

more positive aspects of municipal-

actual city ordinances

Good police work

northern examples -

city ordinances -

yes

eliminate crime violence mob -

small Fla. cities

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

226 Luckie Street, N.W. • JAckson 5-8654

September 11, 1962

Mr. David S. Arnold
Publications Director
The International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Arnold:

Thank you for your letter of September 6. We are engaged in collecting from our own files all the information and materials that we can. We are well along through what is a pretty extensive set of materials. Our intention has been to call on you for securing information from individual cities after we have assembled our own data and are in a position to ask specific questions.

On the other hand, if you know of any especially noteworthy instances of good practices, either by ordnance or by executive action, we would be grateful if you went ahead with inquiries to the cities involved.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
CC: Art Levin

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK
INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

September 6, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I had hoped to hear from you by this time with respect to the report you are preparing with the Potomac Institute. We are ready at any time to write to individual cities to secure first-hand information. I shall look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:gn

pleasure
exec action

October 4, 1962

Dear Margaret:

I have finally gotten Leslie's ear to clarify what further you wanted from us, as a result of his talking with you in Washington. I wanted to get this note off quickly today so you could respond to a few things soonest. In the meantine, the enclosed clippings from Polkville and Woodstock are rather rare southern examples. The Law Journal reprint is a duplicate, but like our other materials we have sent, we do want it back when you are through. The AJC Joint Memorandum is a copy, similar to several similar ones on other areas we have received from them. Do you people get these? Or should I make copies and send? We only have one copy of, and want to keep, some LWD feels you would profit from: REPORT ON TWENTY STATE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION AGENCIES AND THE LAWS THEY ADMINISTER, Commission of Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress, 15 E. 84th St., NYC 28 (December, 1961) (mimeo).

The deeper I dig, the more ordinances, legislation, annual reports I come up with. LWD said something about my digesting the scope of these various ones. Frankly, Margaret, I'm inexperienced in noting always what is pertinent. And how selective of the cities to be. Should I rather send everything we have? ordinances? polished activities reports? I'm enclosing some samples. Maybe they can help you guide me.

The statements you want are clearer. I just have to dig more for them and will send in a day or so.

Let me know your thinking on this.

Thanks.

Sect MP 10/4/62

available annual reports of

Buffalo, NY, Board of Community Relations - 1956, also 1957, 1959

Elizabeth, NJ, Mayor's Commission on Human Relations - 1958

Kalamazoo, Mich., Community Relations Board - 1960

MARYLAND - Commission on Interracial Problems & Relations - 1955

Los Angeles County - Conference on Community Relations - 1952

Columbus, O., - Council for Democracy, 1944-45 (History of Organization plans, program and future)

Milwaukee, Wis., Commission on Human Rights - 1958, also 1959

ILLINOIS - Commission on Human Relations -- 1958, 1961

OHIO - Governor's Advisory Commission on Civil Rights - 1958

Seattle, Wash., Civic Unity Committee - 1958

Gary, Ind., Fair Employment Practice Commission - 1952

Philadelphia, Pa., Fair Employment Practice Commission - 1949

MISSOURI - Study of Human Rights in Missouri, Mo. Commission on Human Rights, 1950

Sent 10/23/62

excerpts from Police and Community Relations, Sept., 1962
(National Conference of Christians and Jews)

For the second year, seminars in Police and Community Relations are scheduled for October in St. Petersburg and Miami, Florida -- and there is a possibility of a third in West Palm Beach. Speakers will be Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins and former U.S. Senator Harry Cain, now executive vice-president of a Miami Bank.

In Virginia, one-day Institutes on Police and Community Relations have been conducted in Norfolk and in Richmond. Plans are being made for another in Roanoke next February.

Suggestions to improve the way the citizenry and the policeman deal with each other are contained in a folder developed in July by the Western District Police and Community Relations Committee in Baltimore. The folder is called, "Policemen and Citizens Working Together for a Better Community." This Committee, one of four functioning in each Police District in Baltimore, sponsored by NCCJ, has 79 members, including clergymen, businessmen, educators, policemen, social workers and housewives. Rev. Ward D. Yerby and Police Lieutenant Joseph Judd are co-chairmen. A sub-committee headed by Mrs. Eula Watts and Mrs. Margaret Armstrong prepared the folder.

September 13, 1962

Mrs. Margaret Price
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Margaret:

I am sorry the ICMA material is coming in such dribs and drabs but nowadays in research we are juggling a lot of balls at once.

There's a packet in the mail today, and I wanted to add a few notes on some of the typed Florida materials. Those civic committees largely came into being, as you may gather from the dates, in response to the sit-in activity, or in anticipation of it. Re Florida: Belle Glade had a committee about which we know nothing; Ocala had a committee appointed by the mayor which worked quietly and off the record. In North Carolina, also, add: Asheville; Gastonia (12 members - 6 Negro, 6 white) which saw lunch counter desegregation completed peaceably by January, 1961; Kingston; Chapel Hill; and Laurinberg. Since these lists are dated, perhaps someone in ICMA could give you a current contact in the cities involved.

The Baltimore 1961 Report which I asked you about, is enclosed.

Since we only clip southern papers, notations on northern or western examples which you requested will have to come largely from the national press (NY Times or periodicals) and I have not made inroads either here on on, generally, 1962 or late 1961 yet. Soon.

The various municipal newsletters are included so that you may at least know these committees exist. We have no press on them. We do have an inquiry out to Davenport, Iowa, requesting a new ordinance creating a committee there.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

GB

October 11, 1962

Mr. David S. Arnold
Publications Director
International City Managers Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Arnold:

We are deep into the research for the report on municipal practices on race relations, and we have accumulated quite a bit of information. We have also had several conferences with Dr. Dunbar, whose staff is also working on the accumulation of pertinent materials.

In the course of our fact finding, several questions have arisen on which we would very much appreciate your help in gathering the necessary information. These questions are as follows:

1. The City Council of Omaha, Nebraska, on January 8, 1962 adopted an ordinance to prevent discrimination in private and city employment. On January 30, 1962, the city attorney of Omaha ruled that the City Council is without legal authority to enact an FEP ordinance, since in Nebraska cities have no inherent police powers. Has there been any change -- for example, has the legislature met in the interim and passed enabling legislation giving Omaha the right to adopt an FEP law?

2. In November, 1955, the city commission of Fresno, California appointed a Committee to Study Racial Discrimination in Employment. The following November, the Committee made its report, including several recommendations. We have seen no follow-up. Could you find what has been done since in Fresno in the matter of minority-group employment, and whether the city has taken any other action affecting minorities?

3. On September 10, 1961, police reinforcements are reported to have prevented racial disorders when 100 Negro airmen from K.I.Sawyer AFB appeared in Negaunee, Michigan, after six of their number were reported to have been attacked by 30 white men. We would like to know more about just how the police handled the disorder, particularly since it would be interesting to learn how one of the smaller cities copes with such a problem. Also, has there been any action by the town on such matters as housing, etc., as it affects Negroes or other minorities?

4. Wichita is the first city in Kansas to staff its Human Relations Commission with a paid, full-time professional intergroup relations worker. Could you find out what the city has in the way of ordinances or any action taken affecting minorities?

5. Roselle, New Jersey, as reported in the New York Times, seems to be a city which has had unusually amicable race relations. Housing was considered something of a problem, however. Has anything been done to alleviate any housing problems? And, what action has the city taken which has made Roselle comparatively free of racial tensions?

6. You have mentioned that Skokie, Illinois, Savannah, Georgia, and Rock Hill, South Carolina, have each taken some affirmative action affecting minority group relations. We would be interested in any accounts of such actions, including copies of applicable ordinances and news stories.

7. Also, we would appreciate having any information you could obtain regarding ordinances or action affecting minority groups in Canadian cities (perhaps in Halifax and Windsor, where we understand there are an appreciable number of Negroes). We have a copy of the Fair Accommodations Practices Act passed by the province of Ontario.

As we go deeper into the subject, I am sure that we will have other questions on which we will need your help, and we will be communicating further with you as the need arises. We grealy appreciate your coopemation, and we look forward to a useful document which we plan to submit to you around the beginning of December. Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:hjh

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

Les:
This ought to keep him busy for awhile — if it doesn't make him more nervous.
Best regards
Art

October 19, 1962

Mrs. Margaret Price
The Potomac Institute
1501 Eighteenth Street, NW
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Margaret:

Thank you for your letter. It was a lot of help. I am enclosing copies of the ordinances, most of which are a little old, and a recent re: Atlanta clipping.

Just off the top of my head this morning a thought came back and I will pass it on to you. Mr. Oliver Holmes, who now works with Frances Pauley at the Georgia Council, is lately of Savannah, and some time past had told me of his very quiet appointment to the Bacon Park Commission there by Mayor Malcolm McClain. The story is thus: sometime last Spring (March or April, he recollects) Mayor McClain appointed him to the five-man commission - the other four are white - and his appointment was onlymmade public three months thereafter when someone, according to Oliver, asked, "Will it work to have a Negro on the Commission?" McClain is supposed to have replied, to the effect, "Well, it has been working." Since Holmes is now in Atlanta, his successor is a Negro, Dr. Bill Jameison. All of the parks, with the exception of swimming pools, are desegregated. Perhaps also worthy of noting for the future, McClain comes up for reelection in November and has promised more Negro appointments, specifically, Board of Education.

I discussed this with Paul Rilling, and he had some other sub-rosa stories to tell: 1) Oakridge, Tenn., Negro candidate for city councilman Washington Butler , who has been active in city commissions; 2) Mobile, Ala., Commissioner Joseph N. Langan, third party of a triumverate which in the past has behind the scenes been effective in establishing a civic tone with Negro policemen, street lights and pavements in Negro areas all very quietly, which may be of interest has to how these things get done in the South, i.e., not an ordinance on record; and 3) Louisville, which he feels you might get best results from writing to C.H.Parrish, or Mrs. Parrish, who is on various boards there.

Paul Rilling is writing Mr. Langan and Mr. Butler so any replies you address to them will not be too stunning.

I hope all this is useful, and you will continue to call on us. It seems as we get more down into bedrock, the personal approach to some of these southern situations has to be taken, because they just don't turn up in our clippings at all.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Washington Butler - Negro Councilman Mobile - policemen very
Hayes Chas. Oakridge rights & streets / finally
Wayne has established a time
3 commissions
Look a minority -

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C.

Oct. 10, 1962

Gen. Joseph N. LANGAN

Sphere behind the scenes

Dear Barbara:

I've been trying to give a little more time and thought to the municipal study so that when I answered your letter I could give you a clearer idea of what we are lacking, perhaps. However, things have been so hectic here the past 10 days I still haven't been able to do much digging, so I'm not sure I can clarify things much, but here goes:

write CH
Parrish
U. of Louisville

For one thing, I think we are pretty well fixed on state action, as general background to what cities can do. So, the primary interest now is in specific action by municipal agencies. I think that we have enough references to state legislation in the employment, housing, etc. field. ATLANTA -

So far as annual reports are concerned, I think we need only those (from city human relations commissions, etc.) for the past couple of years--anything earlier than 1960, unless accompanied by recent reports, is likely to be out of date (unless, of course, such an early report would give a clear picture of how a city met a specific problem--how police coped with violence in a particular instance, for example).

The joint memo from ADL you sent--digests of public accommodation ordinances passed in Baltimore and El Paso--is very much the sort of thing we can use. We have not been getting the memos but Art Levin is going to write for future issues. However, if you have anything on ordinances like the above which appeared in previous issues, or those of the past few months, at least, I'd appreciate it if you could send us a copy. (Incidentally, we have a complete file of Race Relations Law Reporter, so we don't need anything that has appeared there.)

What we seem to be particularly short on now are good examples of how individual city officials--and this would include mayors; or better yet, city managers; recreation or parks directors; police chiefs, or any city department head--dealt with given situations, or in short, handled them in such a way they could well be an example to another city official. I suspect this will be the hardest part of the report to come by, but if you find any shining examples--and probably such would pop up in magazine or newspaper clips--they would be most welcome.

after elections - bd. of educ.

Thanks for all your help. I'll be writing again.

swimming pools
no -

~~Hard to~~ Spring - 62

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Helen McClain

Helen's successor Dr. Bill Jamieson
Bacon Park Commission

almost 3 months

other members have

5

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

4B

October 24, 1962

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Levin:

The enclosures show that ten letters have gone out requesting specific information for the report. I have asked that this information be sent directly to you.

I suggest you write me on Friday, November 2, and give me the names of the cities that have failed to reply. I then will send a follow-up. If you need further information after a city has replied, I suggest that you correspond directly with that city yourself.

I am pleased to hear that the work is progressing so well. We stand ready to provide further help if needed.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:cp
Encls.

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

October 24, 1962

Mr. Peter F. C. Byars
City Manager
City Hall
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada

Dear Mr. Byars:

The International City Managers' Association is working jointly with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute in the preparation of a Management Information Service Report on "The Role of the City Government In Race Relations." This report will give particular attention to recreation, housing, employment practices, police services, and other municipal government services as they affect minority groups.

I believe that Halifax is one of the Canadian cities that has an appreciable number of Negroes. It would help therefore to have information on any specific actions taken, including ordinances adopted, that apply to protecting minority groups. The Potomac Institute has a copy of the Fair Accommodations Practices Act passed by the Province of Ontario. Has any similar action been taken by the Province of Nova Scotia? Has the city of Halifax adopted this kind of ordinance? Any information you can provide will be most helpful for managers in both the United States and in Canada.

I would appreciate your sending such information directly to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1301 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Explanations and comments will be particularly helpful.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

October 24, 1962

Mr. Russell E. McClure
City Manager
City Hall
Wichita, Kansas

Dear Russell:

ICMA is working with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute in the preparation of a report on "The Role of the City Government In Race Relations." This report will give particular attention to housing, recreation programs, employment practices, and other city government services as they affect minority groups.

According to our information, Wichita is the first city in Kansas to hire a full-time professional inter-group relations worker for its human relations commission. It would help us in the preparation of this report if you could provide information on how the commission has been set up, the extent of its current program, the kinds of work it will be undertaking within the next two or three years, and the community reaction thus far to the commission. In addition to factual information, it would be helpful to have your interpretative comments, copies of pertinent ordinances, and newspaper clippings.

I hope you will send this information promptly to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1301 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

As always, your help is appreciated.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Orin F. Nolting
Executive Director

OFN:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

October 24, 1962

Mr. Leonard J. Harris
City Manager
City Hall
Negaunee, Michigan

Dear Len:

ICMA is jointly engaged with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute in the preparation of a Management Information Service Report on "The Role of the City Government In Race Relations." The report will give attention to housing, recreation, employment practices, police work, and other municipal services as they affect minority groups.

According to our information, on September 10, 1961, policemen are reported to have prevented racial disorders when 100 Negro airmen from the Sawyer Air Force Base appeared in Negaunee, and six of the Negroes were reported to have been attacked by 30 white men. We would like to know more about just how the police handled this incident, particularly since it would be helpful to other cities to learn how a smaller city meets this kind of problem. Also, has the city of Negaunee taken action on other matters involving minority groups, such as housing, city recreation programs, and schools?

I would very much appreciate your sending this information, including copies of pertinent ordinances and newspaper clippings, directly to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1301 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. In addition to factual information, it would be especially helpful for Mr. Levin to have your interpretative comments.

I hope you can send this information promptly, and I am deeply grateful for the help you can provide.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Orin F. Nolting
Executive Director

OFN:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

October 24, 1962

Mr. Bernard L. Marsh
Village Manager
Village Hall
Skokie, Illinois

Dear Bernie:

ICMA is working with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute in the preparation of a Management Information Service Report on "The Role of the City Government In Race Relations." This report will give particular attention to housing, recreation, employment practices, and other city government services as they affect minority groups.

If I recall correctly, Skokie recently adopted a fair employment practices ordinance. I would like to have information on this and on any other actions taken by the village government to assure nondiscriminatory treatment for all community groups. The ability of communities in the North to absorb newcomers will undoubtedly be one of the keys to orderly future development. I am sure a good start has been made in Skokie, and it would help to have more information on it. Descriptions and interpretative comments willbe particularly helpful. Also it will help to have copies of applicable ordinances and newspaper stories.

Will you please send such information directly to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. As always, your help is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

October 24, 1962

Mr. Arthur A. Mendonsa
City Manager
City Hall
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mendonsa:

The International City Managers' Association is working with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute in the development of a joint Management Information Service Report on "The Role of the City Government In Race Relations." This report will give particular attention to recreation, housing, employment practices, police administration, and other municipal services as they affect minority groups.

I belive that the city of Savannah has shown considerable leadership in its program for training policemen in handling incidents that are potentially dangerous for neighborhood and even community stability. This letter therefore is a request for further information on your police training program--its origin, its content, and its results. Such information will be particularly helpful if interpretative comments are provided as a guide for officials of the cities. In addition, it will be helpful to have copies of pertinent ordinances and newspaper clippings.

I would appreciate your sending this information directly to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. I am sure the information you provide will help us to prepare a much better report. Many thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Orin F. Nölting
Executive Director

OFN:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

October 24, 1962

Mr. W. M. Kennedy
City Manager
City Hall
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

ICMA is working with the Southern Regional Countil and the Potomac Institute in the preparation of a Management Information Service Report on "The Role of the City Government In Race Relations." This report will give particular attention to recreation, housing, employment practices, and other municipal government services as they affect minority groups.

It is my understanding that the city of Rock Hill has developed an excellent training program for policemen in handling incidents in the community that are potentially dangerous for neighborhood stability and community development. This letter therefore is a request for further information on the training program--its origin, its content, and its results. It will be particularly helpful for managers in other cities to have your interpretative comments, copies of pertinent ordinances, and newspaper clippings describing the training program.

I would very much appreciate your sending this information promptly to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501-18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. I am sure your experience will benefit managers elsewhere. Many thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

October 24, 1962

Mr. E. Royden Colter
Vice President
International City Managers' Association
City Hall
Windsor, Ontario, Canada

Dear Mr. Colter:

We are working with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute in the preparation of a Management Information Service Report on "The Role of the City Government In Race Relations." This report will give particular attention to recreation, housing, employment practices, and other city government services as they affect minority groups.

It is my understanding that Windsor is one of the Canadian cities that has an appreciable number of Negroes. It may be therefore that the City of Windsor has passed one or more ordinances to protect minority groups. I hope you can provide information of this kind as well as information on any specific actions taken with respect to city programs. Your descriptions and commentary will be particularly helpful. For example, the Potomac Institute has a copy of the Fair Accommodations Practices Act passed by the Province of Ontario. Has a similar ordinance been adopted by the City of Windsor? If so, what day-to-day problems have been encountered in its enforcement? What has been the public reaction? Exploration of these and related subjects will be particularly helpful in the preparation of this report.

I would appreciate your sending such information directly to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

As always, my thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Orin F. Nolting
Executive Director

OFN:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

October 23, 1962

Mr. R. M. Klein
City Manager
City Hall
Fresno, California

Dear Bob:

The International City Managers' Association is engaged in a joint project with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute in the preparation of a report on "The Role of the City Government in Race Relations." The report will be distributed to cities subscribing to Management Information Service, and the Council and the Institute will be making their own distribution of the report. The report will give primary attention to the administration of housing programs, recreation, police work, and other city government services as they affect minority groups.

It is my understanding that the Fresno City Commission, in November, 1955, appointed a committee to study racial discrimination in employment. This committee made its report, including several recommendations, in November, 1956. What has been the follow-up on the committee report? We would like to know the actions that have been taken with respect to employment of minority groups. Also it would help to know if any other actions have been taken by the city in matters affecting minorities. This might include housing, recreation programs, and administration of police services. In addition to factual information, it would help to have your interpretative comments, any ordinances that have been adopted, and pertinent newspaper clippings.

Would you please send all of this information to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, the Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

A prompt reply will help us greatly in preparing a useful report for cities in all parts of the United States. As always, my thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:vr

P. S. It was good to talk with you in Philadelphia, and I shall look forward to receiving a copy of your speech on "The Role of the City Government in Industrial Developments."

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

October 23, 1962

Victor Andersen
Police Chief
Police Department
City Hall
Roselle, New Jersey

Dear Chief Andersen:

The International City Managers' Association is engaged in a joint project with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute in the preparation of a special report on "The Role of the City Government in Race Relations." This report will give attention to housing, recreation, police work, employment practices, and other municipal government services as they affect minority groups.

According to a report in the New York Times, Roselle seems to be a municipality which has had unusually amicable race relations. It would help us a great deal if you could give us a description of the actions that the municipal government of Roselle has taken to make the community comparatively free of racial tensions. I am sure the Police Department has had an important part in this record of achievement.

The New York Times report seemed to indicate that housing was something of a problem, however. Has anything been done to ease the housing problems? Any explanatory information you can provide, together with appropriate ordinances and newspaper clippings, will be extremely helpful.

Would you please send this information directly to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, the Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

I am sure that your experience will be of help to cities in all parts of the United States, and I am deeply grateful for any help you can provide. We shall of course send you a copy of the report upon completion.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:vr

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

October 23, 1962

Mr. Herbert M. Fitle
City Attorney
City Hall
Omaha, Nebraska

Dear Mr. Fitle:

The International City Managers' Association is engaged in a joint project with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute for the preparation of a special report on "The Role of the City Government in Race Relations." The report will give attention to housing, recreation, police enforcement, employment practices, and other city government services as they affect minority groups.

It is our understanding that you ruled on January 30, 1962, that the City of Omaha is without legal authority to adopt an ordinance for fair employment practices, since Nebraska cities have no inherent police powers. Have there been any legal developments since you made your ruling? Has the state legislature, for example, met in the interim and passed enabling legislation giving the City of Omaha the right to adopt a fair employment practice ordinance? Have any court decisions been handed down or have any law suits been filed?

Will you please send this information as soon as possible directly to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, the Potomac Institute, Incorporated, 1501 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. The information you provide will help us greatly in presenting an accurate review of municipal practices. Thank you very much for your help.

We shall of course send you a copy of the report upon completion.

Sincerely yours,

Orin F. Nolting
Executive Director

OFN:ar

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

5B

November 9, 1962

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Levin:

Copies of the follow-up letters are enclosed. Any response to these follow-up letters should reach you by November 20 or 21. If at that time you need further information, you should feel free to make phone calls to any cities that have not yet responded. If you do this, keep a record of the charges so we can reimburse the Potomac Institute. Also, feel free to call me collect at any time.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:cp

cc: Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

November 9, 1962

Victor Andersen
Police Chief
Police Department
City Hall
Roselle, New Jersey

Dear Chief Andersen:

This is a follow up to my letter of October 23 requesting information for the city of Roselle for a special report being prepared on "The Role of the City Government in Race Relations." This report is being prepared jointly with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute. If you have not already done so, I hope quite soon you can send the information requested directly to the Potomac Institute. A copy of my letter of October 23 is enclosed as a reminder.

First-hand information on experience in Roselle will help us immeasurably in preparing a report that will be useful for cities in all parts of the United States.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

November 9, 1962

Mr. R. M. Klein
City Manager
City Hall
Fresno, California

Dear Bob:

This is a follow up to my letter of October 23 requesting information for the city of Fresno for our Management Information Service report on "The Role of the City Government in Race Relations." This report is being prepared jointly with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute. If you have not already done so, I hope within the next few days you can send information requested directly to the Potomac Institute.

First-hand information on the city of Fresno will help us immeasurably in preparing a better report. A copy of my letter of October 23 is enclosed as a reminder.

Many thanks and best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Davis S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

November 9, 1962

Mr. Arthur A. Mendonsa
City Manager
City Hall
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mendonsa:

This is a follow up to my letter of October 24 requesting information for the city of Savannah for our Management Information Service report on "The Role of the City Government in Race Relations." This report is being prepared jointly with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute. If you have not already done so, I hope you can send this information directly to the Potomac Institute within the next few days.

First-hand information on experience in Savannah will help us immeasurably in preparing a better report. I have enclosed a copy of my letter of October 24 as a reminder.

Many thanks and best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Orin F. Nolting
Executive Director

OFN:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

November 9, 1962

Mr. Russell E. McClure
City Manager
City Hall
Wichita, Kansas

Dear Russell:

This is a follow up to my letter of October 24 requesting information for the city of Wichita for the report on "The Role of the City Government in Race Relations." This report is being prepared jointly with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute. If you have not already done so, I hope you can send this information directly to the Potomac Institute within the next few days. A copy of my letter of October 24 is enclosed as a reminder.

First-hand information on experience in Wichita will help us immeasurably in preparing a better report. Many thanks and best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Orin F. Nolting
Executive Director

OFN:cp

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

November 9, 1962

Mr. Peter F. C. Byars
City Manager
City Hall
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada

Dear Mr. Byars:

This is a follow up to my letter of October 24 relative to the Management Information Service report on "The Role of the City Government in Race Relations" that is being prepared jointly with the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute. If you have not already done so, I hope within the next few days you can send the information to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, The Potomac Institute, Inc., that was requested on the relationship of the city of Halifax to minority groups. A copy of my letter of October 24 is enclosed as a reminder. First-hand information from cities directly involved will help us in preparing a much better report.

Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:cp

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.

SPB

Date: 12/4/62

To: Les Dunbar

From: Art Flein

Subject: International City Managers' Association

Attached is a revised draft of the first section of our report on municipal practices, for your perusal hopefully before Blackford gets up here on Thursday.

Best regards

agf

MUNICIPAL PRACTICES FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

INTRODUCTION

In war and in peace, the American people have met many challenges with vigor and resourcefulness. One of the most persistent challenges in our history is that of civil rights, and this field has proven no exception to the imaginative use of public and private initiative. That we have made much progress is indisputable, as this report will show; that we have a long way to go in providing equal opportunity to all of our citizens is equally clear.

Much publicity has been garnered in the past decade by the racial problems and difficulties experienced in a ~~number of~~ relatively few communities, both North and South. But the steady progress being made by hundreds of communities across the country toward achieving equal opportunity for all citizens is a less well-known story. While it is true that city executives can learn from the mistakes made elsewhere, and there is no intention of concealing or minimizing the fact that mistakes often are made, it was felt that space limitations of this report could be used to best advantage for member communities by detailing the scope of progressive practices. No effort was made to include all cities with worthwhile programs. Instead, examples of types of advances in selected areas of concern are used to illustrate the thesis that no community need feel that it is entering uncharted waters or that it cannot draw upon the experience of other, like

communities on which to base a start toward the achievement of full equality for all its citizens.

BACKGROUND

Definition of Minority Group. An eminent social scientist once defined a minority "as a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. Minority status carries with it the exclusion from full participation in the life of the society".[1/]

Legal Authority ~~Executive Responsibility for Civil Rights~~. Minorities have grown increasingly more restive under the restrictive practices which circumscribe their ~~full~~ participation in American society. Legal challenges to existing community customs and laws have resulted in recent years in a growing series of court decisions striking down racial barriers. The historic school desegregation decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954-55 brought to a culmination the legal trend of a century of litigation, declaring that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal". It was the death knell of the "separate but equal" doctrine which had so long prevailed.

Although the new principle initially applied only to public education, it has since been applied to most facets of civil rights in succeeding court cases. And where, to begin with, these decisions applied only to direct state actions (and, by

1/ Louis Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups", in Ralph Linton (ed.), The Science of Man in the World Crisis, Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 347.

extension, to actions of local jurisdictions), recent rulings have enjoined private discrimination whenever "to some significant extent the state in any of its manifestations has been found to have become involved" in private acts of discrimination.[2/]

Today, there is little doubt of the legal responsibility and authority of executive officials to end discrimination through the use of public policy, law, and administrative machinery, attested to by a growing body of court decisions, acts of Congress, executive orders, administrative rulings, and state and local legislation.

THE PROBLEM

Civil rights problems do not arise in the abstract. Those who are denied their constitutional rights are very often also the victims of poverty and inadequate education. The quest for equal opportunity has created large mobile masses, moving from rural to urban centers, from region to region, and from city to city, in search of a better way of life. Like earlier immigrants before them, many of today's minorities have been crowded into urban slums, restricted to the poorest schools, and employed in the lowest paying occupations. In their adjustment to city life under such handicaps, they have required a disproportionate share of health, welfare, police, and other services, and have been more vulnerable to personal and social maladjustment.[3/] These deprivations have led to discrimination,

2/ Burton v. Wilmington Parking Authority, 365 U.S. 715, 722.
3/ Philip M. Hauser, "Urban Boom and Crisis in the Sixties", address before the International Municipal Assembly, May 12, 1960.

which in turn reinforces the deprivations.

Past Inequities. Many of the hardships of today's minorities - the Negro, the Puerto Rican, the Mexican-American, the American Indian - are the cumulative result of past denials of civil rights. This has produced a new deprivation - the lack of motivation and incentive. Often, newly opened opportunities are not used, even when they are evident. Frustration of ambition and lack of hope breed delinquency and crime, which further raise the cost of public services. These are essentially social problems, yet they are inextricably bound up with civil rights issues.

Present Discrimination. Unemployment hits Negroes more than twice as hard as others, underlining the fact that they are confined to the least skilled, poorest paid, most insecure occupations, highly susceptible to cyclical lay-offs. Much of the housing market remains closed to millions of Americans because of their race, religion, or ancestry, so that they are mainly confined to substandard housing in slums. In public education, eight years after the Supreme Court desegregation decision, only a little over seven per cent of the South's 4/ 3,200,000 Negro children attend biracial schools, mostly in token situations, and de facto inequalities in public educational systems exist in many cities elsewhere in the nation.

In a number of Southern states, voting restrictions are enforced by outright discrimination, physical violence, or economic reprisal. In the North, where citizens may vote freely, mal-

4/ Seventeen Southern and border states.

apportionment and gerrymandered districting seriously dilutes urban votes. Recent headlines about "sit-ins", "freedom rides" and other demonstrations indicate that ~~this~~ the problem of equal treatment in public accommodations is far from resolved. There are still places in the nation where the fear of racial violence is very real, and where police brutality remains a national shame.

INSERT pg 6

New Minority Image. Against this picture of widespread deprivation, a new minority image - especially of the Negro - has emerged to challenge discrimination and the denial of equal opportunity. Bolstered by legislation, court decisions, and recent changes in public policy, Negroes have more and more taken to direct, "non-violent", action to secure their rights immediately and in full. The prevailing majority, accustomed to the concept of "gradualism", has sometime reacted with a sense of shocked resistance to what it had been prepared to grant over a period of time. Frequently, it is not so much a question of rights as a community problem of timing - but for minority groups, time has run out and unfulfilled promises are being presented for payment now. Herein lies one of the main causes of community tensions.

Minority Mobility. In a continuation of the migration which began in World War II, approximately 1.5 million Negroes left the South between 1950 and 1960. "Although the largest cities have generally registered the largest numerical gains, the largest proportional gains have been experienced by medium-sized cities in the 100,000 - 500,000 range. Syracuse, Rochester, New Haven, San Diego and Fort Wayne all saw Negro populations approximately double in the past decade".[5]

5/ Eunice and George Grier, "The Impact of Race on Neighborhood in the Metropolitan Setting", Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1961.

In Toledo, Ohio, the white population increased one per cent from 1950-60, while the Negro population rose 63 per cent. In Milwaukee, Wisc., the Negro population tripled in the past ten years. The Cleveland, Ohio, Negro population increased by 100,000 (150,000 in 1950 to 250,000 in 1960), and Connecticut has double the number of Negroes (to 107,800) that the state had ten years ago. Today, one out of every eight citizens is Negro in Los Angeles, Buffalo and New Haven, Negroes make up one out of every four residents of Philadelphia and Detroit.

The Central City. The surrounding suburbs of most cities are almost exclusively white, ringing the central city of deteriorating, substandard, and slum dwellings. Unable to break out of the "white noose", ever more crowded into housing diminished by urban renewal and highway construction, with overcrowded schools and inadequate facilities of every type, Negro pressures and frustrations require disproportionate public services at mounting costs. This unhappy story is repeated in community after community where the problem is often ignored, and where the blame for tension and incipient violence is often placed upon the victims rather than upon the actual causes.

INSERT NEW MINORITY IMAGE → from pg 5

Leadership Responsibilities. The assumption of leadership responsibility by municipal executives and administrators is a prerequisite to solution of this modern "American dilemma". A realistic appraisal of community problems, planning for the provision of equal opportunity in all aspects of daily living for every citizen, and the large scale educational job that is required for public acceptance of such planning, must be undertaken by the city leadership before conditions reach the thres-

hold of violence. Wise city heads will institute a program of prevention that will insure the continued growth and prosperity of the community instead of the economically ruinous conflict that some cities have suffered before bowing to the inevitability of desegregation and integration.

TOWARD A SOLUTION

Each community must assess its own stage of civil rights development and its own requirements for achieving progress. However, there are principles common to all civil rights solutions, by which specific implementation should be guided. Following are some of the ~~preconditions~~ of successful social change:

1. A clear-cut policy, firmly enunciated and unequivocally applied. An ambiguous policy half-heartedly applied is a sure invitation to resistance and trouble.
2. Emphasis on inevitability. The South has demonstrated that people will rise above their prejudices and adjust to new racial patterns if they are convinced that change is unavoidable.
3. Reassurance that change will not be overwhelming or catastrophic. Many whites equate integration with inundation. The cooperation of the communication media in reporting needed facts and interpretations can be helpful in effecting ~~needed~~ change with minimum disruption.
4. Convincing precedents for change, drawn from the experience of other, like areas. Next to first-hand experience such precedents offer the best way ~~of~~ to

allay~~ing~~ unjustified fears, familiarizi~~ng~~e people with new ideas, and destroy~~ing~~ the myth that racial change always means trouble.

5. Communication between ~~the~~ majority and minority groups, allaying fear through the destruction of mutual, long-held stereotypes. Mutually agreed upon approaches to solutions worked out in concert, including the pressing problem of timing, will find much more ready acceptance on the part of all concerned.

6. Practical self-interest (most especially economic self-interest) enlisted on the side of change. This is critical, and should be brought into play at the earliest possible moment to establish that the entire community has a great deal to gain from progress toward equal treatment and opportunity.

7. Moral leadership. The churches have a special responsibility to clarify the moral issues involved in discrimination. But all community leaders can contribute to public acceptance of needed social change as a moral as well as practical imperative.

Resource Agencies. In the accomplishment of these overall objectives, city executives may wish to avail themselves of the services of the many intergroup relations agencies whose representatives ~~serve~~ reach virtually every community in the country. These specialists in human and intergroup relations are skilled and experienced not only in community tension problems, but also in affirmative actions which can help to eliminate discrimination

and provide equal opportunity to minority groups. If such resource agencies do not have local representation, the International City Managers' Association or the state university can recommend an agency representative.

Guides to Progress. Progress toward equal opportunity in this great nation is the sum total of the advances made in the thousands of local communities that comprise it. This report is an account of such progress through community examples in the areas of education, employment, housing, public facilities, police practices and through ordinances, policy pronouncements, ~~ordinances,~~ human relations commissions, and other administrative devices ~~steps.~~ These examples are meant to serve as guides to advancement in those communities which conscientiously seek to improve relations among all their citizens.

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

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December 31, 1962

Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Levin:

It was good to talk to you on the telephone. Again I apologize for the delay in getting in touch with you. While I could not avoid going to the hospital, that does not excuse our failure to acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 12. The following remarks represent the consensus of three of the staff who have reviewed the report in detail.

Page 7--In the first paragraph under "Toward a Solution" it would be helpful to add something along this line:

"Clearly defined city government policies and programs are an essential prerequisite for social change. They provide not only the climate for social change but also the legal tools for accomplishing the job. For many cities in this country, irrespective of geographic area, the question is not whether a change will occur but the kind and extent of change that will occur. Is this social change going to be a period of stress, conflict and recrimination? Or, is it going to be handled gracefully within the contect of constitutional law? The city government has a great deal to do in influencing this choice.

Page 7--In Point 1, I suggest adding something like this:

"A clear-cut policy, firmly enunciated, and unequivocally applied, should be adopted by the city council in the form of a resolution. The statement should make clear that the city government is committed to working toward equal opportunity in all areas that are deemed appropriate in any given city. Such areas may include, but would not necessarily be limited to, the following:

"The civil service or merit system ordinance governing the employment of the city's own employees will be followed with respect to nondiscrimination because of race, religion, political affiliation, or country of origin (most state and local civil service laws and ordinances, and all of the "model" ones, have provided for this for many years.)

"Eligibility for public housing will be determined solely on the basis of need as determined by the local housing agency (or other appropriate governmental authority).

"Urban renewal, especially involving slum clearance, will not be undertaken until relocation housing has been provided for all who are displaced because

of redevelopment. The spirit as well as the letter of federal law will be observed.

"The city government has a definite interest in federal and state laws and codes that bar discrimination in the sale and rental of private housing. The city government, through the appropriate administrative agency, will mediate any disputes.

"The police department and other appropriate city government agencies will enforce city ordinances barring discrimination in hotels, restaurants and other places of public accommodation, including both those under private and governmental ownership."

Page 9--I think a section on "The Organization Job" should be added just before the section on "Human Relations Commissions." This section should make clear the leadership responsibilities of the city manager, mayor or other municipal chief administrator. He is a catalyst. He is the person who carries more responsibility than any other individual. The section could be approached along these lines:

1. Identify the problem and define objectives.

2. Plan a tentative program for meeting these objectives.

3. Inventory local resource groups for program, including the city council, city employees, the ministerial association or local council of churches, the central labor council, the board of education, the school superintendent and staff, and the chamber of commerce.

4. Develop a more detailed program covering housing, employment, and other agreed-upon areas.

5. Identify and specify the responsibilities of each of the resource groups with respect to: program, financing, procedures, staffing, and reporting.

6. Provide a formalized review and evaluation so that the program can be modified as needed on the basis of experience.

Pages 8-9--It would be helpful to add a paragraph desgribing the types of human relations agencies.

Page 10--One of our staff members lives in Park Forest, and he is going to write-up a paragraph or two describing the arrival of the first Negro family there.

Page 15--Somewhere in the section on "Police," we should add a description of the work done in Little Rock. I think it could be taken right out of the Southern Regional Council publication, "Racial Violence and Law Enforcements" (pages 29-31). It would help for managers to know how it was done, the steps that were followed, and the contrast with the unfavorable experience in Chattanooga and Montgomery.

Page 26--I would like to conclude the police section by stressing the importance of training, where it can be ontained and how to go about it. City officials need to know how to plan, what to look for, departmental organization, the use of specially assigned units, and other procedures and practices.

Page 38--Under "Municipal Law" it would help to have a description of the various kinds of municipal ordinances outlawing discrimination in employment. I assume that these ordinances range all the way from exhortations to laws that provide means of enforcement and sanctions. How effective have such ordinances been?

Page 47--Under "Private Housing" I am not clear with respect to "Cities in over 20 per cent of the country now are governed by state laws which prohibit racial and religious discrimination in some parts of the private housing market." Does 20 per cent refer to population or area or what? What do these laws and ordinances typically provide for? I assume you are referring to "open occupancy ordinances." It would help to have a description of the content of some of these laws and ordinances.

Page 49--It would help to give some emphasis through a paragraph or two on the police problems in public housing areas. Also, somewhere in the section on "Public Housing," I believe we should give some attention to the problem of quotas. Some city managers may unwittingly encourage a policy of adopting a quota for the number of Negroes or other minority groups to be housed in a public housing project. What do you think? I assume you are familiar with Morton Grodzins' "The Metropolitan Areagas a Racial Problem" published in 1958 by the University of Pittsburgh Press. Grodzins makes a persuasive case for a quota system in all kinds of housing, public and private.

Page 51--Relocation is the problem in urban renewal. What can cities do about it? I know that easy answers are not available, but I do believe that t he problem should be given some attention.

Page 54--The Shaker Heights ordinance sounds most unusual. How is it enforced? Has it worked out well?

Finally, as I mentioned on the telephone, I still think we need a bibliography with items annotated and showing publisher, publisher's address, year of publication, title, number of pages, and price. We want to encourage city managers and other city officials to buy these various publications that are recommended by inclusion in the bibliography.

I shall be most appreciative if you can get these additions to the report in the mail no later than Tuesday, January 8. I think you have done a fine job on this report, and these additions will make a good report even better. Be sure to call me if you have any questions.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:gn

January 10, 1963

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Art:

Many thanks for sending us a copy of your letter this week to David Arnold. Les and I both read it through carefully, and we think you-all have done a very fine job of revising the piece along the lines suggested by Arnold. In fact, it seems to me you've given him everythink he could desire and possibly a great deal more than he deserves. I was particularly impressed by your recommended reading list which should certainly be enough to satisfy even the most curious city manager (whose curiosity, I suspect, is hardly boundless).

We trust this will wrap-up the report for good-and-all, but please let us know if we can do anything further to help. I can't imagine, however, any further help being required, and I look forward to reading the published version. Best regards to Harold and Margaret.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

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SB

January 8, 1963

Mr. David S. Arnold, Publications Director
The International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Arnold:

Following your most helpful suggestions in your letter of December 31, please make the below-listed changes in the manuscript on Municipal Practices For Equal Opportunity which was forwarded to you on December 12:

1. Page 6 - delete entire paragraph headed "Leadership Responsibilities", starting at the bottom of page 6 and continuing on page 7. (This paragraph has been incorporated in the following section.)

2. Page 7 - delete entire section sub-titled "Toward A Solution", starting in the middle of page 7 and continuing to the middle of page 9. Substitute in its place in the manuscript the attached revised section of the same title.

3. Page 18 - add the following sentence immediately after the first word on the top of the page (...programs.): "In addition to these regional programs, counterpart institutes of one to three days duration are held in at least 12 states, and more than 50 cities hold local programs in cooperation with the NCCJ.[6]

4. Page 18 - add the following footnote 6/ at the bottom of page 18: "For additional information on police training institutes, write: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th

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Street, New York 19, New York; School of Police Administration and Public Safety, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan; Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky; International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1319 Eighteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C."

5. Page 47 - under sub-section Private Housing, first paragraph, line 3, change to read: "However, cities in over 20 per cent of the states now are governed..." (substitute word "states" for "country".)

6. Page 48 - insert following paragraph between the first full paragraph on the page (ending: "... are enforced by administrative agencies.") and the next paragraph (starting: "The Virgin Islands has added..."):

"There is wide variation in the various fair housing laws. New York City, for example, bars discrimination in all housing for rent or sale except the rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied duplex. It has been estimated that the New York law covers over 95 per cent of the total housing market in the city. On the other hand, California and Oregon do not cover private housing as such but affect the market by prohibiting discriminatory actions by realtors. Connecticut's Public Accommodations Act prohibits discrimination in housing by anyone controlling three or more contiguous units. New Hampshire outlaws discrimination "in the matter of rental or occupancy of a dwelling in a building containing more than one dwelling"."

Now for some specific reactions to the other remarks in your letter, identified according to the page number references noted in your letter:

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Page 7 - both of your comments on the first and second pages of your letter have been incorporated in the attached revised section "Toward A Solution".

Page 9 - "The Organization Job" has partially been covered in the attached revised section as to objectives, but not as to "how to do it". As we discussed on the telephone, we believe it would be virtually meaningless to generalize for the multitude of city sizes, minority compositions, differing problems and goals, differing administrative structures, political complexities, etc., in any brief section on how a city administrator can go about achieving these objectives. Instead, there might be one or several follow-up reports written by selected city managers on the "how to do it" aspects of successful accomplishment, such as Oakland, California. These reports will be more meaningful and instructive because they will be specifically based on the experiences of those involved in city government. Such reports differ in subject matter and purpose from this report, and would require more space than could be alloted in only one section of this report to do justice to their importance. We have included specific references in the Resource Reading list to how some of these problems were handled for city managers who wish to delve more deeply, and we recommend that city managers consult resource agencies in tailor-making a program for a given city. Beyond that, we do not feel that city managers can benefit from any broad generalizations which could not be specifically applicable.

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Page 8-9 - we believe the types of human relations agencies are covered by examples on pages 9 through 14.

Page 10 - we think a paragraph on the first Negro family in Park Forest would be fine, and we would like to read it before inclusion, if time permits.

Page 15- we have included Virgil Blossom's book in Resource Reading for a detailed description of police work in Little Rock, as well as other references to police practices.

Page 26 - we have added a paragraph in the text on where information on police training can be obtained, as well as resource reading material on the entire subject of police training.

Page 38 - the second paragraph on page 38 explains the variety of municipal ordinances outlawing discrimination in employment, and examples of the different types are given on pages 38 through 43. We do not feel capable of assessing their effectiveness in practice.

Page 47 - we have changed the text to read "20 per cent of the states..." (rather than "country") to clarify this point, and we have added a paragraph further describing briefly the content of some of these housing laws and ordinances.

Page 49 - on page 25 of the text, San Francisco's example of police practices in public housing areas is described. The whole problem of quotas is discussed in an article listed in Resource Reading (Journal of Intergroup Relations, Benign Quotas Reexamined, Spring 1961.).

Page 51 - experiences with relocation are discussed in an article listed in Resource Reading (Journal of Intergroup Relations,

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What Do We Know About Our Experiences with Relocation?, Autumn 1961).

Page 54 - we do not know how the Shaker Heights ordinance has worked out in practice.

We have also attached to this letter an extensive Resource Reading list, with sources and prices where available. This is intended as an Appendix to the report. We do not call it a bibliography to avoid the inference that all of the listed publications have been drawn on for the report. Please add to the Resource Reading list the reference to your own publication "The Police and Minority Groups".

The above amendations and comments have been discussed with the Southern Regional Council and represent our joint thinking. We feel that your suggestions have helped to strengthen the report, and we greatly appreciate your constructive involvement. Warmest best wishes for a fruitful new year.

Sincerely,

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:hjh

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

enclosures: new section
resource reading list

COPY

TOWARD A SOLUTION

Leadership Responsibilities. For many cities across the country, the question is not whether there will be social change but rather the kind and extent of change that will occur. Will the time of transition be a period of stress, conflict and recrimination? Or, will it be handled expeditiously within the context of constitutional law? The city government has a great deal to do with influencing this choice.

Clearly defined city government policy declarations and ordinances are an essential prerequisite for social change. They provide not only the climate for such change but also the legal tools for accomplishing the job. Such directives should make clear that the city government is committed to working toward the goal of equal opportunities for all. In the unequivocal implementation of official regulations, the city manager, the mayor, or other

PAGE (s) MISSING

municipal chief administrator bears prime leadership responsibilities. He is the catalyst in the complex interactions in any given city that finally result in achievement.

The assumption of responsible leadership by the municipal administrator is the key to the solution of this modern "American dilemma". A realistic appraisal of community problems, planning for provisions of equal opportunity in all aspects of daily living for every citizen, and the large scale educational job that is required for public acceptance of such planning, all must be undertaken by the city leadership <u>before</u> conditions reach the threshhold of violence. Wise city heads will institute a program of prevention that will insure the continued growth and prosperity of the community instead of the economically ruinous conflict that some cities have suffered before bowing to the inevitability of desegregation and integration.

<u>Guidelines to Progress</u>. The following are some suggested objectives toward which the chief administrator can work to effect meaningful social change:

I. <u>Municipal Policy</u>. Through resolutions and ordinances, establishing an enforceable policy of nondiscrimination in:

1. public and private employment
2. public and private housing
3. public education
4. public accommodations and facilities

II. <u>Enforcement Authority</u>. Coordinating, conciliating and enforcing officials policies through:

1. a Fair Practices Commission which receives and investigates complaints, holds hearings, and enforces policies of nondiscrimination.

nondiscrimination.

2. regulations binding city departments to nondiscrimination.

3. a Civil Rights Coordinator in the executive branch. As executive responsibility is increasingly accepted within governmental departments, a special Coordinator in the executive branch charged with civil rights responsibilities can stimulate and coordinate functions. Such a Coordinator can command the authority of the executive branch in the task of keeping heads of departments alert to their obligations and in giving vitality and implementation to civil rights programs within city departments.

III. Implementation Programs. Providing administrative machinery to implement programs in the fields of:

A. Employment

1. affirmative nondiscrimination recruitment programs by the civil service or merit system, and comprehensive reporting on minority placement.

2. inspection and compliance programs in contracting departments of the city respecting fair employment on city contracts.

3. procedures for obtaining fair employment compliance from private employers, and for correcting violations.

B. Housing.

1. eligibility for public housing solely on the basis of need as determined by the local housing agency or other appropriate governmental authority.

2. provision of relocation housing for all who are displaced by redevelopment, and administrative controls to insure nondiscrimination in urban renewal programs especially involving slum clearance.

3. elimination of discrimination in the sale or rental of private housing.

C. Education (in cooperation with the Board of Education)

1. a clear policy declaration and an implementing program to overcome de facto segregation in public schools.

2. a specific program to overcome the cultural lag in learning receptivity among minority group children.

3. inclusion of human relations subject matter in the curriculum, and review of textbooks to eliminate minority group stereotypes.

D. Public Accommodations

1. regulations requiring nondiscrimination in public services and accommodations, including those both under private and governmental ownership.

2. enforcement by the police department and other appropriate city government agencies of regulations barring discrimination in hotels, restaurants, theaters, hospitals, and other places of public accommodation.

3. licensing controls on public services and accommodations requiring nondiscrimination.

E. Community Tensions

1. a Mayor's Committee on Human Relations or other such official body which can coordinate community efforts to promote affirmative programs of civil rights.

2. a police training program on community and minority group relations.

3. a human relations training program for recreation workers.

4. in cooperation with the Board of Education and

institutions of higher learning, a teacher training program on intergroup relations.

Preconditions for Successful Change. The organization job to achieve these objectives will depend principally on the type of community involved, the size and nature of the minority population, historic and existing regional and community intergroup relationships, the structure of city government, political alignments, and a host of other socio-economic complexities. Each community must assess its own stage of civil rights development and its own requirements for achieving social change. However, there are principles common to all civil rights solutions, by which specific implementation should be guided.

Following are some of the preconditions for successful social change:

1. A clear-cut policy, firmly enunciated and unequivocally applied. An ambigious policy half-heartedly applied is an open invitation to resistance and trouble.
2. Emphasis on inevitability. The South has demonstrated that people adjust to new racial patterns when they are convinced that change is unavoidable.
3. Reassurance that change will not be overwhelming or catastrophic. Many whites equate integration with inundation. The cooperation of the communication media in reporting needed facts and interpretations can be helpful in effecting change with minimum disruption.
4. Convinging precedents for change, drawn from the experience of other, like areas. Next to first-hand experience

such precedents offer the best way to allay unjustified fears, familiarize people with new ideas, and destroy the myth that racial change always means trouble.

5. Communication between the majority and minority groups, allaying fear through the destruction of long-held stereotypes. Mutually agreed upon approaches to solutions worked out in concert, including the pressing problem of timing, will find much more ready acceptance on the part of all concerned.

6. Practical self-interest (most especially economic self-interest) enlisted on the side of change. This is critical, and should be brought into play at the earliest possible moment to demonstrate that the entire community has a great deal to gain from progress toward equal treatment and opportunity.

7. Moral leadership. The churches have a special responsibility to clarify the moral issues involved in discrimination. But all community leaders can contribute to public acceptance of needed social change as a moral as well as practical imperative.

Resource Agencies. In the accomplishment of these overall objectives, city executives would do well to avail themselves of the services of the many human relations agencies whose representatives reach virtually every community in the country. These specialists are skilled and experienced not only in community tension problems, but also in affirmative actions which can help to eliminate discrimination and provide equal opportunity to minority groups. If such resource agencies do not have local representation, the International City Managers' Association or the state university can

recommend an agency representative.

Community Examples. The nation's progress toward equal opportunity is the sum total of the advances made in thousands of local communities. This report is an account of such progress through community examples in the fields of education, employment, housing, public facilities, police practices and through ordinances, policy pronouncements, human relations commissions, and other administrative devices. For those municipal administrators who wish to delve more deeply into specific problems and measures to overcome them, a resource reading list is appended to the report. These community examples are meant to serve as guides to advancement in those communities which conscientiously seek to achieve "...liberty and justice for all."

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RESOURCE READING

Books

Banfield, Edward C., and Grodzins, Morton, Government and Housing in Metropolitan Areas, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1958 ($6.50 -- 177 pp)

Blossom, Virgil T., It Has Happened Here, New York, Harper & Bros., 1959 ($2.95 -- 209 pp)

Carmichael, Omar and James, Weldon, The Louisville Story, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1957, ($1.00 Paperback; clothbound $3.50 -- 169 pp)

Clark, Dennis, The Ghetto Game, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1962 ($4.00 -- 245 pp)

Clift, Virgil A.; Anderson, Archibald W., and Hullfish, G. Gordon, editors, Negro Education in America, Its Adequacy, Problems, and Needs, New York, Harper & Bros., 1962 ($5.95 -- 315 pp)

Committee on Police Training, Division of Police, Louisville, Ky., Principles of Police Work with Minority Groups, 1950

Conant, James, B., Slums & Suburbs, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1961, ($3.95 -- 147 pp)

Curry, J.E. and King, Glen D., Race Tensions and the Police, Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 1962 ($5.50 -- 137 pp)

Dexter, Harriet Harmon, What's Right With Race Relations, New York, Harper & Bros., 1958 ($4.00 -- 248 pp)

Ginzberg, Eli, The Negro Potential, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1956 ($3.00 -- 144 pp)

Greenberg, Jack, Race Relations and American Law, New York, Columbia University Press, 1959 ($10 -- 480 pp)

Javits, Jacob K., Discrimination U.S.A., New York, Washington Square Press Inc., 1962 (60¢ revised paperback edition -- 289 pp)

Kephart, William M., Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1957

Konvitz, Milton R., A Century of Civil Rights, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1961 ($6.00 -- 293 pp)

Laurenti, Luigi, Property Values & Race, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1960 ($6.00 -- 256 pp)

Marrow, Alfred J., Changing Patterns of Prejudice, Philadelphia and New York, Chilton Co., 1962 ($6.95 -- 271 pp)

McEntire, Davis, Residence and Race, Berkeley and Los Angelws, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1960 ($6.00 -- 409 pp)

Morse, Arthur D., Schools of Tomorrow -- Today, Garden City, L.I. N.Y., Doubleday & Co., 1960 ($1.50, paperback, 191 pp)

Murray, Pauli, editor, States' Laws on Race and Color, Woman's Division of Christian Service, 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati 37, Ohio, 1950 ($4.00 -- 746 pp) (Supplement published 1955 at $2.00)

Riessman, Frank, The Culturally Deprived Child, New York, Harper & Bros., 1962 ($3.95 -- 140 pp)

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, five reports, 1961:
Voting
Education
Employment
Housing
Justice
also,
Civil Rights, U.S.A./ Public Schools North and West, 1962
Civil Rights U.S.A./ Public Schools Southern States 1962
(Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.)

Wey, Herbert and Corey, John, Action Patterns in School Desegregation, Bloomington, Ind. Phi Delta Kappa, Inc., 1959 ($1.50 paperback - 276 pp)

COPY

Pamphlets and Periodicals

American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y.:
The People Take the Lead, A Record of Progress in Civil Rights, 1954-1963

The Civil Rights Story, A Year's Review, Theodore Leskes

The Law of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, Edwin Newman (reprint from Oceania publications)

Observations on Desegregation in Baltimore: 3 Years Later, Harry Bard (reprint from Teachers College Record)

Racism in Suburbia, A Sonstructive Answer, Galal Kernahan (reprint from Christian Century)

Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York:
Civil Rights and Minorities, Paul Hartman (50¢)

Comparative Analysis of State FEP Laws, Paul Hartman (35¢)

Miracle of Social Adjustment: Desegregation in Washington, D.C. Schools, Carl F. Hansen (35¢)

Discrimination in Housing: A Handbook of Facts, George and Eunice Grier (50¢)

Addendum: A Five Year Report on Desegregation in the Washington , D.C. Schools, Carl F. Hansen (35¢)

Mansfield, Texas: School Desegregation, John Howard Griffin and Theodore Freedman (25¢)

Clinton, Tenn.: School Desegregation Crisis, Anna Holden, Bonita Valien, Preston Valien and Francis Manis (25¢)

Sturgis, Kentucky: School Desegregation Crisis, Roscoe Giffin (25¢)

Beaumont, Texas: College Desegregation Without Popular Support, Warren Breed (25¢)

Tallahassee, Florida: The Tallahassee Bus Propest, Charles U. Smith and Lewis M. Killian (25¢)

Dallas, Texas: Factors Affecting School Desegregation, William R. Carmack and Theodore Freedman (50¢)

With Justice For All: A Guide For Law Enforcement Officers, co-published by ADL and the International Association of Chiefs of Police (35¢)

The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks, Dr. Lloyd A. Marcus (50¢)

Journal of Intergroup Relations, published quarterly by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Inc., 2027 Mass. Ave. N.W. Washington, D.C. ($6.00 per year):

Cooperation Agreements in Housing Administration, Edward Rutledge and William R. Valentine (Summer 1960)

Can Intergroup Quotas Be Benign?, Dan W. Dodson (Autumn 1960)

Planning for Racially and Ethnically Balanced Communities in Public Housing, Madison S. Jones (Autumn 1960)

Urban Renewal Planning for Balanced Communities, Edward Rutledge and William R. Valentine (Winter 1960-61)

Misconceptions in the Movement for Civil Rights in Housing, George B. Nesbitt (Winter 1960-61)

Journal of Intergroup Relations (continued):

Urban Renewal and Intergroup Relations, Dennis Clark (Winter 1960-61)

The Threat and Potential of Urban Renewal: A Workable Program for Better Race Relations, L.K. Northwood (Spring 1961)

Role-Playing Training Program in Minority-Group Guidance Problems, Richard B. Anliot (Spring 1961)

Market Area Agreements - An Old Device Put to New Use, Edward Rutledge and William R. Valentine (Summer 1961)

Factors Hindering Integration in America's Urban Areas, Eunice S. Grier (Autumn 1961)

Local Strategy in Race Relations: The Illinois Experience with Community Human Relations Commissions and Councils, Richard Robbins (Autumn 1961)

What Do We Know About Our Experiences with Relocation? Harry W. Reynolds, Jr. (Autumn 1961)

Benign Quotas Reexamined, Peter Marcuse (Spring 1961)

Potentials for Equal Opportunity in Housing and Community Development, B.T. McGraw (Spring 1962)

Negro-White Relations in the Urban North: Two Areas of High Conflict Potential, Allen D. Grimshaw (Spring 1962)

Race, Religion and Suburbia, Milton Senn (Spring 1962)

Education and Multi-Problem Neighborhoods, S. Joseph Fauman and Mel Ravitz (Summer 1962)

National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York:

The Police and Community Conflict, William P. Brown

The Police Role in Community Relations, W.H. Parker

Police-Community Relations, Louis A. Radelet

TheHigh Cost of Discrimination, Elmo Roper

Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta 3, Georgia:

Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, George McMillan

The Unequal Badge, Elliott M. Rudwick

The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South - Houston

The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South - Chattanooga

The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South - Atlanta

Reports No. L-16 Racial Differences in Academic Achievement

Report L-36 Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations, Robert Baker (reprint from the Washington Post)

Report No. L-37 Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment (statement by the Council of Economic Advisers to the Joint Committee of Congress, September 1962)

The City and the Negro, Silberman, Charles E., (Fortune Magazine, March, 1962)

Class, Race and Urban Renewal, Weaver, Robert C., (Land Economics. August 1960, Vo. XXXVI, No. 3, published quarterly by the University of Wisconsin)

Guide to Community Relations for Peace Officers, Office of the California Attorney General

The Metropolitan Area As A Racial Problem, Grodzins, Morton, Pittsburgh, Penn., University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958 (50¢ - 28pp)

The Negro Migration, Grier, Eunice and George, The Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1726 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington 6, D.C, (reprint from The Housing Yearbook, 1960 and 1962 editions)

Race Relations Law Reporter, Vanderbilt University School of Law, (published quarterly by Southern Education Reporting Service, Nashville 5, Tenn.; $5.00 per year)

Southern School News (P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 12, Tenn.) published monthly, $2.00 per year

State and City Laws Affecting Discrimination in Housing, New York State Commission Against Discrimination, 270 Broadway, New York 7, N.Y.

Toward Equality, Baltimore's Progress Report, 1960, Baltimore Urban League, 2404 Penn. Ave., Baltimore 17, Md.

Trends in Housing, published bi-monthly by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 426 West 58th Street, New York 19, New York ($2.00 per year)

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

GB - pls brief me before time for him to call

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1963

January 11, 1963

Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1701 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Levin:

Thank you for your prompt and thorough review of the manuscript for the report on "Municipal Practices for Equal Opportunity." I think the changes have helped a great deal particularly the revised section on "Toward A Solution."

I have edited the entire manuscript and it will be sent to the printer today. A number of changes have been made in the interests of clarity and concision. In a few cases we have shifted paragraphs around to bring related material together. A few examples have been deleted. The only changes in content, however, are the addition of new sections on "Park Forest" and "The Organization Job." Carbon copies are enclosed.

Just to be on the safe side I am asking the typing service in Pittsford, New York, to send thermofax copies of the report to you and to Mr. Dunbar. I will telephone both of you for any corrections that are needed. It will be 10 days to two weeks before these thermofax copies are mailed from Pittsford.

Thanks again for your help. I will be in touch with you just as soon as we receive the thermofax copies.

Sincerely yours,

DSA:gn
Encls.

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

January 11, 1963

Miss June Hagenbuster
66 South Main Street
Fitzsford, New York

Dear Miss Hagenbuster:

Copy for MIS report No. 229, "Municipal Government: Agent of Equal Opportunity," for February, 1963, is enclosed. When the typing is completed, please pull three thermofax copies of the report. Send one thermofax copy together with the manuscript to me as usual.

Send one thermofax copy directly, via airmail, to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, the Potomac Institute, Inc., 1301 Eighteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Send one thermofax copy directly, via airmail, to Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

I shall count on your to place these in the mail no later than Friday, January 25.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold

DSA:gm
Enclosure

c.c. to: Miss Gia Gates
Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

January 11, 1963

Miss Ola M. Gates
Cushing-Malloy, Inc.,
1350 North Main Street
P.O.Box 1187
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Miss Gates:

The enclosed letter to Miss Hagenderfer is self-explanatory. I shall count on you to get both the January and February Reports out no later than February 14.

Please run 2,800 copies of MIS Report No. 228 for January, 1963.

Please run 4,800 copies of MIS Report No. 229 for February, 1963. Send 2,800 copies to us in the usual manner. Ship 1,000 copies directly to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Ship the remaining 1,000 copies directly to Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

ICMA is to pay all costs, including printing 4,800 copies and the shipping charges for the reports to Washington and Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:gn

c.c.to:
Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

The Organization Job

The preceding section outlines the policy framework for the city government in fulfilling its role as an agent in providing equal opportunity for all citizens. Beyond this, however, a start must be made ~~on the part~~ by of the chief administrator in clarifying problems and setting forth immediate and long-term objectives. In doing this it helps to envision six steps that should ~~have to~~ be taken.

Identify the Problem

The first step is to identify the problem areas ~~and~~ define objectives. The problems may be cultural rather than ~~ethnic~~ ethnic—that is to say, a major ~~problem~~ may be the difficulty that ~~the young people~~ children of urban newcomers have in developing suitable language skills for doing adequate work in the public schools. Remedial reading may be of more importance in the long run than ~~for~~ fair employment practices.

~~Problem areas should be identified on the basis of prevailing conditions. Then priorities can be set and objectives defined.~~

Plan a Tentative Program

The next step is to develop a tentative ~~program~~ priorities for meeting ~~the~~ objectives. This program may include, but is not necessarily limited to, establishment of a human relations commission, development of in-service training for the police department in race relations, studies of environmental health programs for ~~with~~ ethnic groups, remedial reading programs for the children of in-migrants, and preparation and review of appropriate city ordinances.

Inventory Local Resources

The next step is to inventory the groups within the community that can help in various aspects of a well-rounded program. Such resource groups include the city government itself, both the city council and ~~the~~ city employees; the local ministerial association or council of churches; the central labor council; the local board of education and the school superintendent and staff; the downtown

insert on preceding page

no 91 Depending upon his position in the community, the chief administrator should determine the extent to which he can assume leadership and the degree to which he should work through other leaders in the community. Successful programs depend upon effective leadership and a systematic job of organizing community resources.

businessmen's association; the health and welfare council; and service clubs. It is likely that some of these groups already have demonstrated an interest in some aspects of human relations, and they may even have developed certain programs. These resources provide the foundation on which the city government can develop an over-all approach.

Develop a Detailed Program

When the inventory has been completed, the chief administrator knows about the work that already is being done by private organizations and other governments in housing, employment, and other areas. He then can think in terms of the work that must be undertaken by the city government to meet deficiencies.

It is up to the appropriate authorities, usually the mayor or the city council, to call together representatives of these resource groups for discussion on the work to be undertaken in agreed-upon areas.

Assign Responsibilities

The next step is to assign responsibilities for each of the resource groups, including of course the city government, with respect to program, financing, procedures, staffing, and reporting. Obviously this involves a cooperative approach. Compulsion is neither feasible nor desirable. The more that agreement can be reached, the more specific that the responsibilities that can be undertaken and the better the over-all program will be.

Review and Evaluation

Finally, the program should be placed into effect and then modified as needed on the basis of experience. Review and evaluation should be built in to meet changing needs and to learn from past mistakes. It should be emphasized that the role of the city government throughout this process is that of gathering information, meeting with representatives of appropriate organizations, encouraging cooperative action, recommending community goals, and providing, in a non-authoritarian sense, community leadership.

Park Forest.

retyped

The trustees (city councilmen) of Park Forest, Illinois, appointed a human relations commission ~~a group of citizens~~ to study what could be done to provide a smooth transition if a negro family moved to the village. The commission ~~committee~~ enlisted the support of leaders of the community, including the clergy. The group took no overt action until the first negro family moved to the city in 1959. The commission ~~committee~~ and trustees then went into action. All residents in the neighborhood affected were visited by a trustee and their clergyman. It was made clear that the village leaders welcomed the new family. Police surveillance of the area was increased for the first week. This same procedure was used in 1963 (but with less fanfare) when a second negro family moved in. (The first family in the meantime had moved to New York City.)

It would be less than honest to say everybody was happy about the "move-in," but everybody respected the law. Three factors seem to have been important to this peaceful transition. First, Park Forest is a suburban community with a large percentage of well educated people. Second, the leadership let it be known that the negro family's rights would be respected. Third, the situation was handled with as little publicity as possible. ~~no one made a "federal case" out of the situation~~

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

SBV

Rec'd 4/12/63

January 15, 1963

AIR MAIL

Mr. David S. Arnold, Publications Director
International City Managers Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Arnold:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 11. We are glad that you feel the report has been further strengthened, and we appreciate the arrangements you have made to have 1,000 copies of the February issue shipped to SRC and to us, respectively.

The substantive information on Park Forest will make an interesting addition to the section on human relations commissions.

We have discussed with SRC the suggested added section titled "The Organization Job" and we both agree that its maximum effectiveness will be achieved by carrying it as an introductory foreword at the beginning of the report, over your signature. Neither we nor SRC have any recognized claim to special competence in city administration and we believe city managers will tend to give these helpful hints greater currency if the source is a respected official such as yourself. Since it would be less than honest to attribute these suggestions to our agencies, we know you will accept this arrangement in the interests of the strongest possible report.

We shall look forward to reading the edited thermofax copy as soon as it is available, and we appreciate this productive association. Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:hjh

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar ✓ Enough is too much! ajl

COPY

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

SB
SB - for your file
[illegible]

January 17, 1963

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Levin:

We have no objection to having the section titled "The Organization Job" attributed solely to the International City Managers' Association. Because of mechanical problems, however, it would be extremely difficult to pull the section out and place it at the front of the report. I hope, therefore, that you will not object if we clarify this with a footnote to the section on "The Organization Job" to explain our responsibility for the section.

We do feel that city officials need help in making a start in the difficult area of community relations. We feel that these steps should be taken by a city official in tackling any problem of comparable complexity. We, of course, will check out this and other points when the Thermo-fax copies are received from the typing service.

My best regards.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:gn

c.c.to: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

Recieved:
1/28/63
H

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C.

Jan. 24, 1963

Dear Barbara:

Filing the last of the material used for the municipal report, I came across the enclosed, which must belong to SRC. So far as I know, this, along with the material returned a month or so ago, is all we had from SRC. But, if some stray piece turns up I'll return it promptly.

Once again, and somewhat belatedly, I want to thank you for your help. I know how time consuming it is to wade through file folders and then have to re-file it all again later.

The report is now out of our hands, I hope, and will be coming out the middle of next month.

Please tell Staige we send along our thanks to him, too, for his help.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Margaret Price

SB

January 28, 1963

Mr. Orin F. Nolting
Executive Director
The International City Managers'
Association 13
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Nolting:

Thank you for your good letter of January 25. It has been a most interesting, and for us, instructive experience to help with the report, and we have greatly appreciated the assistance of Mr. Arnold. I hope the report will serve a very useful purpose.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK
INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

SB

RECEIVED
JAN 28 1963

January 25, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I want you to know how pleased we are with the good work that has been done by Arthur J. Levin in the preparation of the Management Information Service Report on "The City Government and Minority Groups." I am sure the report will be perused with interest by city officials in all parts of the United States. I am sure in the long run the report will be influential in many city government programs.

Your reports will be shipped to you directly from the printer in Ann Arbor, Michigan, no later than February 15.

Sincerely yours,

Orin F. Nolting

Orin F. Nolting
Executive Director

OFN:da

Memo from **BERNICE C. COOK**

2/28/63

To - M. A.

Re: Distribution of Report #229
THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND MINORITY GROUPS

TO SOUTHERN POLICE CHIEFS

Mailed - 2/28/63

B. C. C.

Also sent:
25 copies each State Council
SRC Board
some individuals (LWD)

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

Only 1,000 copies

1. Chambers of Commerce
2. School Supts.
3. Inter agency
4. Bd. of Directors SRC
6. State groups Directors
9. Mass Media?
10. Gov. Housing agencies
17. Civil Rights Commission & ~~Committees~~

Police chiefs

Real Estate Associations?

Mayors? or City Mgrs.

add ASC mg. directors

cm

Morgan Bill
Simon, Ben Rev Orleans

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
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HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-5764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 22, 1963

To: MA cc: Staige Blackford From: LWDunbar

Subject: Distribution of ICMA Report

Will you and Staige please plan or carry out a distribution of the ICMA report and the CCR's report on Mississippi?

The ICMA report should go to the Board (I believe this has been done), State Council directors (I believe this also has been done). I am sending it to a few individuals. The only suggestion I have to offer you is that we send it to police chiefs around the South and that it go to ADL and AJCommittee regional directors. Any distribution plans we make should be checked in advance with Art Levin to avoid duplication. I would hope also that we could save for our own stock a couple hundred copies which I would suggest be given out over the next months only to individuals with a serious interest. We cannot get more copies.

The Civil Rights Commission asked me informally if we could not put the report on Mississippi before some good people. Suggestions you might think about are newspaper editors, preachers, liberal lawyers over the South.

[illegible] mailing list [illegible] press ; [illegible] go [illegible] check & select

Press list ; Lawyers Ministers (go thru card file & select) Bar Assn list & report

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.

Date: March 1, 1963

To: Stange Blackford

From: Art Levin

Subject: Member Cities of the ICMA

Here is a copy of the roster we have, dated Sept. 1961.

It's probably still reasonably accurate

Best regards

ajl

MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE

ROSTER OF SUBSCRIBING CITIES

1,130 Cities

September 1, 1961

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60TH STREET • CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

Figure after name of city is latest official population in thousands.

ALABAMA (1)
Dothan 31

ALASKA (5)
Anchorage 44
Fairbanks 13
Ketchikan 6
Kodiak 3
Seward 3

ARIZONA (11)
Chandler 10
Eloy 5
Glendale 16
Mesa 34
Phoenix 439
Prescott 13
Scottsdale 10
Tempe 25
Tucson 213
Wickenburg 2
Willcox 2

ARKANSAS (3)
Camden 16
Hope 8
Little Rock 108

CALIFORNIA (173)
Alameda 61
Alhambra 55
Anaheim 104
Antioch 17
Arcadia 41
Atwater 7
Auburn 6
Azusa 20
Bakersfield 57
Baldwin Park 34
Barstow 12
Berkeley 111
Beverly Hills 31
Brawley 13
Brea 8
Buena Park 46
Burbank 90
Burlingame 24
Campbell 12
Chico 15
Chula Vista 42
Claremont 13
Colton 19
Colusa 4
Compton 72
Concord 36
Corona 13
Coronado 18
Covina 20
Culver City 32
Cypress 2
Daly City 45
Davis 9
Delano 12
Downey 83
El Cajon 38

CALIFORNIA (Cont'd)
El Centro 17
El Cerrito 25
El Segundo 14
Estero Mun. Impvt. Dist.
Eureka 28
Fairfield 15
Fremont 44
Fresno 134
Fullerton 56
Gardena 36
Garden Grove 84
Gilroy 7
Glendale 119
Glendora 21
Hanford 10
Hayward 73
Hemet 5
Hermosa Beach 16
Hollister 6
Indio 10
Inglewood 63
Laguna Beach 9
La Habra 25
Lakewood 67
La Mesa 30
Larkspur 6
Laverne 7
Lawndale 22
Lindsay 5
Livermore 16
Lodi 22
Lompoc 14
Long Beach 344
Los Altos 20
Los Angeles 2,479
Los Angeles County 6,039
Los Banos 5
Los Gatos 9
Madera 14
Manhattan Beach 34
Martinez 10
Merced 20
Millbrae 16
Mill Valley 10
Milpitas 7
Modesto 37
Monrovia 27
Montclair 14
Montebello 32
Monterey 23
Monterey Park 38
Mountain View 31
Napa 22
National City 33
Newark 10
Newport Beach 27
No. Sacramento 13
Norwalk 89
Novato 18
Oakland 368
Oceanside 25
Ojai 6

CALIFORNIA (Cont'd)
Ontario 47
Orange 26
Oroville 6
Oxnard 40
Pacific Grove 12
Palm Springs 13
Palo Alto 52
Pasadena 116
Paso Robles 7
Petaluma 14
Pittsburg 19
Placentia 6
Pleasanton 4
Pomona 67
Porterville 8
Red Bluff 7
Redding 13
Redlands 27
Redondo Beach 47
Redwood City 46
Richmond 72
Riverbank 3
Riverside 84
Rosemead 15
Roseville 13
Sacramento County 503
St. Helena 3
Salinas 29
San Bernardino 92
San Bruno 29
San Clemente 9
San Diego 573
San Diego County 1,033
San Fernando 16
San Francisco 743
Sanger 8
San Jose 204
San Leandro 66
San Luis Obispo 20
San Marino 14
San Mateo 70
San Mateo County 444
San Pablo 20
San Rafael 20
Santa Ana 100
Santa Clara 59
Santa Cruz 26
Santa Fe Springs 16
Santa Maria 20
Santa Monica 83
Santa Paula 13
Santa Rosa 31
Sausalito 5
Seal Beach 7
Sebastopol 3
Sierra Madre 10
So. Pasadena 20
So. San Francisco 39
Stanton 13
Stockton 86
Sunnyvale 53
Temple City 32

CALIFORNIA (Cont'd)
Torrance 101
Tracy 11
Tulare 14
Ukiah 10
Upland 16
Vacaville 11
Vallejo 61
Visalia 16
Walnut Creek 10
Watsonville 13
West Covina 51
Whittier 34
Yuba City 12

COLORADO (17)
Alamosa 6
Arvada 19
Aurora 49
Boulder 38
Colorado Springs 70
Delta 4
Durango 11
Englewood 33
Fort Collins 25
Golden 7
Grand Junction 19
La Junta 8
Monte Vista 3
Montrose 5
Pueblo 91
Sterling 11
Westminster 14

CONNECTICUT (16)
Bloomfield 14
Fairfield 46
Farmington 11
Glastonbury 15
Greenwich 54
Groton 30
Hartford 162
New Canaan 13
New Haven 152
Newington 18
Norwich 39
Wallingford 30
West Hartford 62
Wethersfield 21
Willimantic 14
Windsor 19

DELAWARE (1)
Smyrna 3

FLORIDA (74)
Atlantic Beach 3
Auburndale 6
Bal Harbour 1
Bartow 13
Belle Glade 11
Boca Raton 7
Clearwater 38
Cocoa 12
Cocoa Beach 3

FLORIDA (Cont'd)
Coral Gables 35
Dade City 5
Dade County 935
Daytona Beach 37
Deerfield Beach 10
Delray Beach 12
Dunedin 8
Eustis 6
Fernandina Beach 7
Ft. Lauderdale 84
Ft. Meade 4
Ft. Pierce 25
Ft. Walton Beach 12
Gainesville 30
Gulfport 10
Haines City 9
Hallandale 10
Hollywood 35
Homestead 9
Jacksonville Beach 12
Jupiter Island 1
Kissimmee 7
Lake Alfred 2
Lakeland 41
Lake Wales 8
Lake Worth 21
Leesburg 11
Lynn Haven 3
Madeira Beach 4
Madison 3
Melbourne 12
Miami 292
Miami Beach 63
Miami Shores 9
Miami Springs 11
Naples 5
New Smyrna Beach 9
No. Miami 29
No. Palm Beach 3
Ocala 14
Ocean Ridge 1
Opa-Locka 10
Palm Beach 6
Panama City 33
Pensacola 57
Plant City 16
Pompano Beach 16
Punta Gorda 3
Quincy 9
Royal Palm Beach 1
St. Augustine 15
St. Petersburg 181
St. Petersburg Beach 6
Sanford 19
Santa Rosa Island Authority 5
Sarasota 34
So. Miami 10
Surfside 3
Temple Terrace 4
Titusville 6
Vero Beach 9
West Miami 5
West Palm Beach 56
Winter Haven 16
Winter Park 17

GEORGIA (21)
Albany 56
Brunswick 22
Carrollton 11
Cedartown 9
College Park 23
Columbus 117
Cordele 11
Decatur 22
Douglas 9
Eastman 5
Elberton 7
Forest Park 14
X Gainesville 17
Griffin 22

GEORGIA (Cont'd)
Jesup 7
Manchester 4
Newnan 12
Rome 32
Savannah 149
Thomasville 18
Valdosta 31

HAWAII (1)
Honolulu 294

IDAHO (2)
Pocatello 29
Twin Falls 20

ILLINOIS (52)
Alton 43
Arlington Hgts. 28
Bloomington 36
Brookfield 20
Centralia 14
Champaign 50
Crystal Lake 8
Decatur 78
Deerfield 12
Downers Grove 21
Elgin 49
Flossmoor 37
Elmwood Park 24
Evanston 79
Galena 4
Galesburg 37
Glencoe 10
Glenview 18
Greenville 5
Highland Park 26
Hinsdale 13
La Grange 15
La Grange Park 14
Lake Forest 11
Lansing 18
Lombard 23
Mascoutah 4
Mt. Prospect 19
Northbrook 12
Northfield 4
Oak Lawn 27
Oak Park 61
Ottawa 19
Palatine 12
X Park Forest 30
Park Ridge 33
X Peoria 103
Riverdale 12
Riverside 10
Rock Island 52
St. Charles 9
Salem 6
Savanna 5
Skokie 59
Villa Park 20
Westchester 18
Western Springs 11
Wilmette 28
Winnetka 13
Wood River 12
Woodstock 9
Zion 12

IOWA (15)
Ames 27
Cedar Falls 21
Cedar Rapids 92
Clarinda 5
Council Bluffs 54
Des Moines 209
Dubuque 57
Fairfield 8
Grinnell 7
Iowa City 33
Manchester 4
Maquoketa 6
Ottumwa 34

IOWA (Cont'd)
Sioux City 89
Spencer 9

KANSAS (24)
Abilene 7
Arkansas City 14
Atchison 13
Belleville 3
Chanute 11
Colby 4
Concordia 7
El Dorado 13
Emporia 18
Garden City 12
Hays 12
Holton 3
Hutchinson 38
Junction City 19
LaCrosse 2
Larned 5
Lawrence 33
Manhattan 23
Newton 15
Parsons 14
Pittsburg 19
Salina 43
Stockton 2
Wichita 255

KENTUCKY (7)
Ashland 31
Fort Thomas 15
Glasgow 10
X Hopkinsville 19
Lexington 63
X Louisville 391
Paducah 34

MAINE (25)
Auburn 24
Bangor 39
Bath 11
Belfast 6
Berwick 3
Brewer 9
Brunswick 16
Calais 4
Camden 4
Dexter 3
Ellsworth 4
Falmouth 5
Ft. Fairfield 6
Gardiner 7
Houlton 8
Lisbon 5
Madawaska 6
Norway 3
Old Orchard Beach 4
Old Town 9
Portland 73
Presque Isle 13
Rockland 9
Skowhegan 8
Winthrop 4

MARYLAND (6)
Cumberland 33
Frederick 22
X Montgomery County 341
X Rockville 26
Salisbury 16
Westminster 6

MASSACHUSETTS (22)
Andover 16
Arlington 50
X Brookline 54
Cambridge 108
Danvers 22
Gloucester 26
Ipswich 9
Lawrence 71
Mansfield 8

MASSACHUSETTS (Cont'd)
Marlborough 19
Medford 65
Newton 92
Peabody 32
Provincetown 3
Revere 40
Shrewsbury 17
Wakefield 24
Wellesley 26
Westwood 10
Williamstown 7
Wilmington 12
Worcester 187

MICHIGAN (99)
Adrian 20
Albion 13
Allegan 5
Alma 9
X Ann Arbor 67
Bay City 54
Benton Harbor 19
Berkley 23
Big Rapids 9
Birmingham 26
Bloomfield Hills 2
Brighton 7
Buchanan 5
Cadillac 10
Center Line 10
Clawson 15
Coldwater 9
Crystal Falls 2
Durand 3
East Detroit 46
East Grand Rapids 11
East Lansing 30
Escanaba 15
Essexville 5
Farmington 7
Ferndale 31
Flushing 4
Fremont 3
Garden City 38
Gladstone 5
Grand Haven 11
Grand Rapids 177
Grandville 8
Grosse Pte. Farms 12
Grosse Pte. Park 15
Grosse Pte. Woods 19
Harbor Springs 1
Harper Woods 20
X Hazel Park 26
Hillsdale 8
Holland 25
Howell 5
[illegible]
Huntington Woods 9
X Inkster 39
Iron River 4
Ishpeming 9
X Jackson 51
X Kalamazoo 82
Lincoln Park 54
Livonia 67
Ludington 9
Manistee 8
Marine City 4
Marquette 20
Marshall 7
Marysville 4
Midland 28
Monroe 23
X Mt. Clemens 21
Mt. Pleasant 15
Muskegon 46
Muskegon Hgts. 20
Negaunee 6
No. Muskegon 4
Northville 4
Norway 3

MICHIGAN (Cont'd)
Oak Park 37
Otsego 4
Oxford 2
Petoskey 6
Pleasant Ridge 4
Plymouth 9
Pontiac 82
Port Huron 36
Riverview 7
Rochester 5
Rockford 2
Rogers City 5
Roseville 50
Royal Oak 81
Saginaw 98
St. Clair Shores 17
St. Johns 6
St. Joseph 12
St. Louis 4
Scottville 1
Southfield 32
Sturgis 9
Three Rivers 7
Traverse City 18
Troy 19
Vassar 5
Walled Lake
Wayne 16
Whitehall 3
Wyandotte 44
Wyoming 46
Ypsilanti 21

MINNESOTA (21)
Albert Lea 17
Anoka 11
Bemidji 10
Bloomington 50
Coon Rapids 15
Crystal 24
Edina 29
Fridley 15
Golden Valley 15
Hopkins 11
Mankato 24
Montevideo 6
New Ulm 11
No. St. Paul 9
Red Wing 11
Richfield 43
Roseville 23
St. Cloud 34
St. Louis Park 43
Wayzata 3
White Bear Lake 13

MISSISSIPPI (11)
Grenada 8
Meridian 49

MISSOURI (26)
Berkeley 19
Cameron 4
Charleston 6
Clayton 15
Columbia 37
De Soto 6
Excelsior Sprgs. 6
Ferguson 22
Flat River 5
Gladstone 15
Joplin 39
Kansas City 476
Marceline 3
Marshall 10
Maryville 8
Mexico 13
Moberly 13
Neosho 7
Nevada 8
Olivette 8
St. Charles 21

MISSOURI (Cont'd)
Slater 3
Springfield 96
University City 51
Warrensburg 10
Webster Groves 29

MONTANA (2)
Bozeman 13
Helena 20

NEBRASKA (11)
Alliance 8
Chadron 5
Fremont 20
Gordon 2
Kearney 14
Lexington 6
McCook 8
Omaha 302
Scottsbluff 13
Sidney 8
Valentine 3

NEVADA (7)
Boulder City 4
Elko 6
Las Vegas 64
No. Las Vegas 18
Reno 51
Sparks 17
Washoe County 85

NEW HAMPSHIRE (8)
Claremont 14
Concord 29
Conway 4
Hampton 5
Keene 18
Lebanon 9
Manchester 88
Northumberland 3

NEW JERSEY (31)
Asbury Park 17
Belleville 35
Bloomfield 52
Cedar Grove 15
Clark 12
Clementon 4
Clifton 82
Edison 45
Elizabeth 108
Fair Lawn 36
Franklin tp. 20
Haddon tp. 17
Keansburg 7
Lakewood tp. 16
Livingston 23
Manville 11
Medford Lakes 3
Mt. Holly 13
Moorestown tp. 12
New Milford 19
Parsippany-Troy Hills 26
Paulsboro 8
Princeton 12
Ridgewood 23
Roselle 21
Scotch Plains tp. 18
Sparta tp. 7
Teaneck 42
Tenafly 14
Westfield 31
Woodbury 12

NEW MEXICO (12)
Alamogordo 22
Albuquerque 201
Clayton 3
Clovis 24
Farmington 24
Gallup 14
Hobbs 26

NEW MEXICO (Cont'd)
Las Vegas 8
Raton 8
Roswell 40
Santa Fe 35
Tucumcari 8

NEW YORK (21)
Batavia 16
Binghamton 76
Bronxville 7
Geneva 17
Hastings-on-Hudson 9
Horseheads 7
Lake Success 3
Long Beach 26
Mamaroneck 18
Mount Kisco 7
Newburgh 31
New Rochelle 77
New York 7,782
Niagara Falls 102
Pleasantville 6
Poughkeepsie 38
Rye 14
Scarsdale 18
Schenectady
Watertown
Yonkers 191

NORTH CAROLINA (39)
Asheboro 9
Asheville 60
Brevard 5
Burlington 33
Canton 5
Charlotte 202
Dunn 8
Durham 78
Edenton 4
Fayetteville 47
Gastonia 37
Greensboro 120
Greenville 23
Hickory 19
High Point 62
Jacksonville 4
Kinston 25
Laurinburg 8
Louisburg 3
Lumberton 15
Marion 3
Monroe 11
Mooresville 7
Mount Holly 4
New Bern 16
Raleigh 94
Rocky Mount 32
Roxboro 5
Salisbury 21
Southern Pines 5
Statesville 20
Tarboro 8
Thomasville 15
Tryon 2
Valdese 3
Washington 10
Wilmington 44
Wilson 29
Winston-Salem 111

NORTH DAKOTA (3)
Bismarck 28
Grand Forks 34
Minot 31

OHIO (37)
Alliance 28
Amherley Village 3
Bedford 15
Chillicothe 25
Cincinnati 503
Cleveland Hgts. 62
Clyde 5

OHIO (Cont'd)
Dayton 262
Delaware 13
East Cleveland 38
Fairborn 19
Franklin 8
Gallipolis 9
Hamilton 72
Huron 5
Indian Hill 5
Kettering 54
Madeira 7
Mayfield Hgts. 13
Middletown 42
Napoleon 7
Oakwood 10
Oberlin 8
Painesville 16
Portsmouth 34
St. Marys 8
Shaker Hgts. 36
Toledo 318
Trotwood 5
Twinsburg 4
Vandalia 6
Washington Ct. House 12
Westerville
Wyoming 8
Xenia 20
Yellow Springs 4
Zanesville 39

OKLAHOMA (17)
Ada 14
Ardmore 20
Bartlesville 28
Bethany 12
El Reno 11
Enid 39
Guthrie 10
McAlester 17
Muskogee 38
Norman 33
Okmulgee 16
Ponca City 24
Sapulpa 14
Shawnee 24
Tulsa 262
Walters 3
Woodward 8

OREGON (26)
Albany 13
Astoria 11
Bend 12
Coos Bay 7
Coquille 5
Corvallis 21
Empire 4
Eugene 51
Forest Grove 6
Grants Pass 10
Hermiston 4
Hillsboro 8
Klamath Falls 17
Medford 24
Milton-Freewater 4
Milwaukie 9
North Bend 8
Nyssa 7
Oregon City 8
Pendleton 14
Roseburg 11
Salem 49
Springfield 20
Sweet Home 3
The Dalles 10
Tillamook 4

PENNSYLVANIA (43)
Bellefonte 6
Bethel 24
Boyertown 4

PENNSYLVANIA (Cont'd)
Bristol 12
Carlisle 17
Chambersburg 18
Downingtown 6
East Stroudsburg 8
Ephrata 8
Fox Chapel 3
Grove City 8
Hampton tp. 11
Hanover 16
Hollidaysburg 6
Indiana 13
Lehighton 6
Lewistown 13
Lititz 6
Lower Makefield 9
Lower Merion tp. 59
Lower Southampton 13
Middletown bor. 11
Middletown tp. 27
Monroeville 22
Mt. Lebanon 35
Newton tp. 2
Northampton 9
Pottstown 26
Quakertown 6
Radnor tp. 22
Ridgway 6
Sewickley 6
Sharpsville 6
Shippensburg 6
Springdale 6
State College 22
Stowe tp. 12
Stroudsburg 6
Turtle Creek 11
Upper Merion 17
Warren 15
West Reading 5
Whitehall tp. 15

RHODE ISLAND (3)
Barrington 14
E. Providence 42
No. Kingstown 19

SOUTH CAROLINA (14)
Aiken 11
Beaufort 6
Camden 7
Cayce 9
Charleston Co. 216
Columbia 97
Florence 25
Greenville 66
Greenwood 17
Orangeburg 14
Rock Hill 29
Spartanburg 44
Sumter 23
Winnsboro 3

SOUTH DAKOTA (3)
Brookings 11
Madison 5
Yankton 9

TENNESSEE (8)
Alcoa 6
Athens 12
Columbia 18
Gatlinburg 2
Humboldt 8
Johnson City 30
Lebanon 11
Oak Ridge 27

TEXAS (79)
Abernathy 2
Abilene 90
Alice 21
Aransas Pass 7
Arlington 45

TEXAS (Cont'd)
Austin 187
Beeville 14
Bellaire 20
Big Spring 31
Borger 21
Brownsville 48
Brownwood 17
Bryan 28
Burkburnett 8
Carthage 5
Childress 6
Coleman 6
College Station 11
Corpus Christi 168
Corsicana 20
Dalhart 5
Denison 23
Donna 8
Eagle Pass 12
Edinburg 19
Ennis 9
Farmers Branch 13
Fort Worth 356
Friona 2
Gainesville 13
Georgetown 5
Gilmer 4
Gonzales 6
Grand Prairie 30
Greenville 19
Harlingen 41
Hereford 8
Irving 46
Kerrville 9
Kilgore 10
Killeen 23
Lake Jackson 10
La Marque 14
Lamesa 12
Livingston 3
Lubbock 129
Lufkin 18
Marshall 24
McAllen 83
Mesquite 28
Midland 63
Monahans 9
Nederland 12
Odessa 80
Orange 26
Pampa 25
Perryton 8
Plainview 19
Plano 4
Port Arthur 67
Port Lavaca 9
Richardson 17
Rosebud 2
San Angelo 59
San Antonio 588
San Marcos 13
Snyder 14
Sweetwater 14
Temple 30
Terrell 14
Tulia 4
Tyler 51
Uvalde 10
Victoria 33
Waco 98
Weatherford 10
Weslaco 16
West University Place 15
Yoakum 6

UTAH (8)
Bountiful 17
Clearfield 9
Layton 9
Ogden 70
Provo 36

UTAH (Cont'd)
Richfield 4
St. George 5
Tooele 9

VERMONT (13)
Barre 10
Brattleboro 12
Essex Junction 5
Hartford 6
Hartland 2
Manchester 2
Middlebury 4
Montpelier 9
Northfield 5
St. Albans 9
St. Johnsbury 7
So. Burlington 7
Windsor 3

VIRGINIA (40)
Abingdon 5
Alexandria 91
Altavista 3
Arlington County 163
Big Stone Gap 5
Bristol 17
Charlottesville 29
Colonial Hgts. 10
Covington 11
Danville 47
Emporia 6
Fairfax County 275
Falls Church 10
Franklin 7
Fredericksburg 14
Front Royal 8
Hampton 89
Henrico County 117
Lynchburg 55
Marion 8
Martinsville 19
Narrows 3
Newport News 114
Norfolk 306
Norton 5
Orange 3
Pearisburg 2
Petersburg 4
Pulaski 10
Radford 9
Richmond 220
Roanoke 97
South Boston 6
South Norfolk 22
Suffolk 13
Virginia Beach 8
Waynesboro 16
Williamsburg 7
Winchester 15
Woodstock 2

WASHINGTON (15)
Des Moines 2
Ellensburg 9
Kennewick 14
Moses Lake 11
Mountlake Terrace 9
Port Angeles 13
Puyallup 12
Richland 24
Richland AEC 23
Spokane 182
Sunnyside 6
Tacoma 148
Vancouver 32
Walla Walla 25
Yakima 43

WEST VIRGINIA (7)
Bluefield 19
Clarksburg 28
Huntington 84

WEST VIRGINIA (Cont'd)
Morgantown 22
Moundsville 15
Princeton 8
Wheeling 53

WISCONSIN (20)
Beloit 33
Brown Deer 11
Eau Claire 38
Elm Grove 5
Fond du Lac 33
Ft. Atkinson 8
Fox Point 7
Greendale 7
Lake Mills 3
Oshkosh 45
River Hills 1
Shorewood 16
So. Milwaukee 20
Sparta 6
Sturgeon Bay 7
Superior 34
Two Rivers 12
Wauwatosa 57
Whitefish Bay 18
Whitewater 6

WYOMING (3)
Casper 39
Laramie 18
Sheridan 12

BRITISH COLUMBIA (5)
Kitimat 8
New Westminster 35
No. Vancouver 34
Vancouver 344
West Vancouver 23

GUAM (1)
Agana 9

NEWFOUNDLAND (1)
Corner Brook 23

NOVA SCOTIA (1)
Halifax 94

ONTARIO (5)
Oakville 10
Orillia 12
St. Catharines 41
Waterloo 15
Windsor 118

QUEBEC (22)
Arvida 14
Baie Comeau 8
Cap-de-la-Madeleine 26
Dorval 17
Grand Mere 14
Hampstead 4
Isle Maligne 2
Lachine 39
La Tuque 13
Montreal-East 5
Mount Royal 20
Quebec 238
Pointe Claire 21
Rimouski 11
St. Foy 24
St. Lambert 15
Schefferville 5
Seven Islands 15
Trois Rivieres 57
Val d'Or 10
Verdun 85
Westmount 31

SASKATCHEWAN (1)
Uranium City 5

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

SBV

March 8, 1963

Mr. William E. Besuden, Director
Management Information Service
The International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Besuden:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 4. We, too, are gratified that the Wichita Human Relations Commission found the report of value.

Under separate cover we are sending twenty-five (25) copies of the report, as you requested. Please give my best regards to Mr. Arnold.

Cordially,

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:hjh

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar ✓

COPY

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK

INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

AREA CODE 312
324-3400

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

SB pls handle

March 4, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

A letter similar to this one is being sent to Mr. Levin. I am enclosing a thermo-fax copy of a letter we just received from the Wichita Human Relations Commission. It is most gratifying to see that they felt that the report was of value, particularly after receiving the criticism from Park Forest. Incidentally, I happen to know Mr. Cunningham and spoke to him briefly about his remarks. He considers himself somewhat of an expert and probably in this case was too close to the trees to see the forest.

If you will notice the city of Wichita desires 50 more copies of the report. We print these reports in limited number and therefore do not have 50 extra copies to send to them. I have written them (a copy of my letter enclosed) stating that I would contact you to see if you had any of your extra copies available. It is my hope that the Potomac Institute could provide 25 copies and the Southern Regional Council 25 copies.

Dave Arnold again expresses his appreciation for the fine job you did on this report.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Besuden

William E. Besuden
Director,
Management Information Service

WEB:cp
Encl.

The City of Wichita

CITY BUILDING · TELEPHONE AMherst 2-8211

WICHITA, KANSAS

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
CITY BUILDING ANNEX
EXT. 388

ICMA
FEB 27 1963

February 25, 1963

Mr. Orin S. Nolting
International City Manager's Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Nolting:

We received via our City Manager's office, the report on city government and minority groups. I have surveyed the report, and passed it along to members of our Human Relations Commission. We all agree that it is very well done, and appropriate to our time and need.

We are anxious that this material be distributed among our 30 member Commission, and copies available for our Board of City Commissioners, and the City's executive offices. In short, we are anxious to receive 50 copies. We understand the limit of this distribution and trust that if copies are not available, we might be given permission to reproduce a limited number for our own use.

Again in behalf of our Human Relations Commission, let me express our appreciation for the work that has gone into the preparation of this report, and compliment the staff members who prepared it. We received it enthusiastically.

Please advise me as to the above.

Respectfully,

Floyd L. Hansen

Floyd L. Hansen
Executive Secretary
Human Relations Commission

FLH:mp

March 11, 1963

Mr. William E. Besuden, Director
Management Information Service
International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Besuden:

We will be glad to send 25 copies of the ICMA report to the Wichita Human Relations Commission, as you requested in your letter of March 4. They will be mailed out this week.

I might just say that the report has been warmly received by members of several southern Human Relations Councils and that they intend to see that it is brought to the attention of local officials in their respective areas who are not members of the ICMA.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
cc: Mr. Arthur J. Levin

April 8, 1963

Mr. David S. Arnold, Publications Director
The International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Arnold:

By way of reply to your letter of April 4 to Arthur Levin inquiring about the materials sent us in connection with the report "The City Government and Minority Groups," these have been returned to us by the Potomac Institute. I gather youwdesire these back. We are, therefore, mailing today under separate cover:

Police and Minority Groups, Weckler & Hall;
Intergroup Relations for Police Officers, Charlotte Epstein;
The Newcomer - Public Welfare's Challenge, American Public Welfare Association; and
Race Tensions and the Police, Curry & King.

Sincerely,

BP:s
cc: Mr. Arthur J. Levin

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

SB pls do

April 5, 1963

Mr. David S. Arnold, Publications Director
The International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dave:

This is in reply to your letter of April 4 inquiring about the materials which you sent for reference purposes in preparing the report "The City Government and Minority Groups".

You originally sent these materials to the Southern Regional Council on August 9, 1962. They included:

Police and Minority Groups, Weckler & Hall
Intergroup Relations for Police Officers, Charlotte Epstein
The Newcomer - Public Welfare's Challenge, American Public Welfare Association
Race Tensions and the Police, Curry & King

The Southern Regional Council forwarded these materials to us on August 29, and we returned them to SRC after using them for the report. Therefore, SRC should have these materials unless they had already returned them to you.

By copy of this letter I am letting Les Dunbar know of your inquiry concerning these materials, and the fact that we returned them to SRC after use here.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Les:
Buck passing —
a favorite D.C. sport.
Best
Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:hjh
cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON . . . BUREAU OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH AND SERVICES

3935 University Way N.E. Seattle 5, Washington

April 12, 1963

I.C.M.A.

APR 18 196

International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

I am writing with regard to your Management Information Service, Report No. 229, dated February, 1963. The subject of this report is The City Government and Minority Groups. My general reaction is one of appreciation for your attention to this subject, however I wish to point out an error which occurs on page 20 of the report.

Under the subtitle Cooperative Action for Improved Housing, it is reported that the Greater Seattle Housing Council joined certain civic groups in 1958 to combat housing discrimination. In addition, you report that in 1961 the Council established an experimental clearing service to help minority families find housing outside the central city. While there was some talk in 1961 of establishing such a listing service, no actual listing service ever came into being.

A committee appointed by the Mayor and City Council of the City of Seattle in 1962 published a report which made findings that the problem of housing discrimination in Seattle had increased at an accelerated rate in recent years. This committee recommended that the City enact an ordinance prohibiting discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing, that a Human Relations Commission be established, and that a listing service also be established. None of the recommendations of the committee as yet have been implemented.

Sincerely,

Edward S Singler

Edward S. Singler
Municipal Legal Consultant

ESS:jw

File - ICMA

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

PA ✓
SB ✓

April 23, 1963

Mr. David S. Arnold
Publications Director
International City Managers Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dave:

We have been making a selective distribution of the report, "The City Government and Minority Groups", to private intergroup agencies and the resultant requests for additional copies have about depleted our supply.

These private agencies wish to circulate copies to their respective boards, to local commissions and committees on human relations, to boards of education, to police officials, and other civic and voluntary officials concerned with minority groups. We also had a request from Frank G. MacAloon, editor of Mayor and Manager (the magazine of municipal management) for a book review copy, which was sent in my absence. I personally would have referred this request to you for reply.

It is apparent that the current supply will not begin to meet these needs, and I am wondering what your policy is about reprinting particular issues of your MIS reports?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:hjh

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar ✓

Yes: I'm trying to encourage ICMA to reprint, and I have suggested that other agencies do likewise. We're about out, and I believe ICMA printed only enough for its initial distribution. Good seeing you. Art

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

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324-3400

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

April 30, 1963

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you for returning the various publications on Minority Groups. We are retaining two: Epstein's "Intergroup Relations for Police Officers" and Curry & King's "Race Tensions and the Police." I am returning the other publications, and they are enclosed. You are welcome to keep these in your library. They are "The Newcomer: Public Welfare's Challenge" and "Police and Minority Groups."

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:jr
Encls.
cc: Mr. Arthur J. Levin

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 EAST 60th STREET - CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
MAY 9 1963

SB - We only have about 50 copies left, according to Bernice!

May 8, 1963

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Art:

I have discussed the MIS Report with our Executive Director, and we have decided to keep it in its present MIS format, at least for the next six to 12 months. We have enough copies for our purposes, but we would be glad to arrange reprints for the Potomac Institute and the Southern Regional Council if you would be willing to pay for the cost of printing. I suggest that you and Mr. Dunbar let me know how many copies you need, and I then will write to the printer to get the price on reprints.

We recently received a letter from Mary Alice Baldinger, Executive Director, National Civil Liberties Clearing House, requesting "either (1) 50 copies for distribution at our monthly meeting; or (2) 600 copies, to be sent out to our entire mailing list." We cannot handle this, but you may want to phone Miss Baldinger to work out some subsidiary financial arrangement for the number of copies she needs. The organization is in Washington, as I am sure you know, and their phone number is Dupont 7-6300.

I shall look forward to hearing from you and Mr. Dunbar and I then will let you know about the prices.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:cp

cc: Leslie W. Dunbar

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

ICMA
SBV

I told Art we might want as many as 1,000

May 14, 1963

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1963

Mr. David S. Arnold
Publications Director
The International City Managers' Assoc.
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dave:

I just returned to town and found your letter of May 8 on my desk.

I had occasion to talk to Les Dunbar today, and we are interested in having additional reprints of the MIS report. We could use up to a total of 2,000 copies, depending upon the price. Can you get from the printer the cost of 1,000, 1500 and 2000 reprints? As soon as we know this, we will be able to make a firm decision on the number of additional copies we will want to order.

I'm happy that your ear operation went so well, and I hope you will not be troubled by this anymore.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:EMA

cc: Mr. Leslie Dunbar

COPY

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK
INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

SB
Continue at 200?
Yes

May 22, 1963

Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.,
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Art:

The printer has quoted the following prices for reprinting the MIS report No. 229, "The City Government and Minority Groups":

1,000 copies at $162.00
1,500 copies at $222.00
2,000 copies at $276.00

These prices do not include shipping from Ann Arbor, Michigan. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

DSA:gn

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

P.S. On April 30 I sent you a letter from Mr. Edward S. Singler, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, Seattle, relative to some corrections relating to the information on the City of Seattle. Perhaps you should return that letter to me (or a photo-copy of it) if you decide to reprint so that I can make some corrections.

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

SB

May 28, 1963

ICMA file

Mr. David S. Arnold
Publications Director
The International City Managers' Association
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dave:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 22 which was on my desk when I returned from the West Coast today.

After discussion with Les Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council, we would like to order 1000 copies each (total 2000) of the MIS report number 229, "The City Government and Minority Groups". As I understand it, the price will be $276.00 plus shipping charges from Ann Arbor, Michigan. I would very much appreciate your arranging this reprinting with the printer, and asking that 1000 copies be sent to SRC directly and 1000 copies to us, if possible. The printer can send us the entire bill and we will arrange pro rata costs with SRC.

As you requested, I am enclosing the original of the letter from Mr. Edward S. Singler of the University of Washington. However, both Les Dunbar and I feel rather strongly that it would cause a great deal of confusion to make any corrections in the original report so that there will result two versions of the same report. None of the comments and corrections that we have seen to date change the import of the report to any degree, except in some minor details which are at best matters of opinion. In Mr. Singler's case, we seem to have given the Greater Seattle Housing Council more credit than they deserve, but again here it does not affect the report in any significant way. We feel that if any revision is to be made, it should await a complete updating of the report at some future date, at which time we can crank in these minor corrections. Until that time, we would suggest that the report be available in only one version with the knowledge that any report is always subject to correction.

We will of course be guided by your policy and your own thinking in regard to making corrections, but I thought you would want to know how we felt about it. Thank you very much for arranging for us these reprints, and warm regards.

Sincerely,

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:hjh
enclosure
cc: Mr. Leslie Dunbar

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.

Date: 6/5/63

To: Les Dunbar

From: Bob Levin

Subject:

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1963

For your information.

Best regards

ajl

Nobby,
please file in
ICMA folder

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK

INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

AREA CODE 312
324-3400

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

June 3, 1963

Mr. Arthur J. Levin,
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Art:

I have ordered 2,000 copies of MIS Report No. 229 as shown in the attached carbon copy of my letter to Cushing-Malloy, Inc. If you should have any difficulties with delivery, please let me know.

I am happy to report that my letter of May 22 was in error on the price, and you will be billed $230, plus shipping, instead of $276.

I am much relieved that you do not want to do anything with respect to the letter from Edward S. Singler of the University of Washington. This is my preference also, but I thought you might want to attempt a correction in the reprint.

We are continuing to get nice compliments on this report. The city manager of Richmond, California, (Ed Howell), for example, used a substantial amount of the material in the report in preparing an administrative report for the Richmond City Council on setting up a human relations commission. Ed is of the opinion that the report is an outstanding contribution to municipal government.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

DSA:gn

Encls.

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT · MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE · MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK
INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

1313 EAST 60TH STREET · CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

June 3, 1963

Miss Ola M. Gates,
Production Manager
Cushing Malloy, Inc.,
1350 North Main Street
P.O.Box 1187
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Miss Gates:

This is your authorization to go ahead and reprint 2,000 copies of MIS Report No. 229 in accordance with the terms set forth in your letter of May 20, 1963. The price is $230 for 2,000 copies, f.o.b., Ann Arbor.

Please ship 1,000 copies directly to the Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Ship the other 1,000 copies directly to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Please send the bill for the entire job to Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, The Potomac Institute, I assume you have no objection to billing the Potomac Institute directly. Also I would appreciate your dropping a note to Mr. Levin and giving him the probable shipping date for the reprints. I know they are quite anxious to get these reprints because they have had many calls for the information. I hope therefore that you can take care of this job promptly. Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

DSA:gn

David S. Arnold
Publications Director

SBV
pls see me

February 15, 1963

Mr. Robert W. C. Brown
International Research Associates, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Brown:

Since Mr. Dunbar has been out of the office this week, he asked me to reply to your letter of February 11.

We are glad to learn that your assistant is coming South next week for on-the-spot observations and we will be glad to discuss the project with him when he arrives in Atlanta.

Meanwhile, I am attaching a list of individuals in the various cities he is planning to visit. I think they will be very helpful to him in providing information and in arranging meetings for him with state officials and other prominent citizens.

I don't know what role the Southern Regional Council can play in the study, but we will be happy to contribute whatever we can.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
Enclosure
P. S. -- We thought you might have meant Columbia, S. C. as one of the places your assistant will drive through when you listed Charlotte twice in your letter, so we've listed two persons in Columbia for him to call or see.

L I S T

Charlotte, N. C.:

Mr. Harry Jones
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina
Telephone: FR. 6-6833

Dr. Raymond Wheeler, M.D.
Doctors Building
1012 Kings Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mr. Fred D. Alexander
~~[illegible]~~ 2140 Senior Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina

Winston-Salem, N.C.:

Mr. Irving E. Carlyle
Attorney
Wachovia Bank Building
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Columbia, S. C.:

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Telephone: Al. 6-8808

Mr. W. E. Solomon
Executive Secretary
Palmetto State Teachers Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, S. C.

Greenville, S. C.:

Mr. Gil Rowland
35 W. Mountain View Avenue
Greenville, S. C.
(Part-time staff member of S. C. Council on Human Relations)

Mr. J. Martin England
106 Perrin Street
Greenville, S. C. (With American Baptist Convention)

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
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DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Feb. 14, 1963

To: LWD From: MMJ

Subject:

Les,

Robert Brown's ltr. came yesterday and I think he'll have to be answered today or tomorrow. In order to facilitate matters, I asked Marge Manderson if she wouldn't jot down a few names of persons in Charlotte, Greenville Winston-Salem and Columbia (I believe Mr. Brown meant Columbia when he listed Charlotte twice) that Mr. Brown's assistant could see and talk with on his jaunt through the Carolinas. Her suggestions are attached. You may want to add to this list. It's Marge's feeling that once he's in touch with Harry Jones and Alice Spearman he'll get other names of persons to see who would be helpful to him.

Charlotte 2- Fred D. Alexander
2308 Sanders Avenue
?
Charlotte, N.C. — board.

1 - Harry Jones
Executive Dir.
N.C. Council on H.R.
121. E. Third St., Room 209
Charlotte
FR. 6-6833

2 - Raymond Wheeler, M.D.
Doctors Building
1012 Kings Drive
Charlotte, N.C.

Winston-Salem - 1- Irving E. Carlyle
Attorney
Wachovia Bank Bldg.
Winston Salem

Columbia -

1 -

2 - W. E. Solomon, Exec. Sec.
Palmetto State Teachers Assn.
1719 Taylor St.
Columbia, S.C.

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Ex. Dir. S.C. Council on H R
1330 Laurel St.
Columbia, S.C.
ALpine 6-8808

Greenville -

Gil Rowland (S.C. Council part-time staff member)
35 W. Mt. View Ave
Greenville, S.C.
Dr. — England
Baptist

INRA

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK LT 1-2010 CABLE: IPORES

SB
Pls. Cons.
See attached list
of names to suggest

February 11, 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 13 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As I wrote last week, our study is gathering momentum. Our field work will begin within a week.

My assistant is leaving next Monday for a trip that will take him through several Southern states for the purpose of conducting personal interviews and on-the-spot observation. I know that one of his major stops will be Atlanta for he is looking forward to discussing the project with you.

Before reaching Atlanta, he will drive through the Carolinas and plans to visit Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Greenville, and Charlotte. It would be very helpful if you could send us the names of Southern Regional Council people in these towns or smaller towns en route to Atlanta so my assistant could develop a better understanding of local situations. In each town he will interview city officials, newspapermen, minority group leaders, library officials and civil rights leaders.

I hope that you will be able to send us a few names. I am looking forward to learning your overall impression of the study and the role that the Southern Regional Council can play.

Sincerely,

Robert W. C. Brown

gh

May 27, 1963

Mr. Michael Rosenbaum
International Research Associates, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenbaum:

I am glad to learn that you have been getting a good response to the questionnaires we sent to various individuals around the South.

I am enclosing some information on the degree of desegregation in southern schools, eating facilities, parks and transit sustems. I am also enclosing the map you requested. I hope this material will be helpful to you.

We would be interested in learning what you have found out about libraries in the South. It may well be that you have gotten some information which we do not have. So, if at all possible I would appreciate you sending a run-down on your findings in the South, particularly with regard to communities who have desegregated library facilities. We would of course treat this information as confidential. It may be that such data will appear in the report you are preparing for A.L.A., but if not I would appreciate learning the results of your investigation in this area.

We are happy to have been of service to you in this project, which I think should produce an extremely useful and valuable publication.

I hope you will mail us a copy of the finished product when it is available.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosures

INRA

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK LT 1-2010 CABLE: IPORES

May 21, 1963

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

The questionnaires have been coming in from the Southern Regional Council members. Their answers have been both complete and interesting.

We plan to compare the degree of library desegregation with that found in other public facilities such as schools, buses and parks. If you have any material dealing with these other areas, we would appreciate your sending it to us. We would also like you to send us a copy of the map showing the non-white population in counties of Southern states.

cater facilities

The cooperation of the Southern Regional Council on this project has been extremely valuable and we are extremely grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

Michael Rosenbaum

Michael Rosenbaum

MR:dh

How about info tomorrow?

Scud 1.23C parks school buses

May 29, 1963

Mr. Michael Rosenbaum
International Research Association, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenbaum:

We will be glad to give you permission to incorporate a list of desegregated libraries in your report.

As you will note, however, from my letter earlier this week, we are by no means sure that this list is a complete one. It may well be that the response to your questionnaires will show libraries desegregated that we have no record of. Nevertheless, you are welcome to use the list which our office gave Mr. John Hall Jacobs, and use our name as a source.

Please let me know if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

INRA

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK LT 1-2010 CABLE: IPORES

May 28, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Mr. John Hall Jacobs, the Atlanta public librarian who is a member of our Advisory Committee sent us a list of desegregated Southern libraries which your office gave him over the phone on May 18th.

We would like to have permission to incorporate this information into our report. This information could be used in the report in many ways. By comparing recent lists of desegregated public libraries with lists compiled several years ago, we can show the rate and location of change from segregated to non-segregated library systems.

The questionnaires from your members continue to come into the office. We are quite pleased by the rate of return as well as the thorough manner in which the questionnaires were filled out.

If you give us permission to use the list you have compiled, we can give the Southern Regional Council as the source of this information or we can state that this information has been compiled by a voluntary organization. The degree of specificity as to source is left up to your organization.

Sincerely,

Michael Rosenbaum

Michael Rosenbaum

MR:dh

July 20, 1963

Mr. Robert W. C. Brown
International Research Associates, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Brown:

Thank you for your letter of July 3, which I found awaiting me when I returned from vacation. We were glad to hear that the report was finished and we were delighted to have had a chance to work with you and your staff. We were most instructed by your efficient methods.

I read the New York Times report, and now look forward to reading the entire study.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

Sb - typ
Why? for LWD

INRA

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK LT 1-2010 CABLE: IPORES

July 3, 1963

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am pleased to be able to report that our study on "Access to Libraries" was reviewed on Friday by the Advisory Committee of the American Library Association, and that all seven members of the committee seemed very well impressed. The report will become part of the "public domain" on July 15th, the date when it will be presented to the convention of the ALA in Chicago, and shortly thereafter I shall mail a copy to you.

At this time, I would like to say that I am most grateful to you for your cooperation and assistance in the development of the project.

Yours sincerely,

Robert W. C. Brown

Robert W. C. Brown

gh

INRA

SB - please return to LD

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK LT 1-2010 CABLE: IPORES

SB - for your file

July 22, 1963

RECEIVED
JUL 24 1963

Mr. LeslieDunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have just returned from Chicago, where INRA presented the report on "Access to Libraries" to a variety of forums, including the Library Administration Division and the Intellectual Freedom Committee -- the sponsoring organizations within the ALA (a highly complex organization, incidentally, with an unusual degree of fluctuation in the allocations of functions and powers from one sub-organization to the next). Interest in the report was extremely high, with the topic clearly rising in priority of interest from day to day as the convention proceeded.

As expected, the report, covering an area of both great delicacy and high explosiveness, brought on a number of strongly asserted self-justifications by certain librarians. Interestingly enough, these views came almost entirely from the librarians of systems located outside ofthe South -- systems described as evidencing "indirect discrimination" in the locations and resources of branch libraries. I will leave it to you to make your own assessment of the report when you read it -- and would be pleased to hear any comments that you might like to pass along.

The report will be published by the ALA as of August 19th, and they are providing us with sufficient copies so that we can send one to you at that time. As the convention got under way, the ALA urgently asked us for more than their original allotment of copies, so that we felt obliged to send on the copies that we had originally set aside for those contributing to the study. In the meantime, I am enclosing a copy of the summary of the report that was distributed at the convention, and we will send on the full report as soon as our copies arrive from Chicago. Should you want any additional copies, you may order them directly from: Alphonse E. Trezza, Executive Secretary, Library Administration Division, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Illinois, at the published price of $3.00 per copy.

Sincerely,

Robert W. C. Brown

Robert W. C. Brown

gh
Encl.

December 3, 1963

Mr. Michael Rosenbaum
International Research Associates, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenbaum:

My associate, Mrs. Albright, received a letter today from Mr. Brown of your office, concerning her request for two extra copies of your report "Access to Public Libraries." In his letter, Mr. Brown mentioned that we would probably be charged for the two extra copies by ALA.

In view of the fact that our funds for publications are by no means unlimited, and since we expended considerably more than $6.00 in helping gather information for the study, I am writing to inquire if it would be possible for us to obtain two additional complimentary copies, either through you or through the ALA. Perhaps this is impossible, but I thought I would inquire anyway.

Many thanks for your help in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

I N R A

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK LT 1-2010 CABLE: IPORES

November 26, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your letter of November 22nd requesting two extra copies of the report "Access to Public Libraries." Since the report was published by the American Library Association in Chicago, I am forwarding your request to the ALA. They will, I'm sure, be pleased to send the two copies that you requested on to you. Presumably, the copies will be charged to you at the regular published price of $3.00 per copy.

Yours truly,

Robert W. C. Brown

RB:dh

Ruth Alexander 3=6-62

Jean Levine

Stetson Kennedy - Klu Klux Klan Files

On February 13, in a letter to Stetson Kennedy, the Southern Regional lCouncil accepted his offer to sell us collected files and materials on the Klu Klux Klan for the sum of $150.00

He has sent and we have received these files and the enclosed letter is an acknowledgment to him of this.

At your convenience, would you enclose his check in payment of this transaction in this letter?

Thank you.

Jean

March 6, 1962

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
Beluthahatchee
Orangedale Route
Green Cove Springs, Florida

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

The enclosed check, in the amount mutually agreed upon, is in payment for the Klu Klux Klan material. The material arrived in good condition last week.

We have not yet had the opportunity to look through it but are looking forward to doing so soon and we will remember your kind offer to assist us in the event questions arise concerning indexing and identification.

Again we would like to express our appreciation to you for the opportunity of securing these documents.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
enc.

Fe bruary 26, 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Dir ector of Research
Southe rn Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Moss,

Several days ago I got off the hat e sheets and Klan material, including with the latter the reports on meetings and related data which I felt belonged with the other.

If after having a look at it you wish to retain this additional material, you may do so at no further cost.

Trusting that the whole will reach you safely, and looking forward to hearing from you, I remain

Since rely,

Stetson Kennedy

Stetson Kennedy

P.A.
L.D.

Beluthahatchee
Orangedale Route
Green Cove Springs, Florida
February 25, 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Director of Re search
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Moss:

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd.

I do not seem to have made a copy of my letter to you, but I take it that the Council's interest is in the files of hate sheets, the Klan propaganda, and the Klan reports. While this is not so bulky as the other, it is of cour se the most valuable to students of the period.

Since my prime interest is in placing the material where it is likely to do the most good, I have decided to offer the SRC the above-mentioned for the sum of $150, with the stipulation that your files indicate that the material was compiled by me, and, secondly, in the event of eventual dissolution of the SRC, this material then be deposited in some other place with general access to the public.

Let me know if this is acceptable to you, and I will proceed to prepare the material for shipment.

Sincerely,

Stetson Kennedy

Stetson Kennedy

BH ~~2/26/62~~
3/5/62

Beluthahatchee
Orangedale Route
Green Cove Springs, Florida
February 15, 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Moss:

I am happy to know that the Council has accepted my offer of Klan propaganda and hate sheets.

It seems to me that the honorarium quoted, all things considered, is yet a fair one for this material.

The work of sorting, packing, and shipping should be done in a few days, and the material should reach you through American Express.

If the Council undertakes any sort of indexing, and questions of identification of specific items come up, I will be happy to try to clear them up.

Sincerely,

Stetson Kennedy

Stetson Kennedy

B4

February 13, 1962

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
Beluthahatchee
Orangedale Route
Green Cove Springs, Florida

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

We are pleased to accept your offer to provide us with:

the files of hate sheets, including Eugene Talmadge's Statesman, Pappy O'Daniel's News, The Southern Outlook of Alabama, and others,

the most extensive collection in existence of KKK printed propoganda, originals and photostats.

Since we are not interested in receiving the inside reports on the KKK meetings, would this still be at the quoted price of $150.00 or would the price be somewhat lower? In any event would you please proceed to forward the above materials to us and as soon as we hear from you as to the final price, we will forward our check.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

1-29-62

January 22, 1962

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
Beluthahatchee
Orangedale Route
Green Cove Springs, Florida

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

Thank you for your letter offering us your files including race relations materials collected during the 1930's and 1940's.

We would be particularly interested in items 2 and 5 , so designated in your letter. This includes the file of hate sheets and the KKK printed propaganda, originals and photostats. We might be interested in the inside reports on the KKK meetings held in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama and other southern states.

Since our interest includes only a portion of the material what would be the cost of securing the items that we have selected?

Thank you again for offering us the opportunity of receiving these documents.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

Memo from JAMES A. MOSS

Leo

I think the ~~[illegible]~~ might be worth 250$ coaching fee

PA

pls advise me

LWD: It pains me to play with Kennedy, but the acceptance of research materials is more sound that most relationships might be. Suggest we accept them and pay the $250. Check should be clearly marked to indicate the nature of the payment.

PA

Beluthahatchee
Orangedale Route
Green Cove Springs, Florida

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

In the course of my work in t he field of race relations during the 1930's and 1940's (some of which was published by the SRC) I accumulated a good deal of material which would be of value to present and future students of this period.

After considering the various institutions which might serve as a depository for this material, it has seemed to me that the SRC, because of its special emphasis as a research organization and its location in the heart of the South, is the most logical place for it.

While I should like to make an outright donation of the material, I have encurred an e xpense of more than $500 for its storage alone during the last decade, and so feel obliged to ask that whoever takes it over defray at least half of this sum.

In bulk the material comprises something like two file cabinet drawers, and includes such categories as the following:

1. "Scrapbook"folders containing news clips and personal field reports on some of the major incidents of race violence occuring in the South during those two decades.

2. Files of "hate sheets" of the period, including Eugene Talmadge's "Statesman," Pappy O'Daniel's "News," the "Southern Outlook" of Alabama, and others.

3. "Scrapbook" folders of clips and other materials, classified under such headings as "Transportation," "Education," "Employment," et cetera, covering the entire field of race discrimination.

4. Scores of first-hand inside reports on secret KKK meetings held in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, Virginia, and other states, compiled by me while serving as special agent of the GBI during the Arnall administration.

5. The most extensive collection in existence of KKK printed propaganda, originals and photostats. Include s "Prescript" constitution of original post-Civil War Klan, the "Kloran" of the present-day Klan, KKK membership cards, etc.

6. A collection of photographs, most of them 8x10 in format, depicting lynchings, race riots, police brutality, and other such events of the period.

Please let me know whether you wish to acquire this material, as I am obliged to make some disposition of it without much delay.

Sincerely,

Stetson Kennedy

Sherman Harris
May 20, 1964

PRESENT STATUS OF THE KLANS IN THE SOUTH

There has been a significant resurgence of the Klans throughout the South. In our opinion, this increase in Klan activity and membership has come about as the Klan focalizes the objections to the Civil Rights Bill.

Included in the general term of the Civil Rights Bill, is the loss "of our southern way of life", "breakdown of our customs and traditions", "the grab for pure power by the Federal government", "the protection of states' rights", and other cliches and platitudes of this nature. With the exceptions noted below, the intensity of the Klan thrust is specifically pointed to defeat the Negro drive for equality which is taking place.

As you know, for some time during the latter part of the 1950s, the Klan reached a low point and, for all intents and purposes, was no longer an effective instrument throughout the South. With the coming of the social revolution of our time, the Klans grasped this issue and have used it as the vehicle on which their new found strength is based.

The Klans have used most of the arguments known as the segregationist line in their drive to regain power and recruit members. There have been straight-out appeals to pure segregation. There are appeals to fight Communism. There are appeals blatantly anti-Semitic -- "The Jews are responsible for the race mixing". These are but some of the exhortations that the Klans have used with the basic theme always being white supremacy.

It is estimated that Klan membership throughout the South has risen approximately 5,000 to 10,000 persons in the last year, with a total of

between 45,000 to 65,000 Klan members. In many cases, the Klans have spread into areas of the country that have not seen Klan activity for many years. Using the Civil Rights issue, Klan organization is taking place in West Virginia, Indiana, Minnesota, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and California. This is not to suggest that there are not other places where the Klan is seeking to re-establish itself. These are merely the areas of most intense activity.

The largest group is THE UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., headed by Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Alabama. This group has for some time been attempting to change its image into one of so-called respectability. This Klan has announced that it has purchased land in Alabama where white segregated private communities will be established. In addition, through the organizational structure of this Klan, insurance of all kinds is being sold so that the income can be used for Klan activities.

Affiliated with this Klan are a number of other Klan groups which will be outlined below. In addition, other Klan groups in Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, are part of the UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA.

The Grand Dragon for Georgia is Calvin Craig, and in Georgia there are 40 Klaverns with an estimated membership of from 700 to 800 persons in THE UNITED KLAN.

The Grand Dragon for North Carolina of THE UNITED KLANS is Robert Jones. There are approximately 25 Klaverns in the North Carolina area with about ~~800~~ to ~~900~~ members.
6000 7000

The Grand Dragon for South Carolina of THE UNITED KLANS is Robert Scoggins.

The Grand Dragon for Alabama of THE UNITED KLANS is Robert Creel.

THE UNITED KLANS have been trying to spread into Louisiana and Mississippi. It is reported that in Louisiana they are meeting with some success, but, so far, all indications show that they have not made much inroad into the Citizens Council areas of Mississippi.

THE NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., with headquarters in Tucker, Georgia, is headed by Atlanta attorney James Venable. In addition, Venable is the head of the Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, Inc., The Committee of One Million Caucasians to March on Washington, and, with Wally Butterworth, The Christian Voters and Buyers League, which produces and disseminates viciously anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-government records which, among other things, are used as Klan recruiting devices and to further the other groups, which are all for the same purpose.

The major emphasis of THE NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., has been in bending most of their efforts toward this March on Washington as this has been a very lucrative program for them. While some recruitment

has been taking place, much of their stress has been on activating chapters of this organization throughout the Midwest. In each of the areas where Governor George Wallace has been involved in primary campaigns, this group has flooded the area with material and has been receiving responses and money. They use the responses to create a new mailing list and attempt to use these people to start Klan chapters in their respective areas.

THE FEDERATED KLANS, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., is headed by William Hugh Morris of Buchanan, Georgia. This group has a very small membership, no programming and lacks power. It is, at present, merely a paper organization.

THE U.S. KLANS, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., is now headed by H. J. Jones, a roofer who lives in Jonesboro, Georgia. This group has only one chapter with approximately 100 members from the local East and South areas of Atlanta. This group, however, is considered to be very radical, weapons conscience and prone to violence.

THE IMPROVED ORDER OF U.S. KLANS, headed by Earl E. George, has two small chapters in Georgia; one in Ocala, Florida, and two in Alabama. They are associated with Shelton's UNITED KLANS. Jones' group, THE U.S. KLANS, actually split off from Earl George's IMPROVED ORDER because George was not doing anything. THE IMPROVED ORDER has relatively little membership, programming or influence.

THE ASSOCIATION OF GEORGIA KLANS is headed by Charlie Maddox of Savannah, Georgia, has two or three small chapters in the Savannah area

and is associated with Shelton's UNITED KLANS. This group is small and of little influence.

THE DIXIE KLANS, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., is headed by Jack and his brother, Harry Leon Brown, of Chattanooga, Tennessee. This group has a few small chapters in the Northwest corner of Georgia, one relatively strong Klavern in Anniston, Alabama, headed by a man named Adams, but most of their strength is in the Chattanooga, Tennessee, area. They also are associated with Shelton's UNITED KLANS but work closely with other Klan groups.

UNITED FLORIDA KLAN, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., is headed by Jason Kersey in the Jacksonville area. This group is associated with Shelton's UNITED KLANS but does not have a large membership or much influence.

They have been superseded by a group called simply THE KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, headed by a Gene Fallow of Jacksonville, Florida. This group has been attracting members at a very high rate, is considered to be an extremely radical group and very dangerous. It is thought that an effective persecution of the bombers from this group may stop their growth and slow down the organization. There is no indication that they are associated with any other Klan group.

THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA KLANS, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., is headed by Robert L. Hodges of Columbia, S. C., and this group is

picking up members as part of the general resurgence of the Klans throughout the South.

This listing is certainly not meant to indicate where all of the local chapters in each state are, and where we have used the expression "This group is small and of little influence", this is a relative statement in relation to the other Klan groups.

It is our considered opinion that from now through the rest of the Summer there will be a small surge of Klan activities such as public meetings, cross burnings, recruiting drives, etc.. It is to be noted that each facet of political or social upheaval which, in any way, can be interpreted as a set-back to the passage of the Civil Rights Bill, is eagerly grasped and used by the Klans at present.

There are no clearly defined lines that each individual follows by being a member of a particular Klan group. In many cases, these people are also members of other extremist groups and, in effect, a complex web has been formed with such organizations as the National States Rights Party and the Citizens Councils, etc.. The more violence prone of the Klan groups such as Venable's already are advocating that a race war will be the only solution, and they are sowing the seeds for this violence, if it comes.

Georgian Seeks Inquiry on Klan Links to Police

Weltner / Gp. KKK LA 4-19-65

BY JACK NELSON
Times Staff Writer

ATLANTA—Exposure of law-enforcement involvement in the Ku Klux Klan "could be one of the real values" of the investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee, says Rep. Charles L. Weltner of Atlanta.

"In some places," said the young congressman in an interview, "you call the sheriff and you don't know whether he'll show up with his badge or his hood."

Weltner said the purpose of the investigation should be to expose the Klan's unlawful activities in order to "galvanize public opinion."

The committee already knows of some involvement by southern law officers, he said, and it should dig deeply to expose all ties between law enforcement and the Klan.

Weltner, a 37-year-old lawyer and the newest member of the Un-American Activities Committee, proposed the Klan investigation almost two months before President Johnson declared war on the hooded order and suggested a congressional probe.

A liberal first elected to Congress in 1962 with strong

Please Turn to Pg. 5, Col. 5

PROBE OF KLAN

Continued from First Page

Negro support, Weltner mystified some of his closest followers this year by seeking a position on the controversial committee, which is still disdained by most liberals.

On Feb. 1, less than two weeks after being named to the committee, Weltner called for an investigation of the Klan. The next day the committee approved a preliminary inquiry. On March 17 the committee met again and agreed to continue the preliminary probe before making a final decision on a general investigation.

Inquiry Speeded

On the night of March 25, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights demonstrator, was shot to death in Lowndes County, Ala. The next day President Johnson went on nationwide television to announce the arrest of four klansmen (complaints against one have since been dropped) in the ambush slaying and to call for a congressional probe of the Klan.

The committee quickly responded by voting for a full-scale investigation. "We were headed in that direction anyway," said Weltner, "but the President speeded it up."

Weltner, who hopes to be named to the subcommittee which will conduct the investigation, has little patience with what he considers "knee-jerk criticism" of the committee by some liberals. Without bothering to check, he says, they "just say the committee does no good."

New Protective Rules

In the past the committee has been severely criticized for using tactics that tended to taint or smear innocent persons. Weltner said that while he disagrees with some of the committee's past methods, he believes that new rules, which provide for more closed-door testimony and give a witness a chance to refute any accusations before they are made public, afford ample protection for witnesses.

"The committee is extremely sensitive now about the need for avoiding the wide, shotgun attacks," he declared.

Weltner believes that if the investigation "is run properly," the information developed will so stigmatize the Klan, which already is scorned by the great majority of southerners, that it will find continued operations almost impossible.

"If the investigation consists of broad statements reiterating what's already known and a couple of public hearings and that's all, then it will have no effect," he said.

But if we can show the people the number of klansmen in the different Klan organizations, identify the klansmen and the location of klaverns (chapters) reveal the sources of financial support and disclose the acts of terrorism, then we can provide guidance for the people."

Klan Warning

Weltner said one reason Bogalusa, La., is experiencing racial turmoil is that "the Klan set the policy for that city." A fully informed public would not have permitted this, he said.

"You remember," the congressman said, "that Brooks Hays (a Presidential assistant) was invited by a Protestant church to make a speech in Bogalusa last fall. The Klan began warning against the speech and handing out cards saying "The Klan is watching you."

"The people were stampeded. The invitation was withdrawn."

Weltner said "the unknown quantity" caused fear among the people of Bogalusa. "Nobody knew how many klansmen there were or who they were or whether they were living next door. Their judgment would have been substantially different if they had known."

A committee report exposing the Klan could be a ready reference, he said, "so that the next time Brooks Hays goes out, say to Opelousas, La., if the Klan got active the people could look up the klavern and see that it was headed by an ex-bootlegger and that its members were a bunch of misfits. Then the people could decide whether they would be guided by that kind of people."

File
Klan

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Theodore Freedman

October 5, 1965

CONTINUING GROWTH OF THE KU KLUX KLANS

Since the beginning of May, 1965, the Ku Klux Klans in the United States have made new gains, carrying forward the upsurge in Klan strength that started late in 1964 and continued through the first quarter of 1965.

Last May, overall Klan strength was in the neighborhood of 35,000 to 45,000 activists. Today, it has jumped to about 51,000 -- a gain of anywhere from 6,000 to 16,000.

Furthermore, a close study of attendance at Klan rallies and public meetings in various parts of the South during the last half-year indicates a sharp increase in the size of audiences. Whereas six months ago a typical Klan rally might attract 200 to 400, today these convocations are attracting audiences of 1,000 or more. This suggests that in addition to gains in actual Klan strength, there has been a ground-swell of grass-roots support in the rural South for the Klan and that many more Southerners are pro-Klan than was the case six months ago.

Some knowledgeable observers of Klan operations suggest that in the last half-year, perhaps 55,000 to 75,000 persons in the small towns and hamlets of the rural South have been drawn into the Klan orbit as sympathizers of the Invisible Empire, over and above the 6,000 to 16,000 who have actually joined the activist ranks of the hooded order. These observers point out that audiences at Klan rallies in recent months have been far more sumpathetic to Klan speakers and far more vocal in their support than they were earlier. Fewer of those present, moreover, can be classified as mere curiosity seekers or observers.

There is evidence of a new trend in Klan activity -- the expansion of recruiting operations beyond the boundaries of the Deep South to other states -- Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Delaware, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Washington. The Invisible Empire has already recruited members in Ohio and Delaware; organizing in Kentucky, Indiana, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Washington is planned or has started. The Delaware Klan has indicated it will accept Roman Catholics as members provided they take the Klan oath to rejct orders from any "foreign"authority.

Klan leaders have stated that they will have active organizations in 38 states by the middle of 1966. This claim is probably self-serving and exaggerated. There is, nevertheless, reason to believe that the Klans will continue to grow in the near future, as the nation continues to pass through the crisis generated by the thrust of the civil rights movement and as the Federal Government implements the far reaching Civil Rights legislation adopted by the Congress in 1964 and 1965.

Knowledgeable observers of Klan activity in particular and of the Southern scene in general give a number of reasons for the stiffened resistance of hard-core segregationists and extremists that has sparked the Klan upsurge now in full swing;

1) The denunciation of the Klans by President Johnson following the slaying of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo at the time of the Selma crisis.

2) Continuing reluctance of Southern juries to convict alleged perpetrators of violence in the racial crisis.

3) The investigation of the Klan launched by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

4) Continuing publicity focussed on the Klan movement.

5) Continuing desegregation of public schools and places of public accommodation.

6) Continuing pressure of the civil rights movement.

7) The adoption this year of the Voting Rights Bill, and increased Negro voter registration in the South.

These developments, coming on the heels of earlier setbacks for the cause of last-ditch segregation, have hardened the resistance of extreme segregationists. They also have dealt a staggering blow to the White Citizens Councils, which tried to preserve segregation by litigation and by economic pressure and which, in the eyes of extremist elements in the South today, have failed. It is not surprising that the White Citizens Councils have turned their organizing efforts northward to California, Maryland, Missouri and other states.

Meanwhile, the Klans have been preaching race warfare as the only way of preserving segregation and have gained membership at the expense of the Councils whose strength and influence are declining. In effect, the Klans have been telling extreme segregationists in the South: "We told you so. We have the only answer to the problem -- race warfare."

The trend, in short, has been toward extremism in defense of segregation and growth in support of the Klans has been the result.

Maintaining its position as the largest of the various groups is the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., led by Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton, with headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. The United Klans now has members and supporters in 15 states, compared to nine states six months ago. The United Klans' strength today is 40,000 - 41,000, contrasted with an estimated 26,000 to 33,000 six months ago.

Of the 50,000 Klansmen now active, therefore, the United Klans control 75% to 80%. Almost all of the remaining 10,000 in the Invisible Empire are affiliated with the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. which is headed by Attorney James Venable of Atlanta where the headquarters of this hooded order are located. Most of the strength of the National Knights remains concentrated in the state of Georgia, where there are 7,500 activists, plus a scattering of support in Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and Ohio.

Alabama, with United Klan strength of 11,000 and NOrth Carolina with 10,000, are the two strongest Klan states. North Carolina, in the last six months, has been the scene of a sharp increase in recruiting activity by the United Klans, headed by Grand Dragon James R. Jones. This state organization is the best run and most highly organized in the United Klan movement and, with six paid organizers in the field, has shown a gain in strength of approximately 2,000 to 3,000 in the last six months. Present plans call for a boosting of the paid field staff in North Carolina to eleven at the earliest possible date.

Shelton's Georgia operation is headed by Grand Dragon Calvin Craig and boasts strength of some 7,000.

The Shelton hooded order also has scored gains in Mississippi and Tennessee. In Mississippi, the independent White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan have been absorbed by the United Klans and is now 3,500 strong. In Tennessee, United Klans' strength has jumped by approximately 2,000. The gains in Tennessee were at the expense of the old Dixie Klan which fell apart when its leaders became ill. Raymond Anderson heads the United Klans in Tennessee.

A state-by-state rundown of approximate Klan strength is attached.

Trend Report
Southern Office
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

October 5, 1965

THE KU KLUX KLANS, STATE-BY-STATE

(Approximate Strength)

	United Klans (Shelton)	National Knights (Venable)
ALABAMA	11,000	600
ARKANSAS	800	
FLORIDA	1,500	800
GEORGIA	7,000	7,500
LOUISIANA	1,200	
MISSISSIPPI	3,500	
NORTH CAROLINA	10,000	
SOUTH CAROLINA	2,000	500
TENNESSEE	2,000	300
TEXAS	600	
VIRGINIA	400	
NON-SOUTH		
OHIO	400	300
DELAWARE	200	
	40,600	10,000

OTHER REPORTED KLAN STRENGTH (SCATTERED) -- WASHINGTON (100)
FLORIDA (60) -- MILITANT KNIGHTS, independent)

File

THE COLUMBIA RECORD

Columbia, South Carolina

JOHN A. MONTGOMERY
Editor

H. HARRISON JENKINS
Associate Editor

Cold Light of Truth on the Klan

Three positive accomplishments can be crafted from the Ku Klux Klan hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee. First, legislation to control the Klan and its acts of violence may be written. Second, Southerners and other Americans who've been inclined to accept the Klan as of some value will be rudely awakened to the totally despicable nature of the organization. And third, the Klan itself may be so injured by the truth as to become a very, very minor platoon of semi-literate bed-sheeters.

Both Democrats and Republicans on the committee agree that legislation may be necessary. Congressman Weltner of Georgia says, "The end result might well be legislation to control acts of violence." Republican Congressman John Ashbrook of Ohio adds, "The committee will do two things. It will first lay before the public a complete, specifically detailed picture of the Klan. It will show that Klan violence follows a definite pattern and does not consist of isolated instances. And it will propose legislation to protect the public from this violence."

Congressman Ashbrook, who talked to fellow Republicans in Columbia a few years back, has a clear picture of the bizarre Klan. "The minute I walk into these hearings," he says, "it is like entering another world where all of the values meaningful to me—law and order, respect for your fellow humans, justice—all go out the window. You enter an eerie world where evidence of guns, beatings, exhortations to violence, hate, arson, bombings, shootings, blacklists, sugar in gas tanks, and night rides become commonplace."

Why does the Klan survive and why has it grown recently in South Carolina? Ashbrook says, "Because good people—and they are by far the majority—do nothing about the Klan. There is something else, however; a kind of mystique which is built up by their absurd sheeted costumes, their night riding, flaming crosses and violence, all designed to frighten the Negro and impress the uneducated whites. The Klan also seeks favor by loud denunciations of communism."

Many Carolinians, addicted to the silly and indefensible notion that the whole of the Negro protest movement is dominated by communists, actually believe that the Klan is dominated by communists, actually believe that the Klan is an opponent of this totalitarianism. On the contrary, Ashbrook believes that the Klan is "possibly the greatest ally of communism in the United States. That is because the Klan spreads hatred, suspicion, lies and racism—all of which make up the soil in which communism thrives. The Klan is doing the devil's work. Its so-called 'attacks' on communism are nothing more than a smoke screen for demagogues, and so tend to discredit those who are truly anti-communist."

The Klan is an agency of deviltry and hate, an abomination in the sight of the Judeo-Christian Lord, a desecrator of God by its words and acts, and is unworthy of the slightest sympathy by literate, reasonable Carolinians.

The hearings of the House Committee, we are certain, will bountifully substantiate this reiterated judgment of THE RECORD.

Indictment of Southern Justice

"Southern Justice: An Indictment" is the subject of a 31-page special report issued by the Southern Regional Council.

True to the character of an indictment, the paper is designed to

jury would have illiterate members, and a pauper's case would be heard by a jury that included paupers.

Virtually all the cases cited are from Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and North Carolina. South Carolina is mentioned only once in the book.

A Stroll

By JOHN A. MONTGO

Jotting through the Steel b
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Punch a true or false button
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dolls, vases, plates, bookend
mugs, clocks and three-dimens
the South Carolina Recreat
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pitchers, busts, figures, lamps
the ceramics arts department
Woman's Department, a wall
1965 spread with the Palmetto
list of all South Carolina gover
century . . . Also, rugs, sweat
lace, coats, dresses, tablecl
shades, footstools and sampler

MONTGOMERY

Birth Cont Needed for

By MAX FREEDMAN

UNITED NATIONS — When the Pope delivered his excellent address to the United Nations, he disappoined some people by appearing to discourage efforts at birth control. We shall have to await the final decisions of the Vatican council to see if this impression is correct. It is clear even now, however, that the Pope was expressing a religious conviction held not only by Catholics but by many members of other churches.

The disappointment at the Pope's remarks was caused,

from this violence.

Congressman Ashbrook, who talked to fellow Republicans in Columbia a few years back, has a clear picture of the bizarre Klan. "The minute I walk into these hearings," he says, "it is like entering another world where all of the values meaningful to me—law and order, respect for your fellow humans, justice—all go out the window. You enter an eerie world where evidence of guns, beatings, exhortations to violence, hate, arson, bombings, shootings, blacklists, sugar in gas tanks, and night rides become commonplace."

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Indictment of Southern Justice

"Southern Justice: An Indictment" is the subject of a 31-page special report issued by the Southern Regional Council.

True to the character of an indictment, the paper is designed to convict. It charges offenses of racial discrimination against Southern judges, lawyers, law enforcement officers and juries.

It uses sample cases as blanket indictment of the region, but avoids mention of circumstances which might weight the other side of the scales of justice.

The report contains much truth, although the authors had to reach back three or four decades to get some of the material. It also contains some half-truths, which are the hardest kind of falsifications to combat.

Conclusions are that special federal protection should be provided for civil rights agitators, that a federal police force should enforce integration, that the Southern courts system should be integrated on a system of balanced racial representation, and that white Southerners should not be appointed to federal judgeships.

It suggests further that juries should have class representation as well as inter-racial composition. For example, an illiterate charged with a crime would be assured that the jury would have illiterate members, and a pauper's case would be heard by a jury that included paupers.

Virtually all the cases cited are from Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and North Carolina. South Carolina is mentioned only once in the book, and that paragraph is a half-truth that distorts an observation by the Governor of the state.

It says:

"Governor Robert McNair of South Carolina was quoted recently as saying that the real threat of increased Negro votes is not so much at the polls as on juries. He said that adding large numbers of Negroes to the electorate would put more and more illiterates on juries, and he saw that as unfortunate."

As written, this statement makes an interpretative assumption. What the Governor said was that the federally imposed abandonment of South Carolina's literacy standards would be more damaging to the jury selections than to the voting system.

He did not cite race, but since the federal government abolished literacy in target Southern states for the purpose of putting more Negroes on the registration books, the Council wrote its conclusion into the Governor's remarks. Most readers outside South Carolina will not understand that the Council's paragraph is a subtly written half-truth.

Federal Control on Highways

If South Carolina and other states continue their reluctance to meet their safety obligations to the motoring public, the federal government will step in and do the job for them.

The House of Representatives has already placed restrictions on federal funds for continued construction of the interstate highway system. It provides that any state which does not have a federally approved highway safety program by the end of 1967 will not receive further highway aids.

Conditions to be met will be set by the Secretary of Commerce and will cover such areas as driver improvement, correction of high accident locations and increased enforcement.

South Carolina is vulnerable. It had the highest road fatality rate in the nation last year.

Bold action for increased safety on the highways should be a high priority item for the state General Assembly.

MOMENT OF MEDITATION: *For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive.* I Corinthians 15:22. Selected by the Rev. Clyde E. Bedenbaugh, pastor of St. Luke Lutheran Church, Columbia.

the ceramics arts department
Woman's Department, a wall
1965 spread with the Palmetto
list of all South Carolina gover
century . . . Also, rugs, sweat
lace, coats, dresses, tablecl
shades, footstools and samplers

Birth Cont Needed for

By MAX FREEDMAN

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The disappointment at the Pope's remarks was caused, in part at least by the most unsatisfactory way in which President Johnson had formulated this problem in his State of the Union message. Supporters of birth control and planned parenthood were so grateful for any Presidential support that they tended to ignore the shortcomings in the President's statement.

Quality of Life

The President saw the problem entirely in economic terms. He spoke of the growing pressure of population on limited resources. He said nothing about the responsibility of parents to give their children a fair chance in life. As the discussion moves from the quantity of life to the quality of life, advocates of birth control will find that they have the understanding and the support of members of all faiths. In the United States very little progress can be made unless the religious judgment of the nation endorses the reform.

President Johnson made the additional mistake of assuming the very thing which has to be proved. He assumed that no new methods of production would ever be developed to take care of a much larger population. The Communists are less pessimistic. They have always maintained that the best way to control the population problem is not to limit population but to increase production.

President Johnson and other Western leaders, on reflection, will not prove less eager to put an immense emphasis on better production. The most useful policy would combine a search for better methods of production with reasonable measures of birth control.

Truman, Ike

President Truman used to scoff at the notion that any American government should concern itself with birth control. In much the same spirit President Eisenhower described birth control as a matter for the private conscience of the citizen rather than for the government. Both know better now. They have both supported the work and championed the objectives of the Planned Parenthood Foundation. The stand taken by President Johnson, while open to criticism on certain fundamental points, has nevertheless given great encouragement to the whole movement. In the Sen-

NAACP-

NYT 6/1/63

Biography

1963.

Quiet Integrationist

Medgar Wiley Evers

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., May 31—Medgar Wiley Evers likens his feeling during a racial demonstration to the reaction of a varsity football player. "I played football in college for four years," he said, "and no matter how many games you play, there is still a certain amount of butterflies. But the first time you tackle a man, your fear disappears. You're just in it." The husky 37-year-old Negro

Man in the News

is now at the center of racial turmoil in this city. For nine years, he has served here as state field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Whether speaking to rallies or arranging bail for N.A.A.C.P. members arrested for picketing downtown stores, Mr. Evers gives evidence of his college training in business administration. He talks quietly and attends to small details.

But his strong feelings, like his unexpected smile, are never fully submerged by his methodical manner.

His 9-year-old son, for example, is named Darrel K. Evers. The "K" stands for Kenyatta.

"I named him for Jomo Kenyatta, now the Premier of Kenya, who was allegedly one of the leaders of the Mau Mau," Mr. Evers said somberly.

"At one time I was really violent," he continued, adding with a quick smile: "In thought, in thought."

Mr. Evers was born on July 2, 1925, in Decatur, Miss. He went through school in Newton County, Miss., and entered the United States Army in 1943.

At the war's end, Mr. Evers enrolled at Alcorn A. & M. University in southwestern Mississippi. Working as an insurance salesman after graduation, he joined the N.A.A.C.P. in 1952 and became a member of its staff two years later.

On Dec. 24, 1951, he married Myrlie Beasley. In addition to Darrell, they have an 8-year-old daughter Reena Denise, and another son, James Van Dyke 3d.

Mr. Evers recalls one college experience that left a deep impression:

"The president of Alcorn, a Negro, had discouraged us from trying to register to vote. He said we had no contribution to make to the community. I couldn't forget that."

Mr. Evers has other memories of practices he wants to

Associated Press

Has his eye on the future

eliminate before his own children repeat his experiences.

"A close friend of my dad's was lynched when I was 14 or so," he said, continuing:

"He was supposed to have insulted a white woman. His clothes stayed out in the pasture where they killed him for a long time afterward. You'd see the blood turning rust color."

The white officials who deal with Mr. Evers consider him an effective organizer. Although the name of his organization is anathema to them, they describe Mr. Evers as a reasonable and dependable man.

This grudging respect has not protected him from police harassment, however.

"During the first sit-ins here in 1961," he said, "I went to the trial and applauded the defendants. The police lunged in, and I was beaten over the head with a snub-nosed revolver."

Convicted for Contempt

On another occasion, in 1960, Mr. Evers was visiting a cousin when a judge ruled against a Negro in a civil rights case.

Sitting in the kitchen of his cousin's house, Mr. Evers wrote a statement condemning the decision and called the news services.

When the statement appeared in print, he was arrested, fined $100 and sentenced to 30 days in jail for contempt of court. The conviction was reversed by the Mississippi Supreme Court.

"When my sons are grown," he said in a tone that was faintly challenging, "they're going to find a season even better than New York City."

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

August 2, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: PERSONS WHO ATTENDED THE LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE
AT THE 56th ANNUAL CONVENTION

FROM: MISS ALTHEA T.L. SIMMONS, SECRETARY FOR TRAINING

I am enclosing herewith copies of materials used in the Leadership Development Institute at the 56th Annual Convention in Denver.

May we suggest that you share this information with other members of your branch, and encourage your branch President to appoint some individual to serve as "trainer" for your branch. We are planning to schedule Institutes for trainers in the very near future.

ATLS/kc

NAACP LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

23809 JUN-1'65

The Institute is designed to increase the effectiveness of the participants in dealing with people. The emphasis will be on ACTION LEARNING. Through a variety of experiences, the participant will develop a better understanding of himself as a leader and others as individuals and as members of working groups.

Enrollees will learn about leadership and membership through group experimentation and observation. Group involvement techniques to be used will include role playing, case problems, "in-basket" and sensitivity training.

TRAINING FOR BETTER LEADERSHIP

Leadership Development Institute June 29-July 1, 1965
Beverly Room
Denver, Colorado

INSTITUTE OUTLINE

A. ADMINISTRATION
- .Organizational structure
- .Methods of delegation
- .Decision making
- .Promoting teamwork

B. CONFERENCES AND DISCUSSION LEADERSHIP
- .Conference procedure
- .Leading a conference
- .Work conference
- .Conducting a Meeting
- .Use of meetings and group dynamics

C. COMMUNICATIONS
- .How to organize oral communications
- .How to prove a point
- .Physical and vocal delivery
- .How to speak with power
- .Handling the interview and press conference
- .Speaking on radio and television
- ."Humanized" listening

TO REGISTER

****

Fill out and return this coupon to: Miss Althea T. L. Simmons
Secretary for Training, NAACP
20 West 40th Street,
New York City

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street New York, New York 10018
Training Department

SUGGESTIONS FOR RECORDERS OF MEETINGS

Taking minutes of meetings has been termed "a necessary evil." Many recorders take voluminous word-for-word notes that are impossible to wade through.

The key to the problem of taking minutes lies in making a distinction between meeting CONTENT and meeting PROCEDURES. "Mr. Jones suggests we have a fund raising event, there is a discussion," etc. — these are PROCEDURAL things. FORGET THAT. You should get on-the-spot HIGHLIGHTS OF WHAT THE MEETING PRODUCES, not what goes on in the meeting.

Here are some "do's and don'ts" for you, Mr. Recorder:

DO

1. Record selectively.
2. Try such methods as labeling one column "problems," another "consensus," still another, "bright ideas."
3. In a meeting which tackles a problem or issue, state the problem, note the major points of agreement and disagreement, and the conclusions.
4. If you are in doubt about the group's opinion on a point, ask the group to check the accuracy of your record.
5. Try to organize for final presentation as you go along. This will not only clarify your understanding but will enable you to give an on-the-spot summary of discussion if the group calls for it.
6. Be ready to give a summary of what has gone on if the group requests it during the meeting.

DON'T

1. Try to take down all details of the process. (Concentrate on content)
2. Hesitate to ask the group to correct and amend your record where you are in doubt.
3. Use startlingly new language in summarizing discussion without asking the group if you have changed its meaning.
4. Fail to work with leader (or whole group) in planning what records are needed in this meeting and for later use. (By the way if you are Chairman, don't try to be the recorder, too!)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street New York, New York 10018

Recorders Sheet

Training Session — (Name of Session)

Problem	Consensus	"Bright Ideas"

BARRIERS TO COMMUNICATION

SPEAKER should		LISTENER should
1. Speak at level of listener's status, interests, experiences.	1. Different status, position, self experiences.	1. Think in terms of speaker's status, interests, experiences.
2. Adapt to listener prejudices.	2. Prejudices	2. Dispel prejudices
3. Use common ground and "you" attitude.	3. "I" versus "you" attitude.	3. Develop "you" attitude
4. Make changes seem attractive.	4. Resistance to change	4. Be open minded
5. Organize clearly for understanding	5. Refute rather than understand	5. Listen to understand, not to refute
6. Develop ideas for listener interest.	6. Extra time to listen	6. Use listening time constructively.
7. Use listener level language	7. Language	7. Analyze speaker's language

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

SUMMER VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

INSTRUCTIONS FOR HOUSE-TO-HOUSE CANVASSERS

As a precinct worker you have the opportunity of coming into contact with the grass roots of the local community. Your ultimate responsibility is:

A. DOOR-TO-DOOR-CANVASSING

1. Locate eligible voters who are not registered.
2. Get them to apply to register.

   (a) If person has made a previous unsuccessful attempt to register, encourage him to make another attempt.

   (b) Suggest attendance at nearby Citizenship Clinic.

B. Checklist of information you should have and things you should do BEFORE YOU START CANVASSING.

1. Know the physical boundaries of your precinct and your assigned working area.

2. Know the legal requirements for voter registration. Have this information with you whenever you are working your precinct.

3. Know when and where to register (exact address and hours and dates for registration).

4. Know date registration closes.

5. Have list of eligible voters in your assigned area. This is your basic working tool.

6. Know under what circumstances a person must register.

7. Know the period during which absentee ballots must be cast.

8. Know what services (babysitting, transportation, etc.) our organization offers and the pertinent details or where you can get such details (office address, telephone number etc.).

9. Have a supply of volunteer cards.

10. Have information leaflets.

    (a) Containing registration information during registration period.

    (b) Containing information on issues after registration closes.

11. Be sure you have a friendly and cooperative attitude.

12. Be sure your appearance fosters a good impression.

13. Before ringing a doorbell or knocking on a door, attempt to find out the name of the resident from:

    (a) mailbox or door name plate
    (b) the neighbor you just visited
    (c) the local registration committee of the Branch

    It is an advantage to be able to ask for a person by name.

14. Ask each person you visit whether other adults over 20 live at the same address and whether they are registered or have attempted to register.

15. Give information as to when and where to register.

16. Inform the person of the services offered by the NAACP Voter Registration Summer Project.

17. Check to see if the person will encourage some one else to register and assist in the campaign.

18. Tell the people about the Summer Project and the importance of every Negro registering. (Refer to Memphis where Negroes are now in elective office, Georgia with a Negro senator etc.).

19. Get the person's telephone number so that the telephone committee can give information by phone <u>AFTER YOUR VISIT.</u>

20. Immediately upon leaving and before going to the next house:

    (a) Write on your working list the names

(b) Be sure you have the telephone number
(c) Make a note as to whether the eligible voter in the house is registered.
(d) Be sure you have the correct address.

21. Turn in to precinct chairman or campaign headquarters

(a) All volunteer cards filled out by new workers you have recruited.

(b) Names and addresses and telephone numbers of all eligible voters whose names were not on your original working list.

(c) If your original list included names from sources other than the official list of registered voters, indicate whether these persons are registered or not and give telephone numbers.

22. Make arrangements for any services you have promised.

23. Arrange for follow-up calls to unregistered voters.

ORGANIZING YOUR COMMUNITY FOR A POLITICAL ACTION DRIVE

STEP I:

1. Prepare recommendations for a proposed structure for the campaign organization.

2. Consider recommendations for campaign coordinator and other key personnel, paid and volunteer.

   (a) If branch is able to donate the services of a full-time campaign coordinator, this will give a tremendous boost to the project and also strengthen the Branch's position within the community-wide organization.

3. Branch should make arrangements to furnish competent secretarial help for the first community-wide meeting and be prepared to offer such services for future meetings. Use a paid person, if necessary, to insure a competent record.

4. Give consideration to a possible location for campaign headquarters space.

   (a) Be sure that your recommendation includes all pertinent information such as availability and expense. Secure a donation of space if possible.
   CAUTION: Unless absolutely necessary, don't fall into the trap of accepting a donation of space which is otherwise not particularly desirable.

5. Give consideration as to whether the Headquarters should be staffed solely by volunteers or by paid personnel.
   NOTE: Any recommendation for paid personnel should include suggestions for obtaining funds to pay such personnel.

6. Prepare recommended guidelines for the community-wide organization.

   (a) You want to insure that the organization operates within the framework of NAACP POLICY.

7. Determine the desired goals of the first meeting (Suggested goals are listed later).

STEP II:

I. Set up a coordinating committee

   A. Convene a meeting of representatives from as many interested or potentially interested groups as possible, including:

      1. Churches
      2. Social and fraternal organizations

3. Service and other community organizations.
4. Labor organizations
5. Business organizations
6. Retiree organizations
7. Businessmens organizations
8. College students
9. Political parties
10. Professional or occupational groups such as: doctors, lawyers, nurses, cosmotologists, teachers, etc.

These persons will form the coordinating council.

II. Desired goals of first meeting are:

A. Determine overall campaign structure.

The following structure, discussed in more detail later, has been proven to be quite effective.

COMMUNITY-WIDE COORDINATING COUNCIL

|

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT COUNCIL

|

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT COUNCIL

|

AREA COUNCIL

|

PRECINCT COUNCIL

B. Lay out purpose, guidelines and discuss overall program.

C. Study the election procedures in your community to see if liberalization of these procedures is necessary to facilitate the mechanics of registering. Unless your community permits deputy registrars to canvass door-to-door, the election procedures in your community need liberalization. Urge your local election officials to approve such procedures as:

1. Deputized registrars who can register door-to-door.
2. Establishment of registration facilities in such places as schools, police stations, fire stations, public libraries and recreation centers.
3. Permitting deputized registrars to work in shopping centers, churches, office buildings, plants and other places where large numbers of adults assemble.

D. Discuss means of involving as many people as possible in the campaign.

E. Discuss qualifications desirable in a campaign coordination. Begin getting suggestions for a person to be named as coordinator. If at all possible, the coordinator should be a full-time person (for small communities it may not be necessary to have a full-time person, but it is imperative to

have someone who can devote regular hours to the campaign).

1. This is a budgetary problem which may necessitate prime consideration by the finance committee or perhaps you can get pledges of immediate contributions from among individuals and organizations represented on the coordinating council.

F. Discuss headquarter requirements and possible locations.

G. Begin getting suggestions for chairman of Congressional and Assembly District Chairmen.

H. Discuss what paid personnel is necessary.

1. Consider the possibility that some cooperating groups may be able to assign an experienced full-time staff person to work in the campaign.

I. Set time and place for a second meeting of the Coordinating Council, and arrange the mechanics of sending out notices.

J. Suggested Committees are:

Materials and Education
Housing
Speakers Bureau
Press coverage
Research
Finance and fund raising
Public relations and recruitment
Precinct operations (Register and get-out-the-vote)
(a) Baby sitting
(b) Transportation
(c) Telephone
(d) Citizenship Clinic

STEP III:

I. Desired goals of meeting are:

A. Select a chairman of Coordinating Council and a secretary.
B. Select a campaign coordinator.
(1) This is not the time to promote the welfare of your friends, try to get the best qualified person possible.
C. Select Congressional District and Assembly District Chairmen.
D. Select chairmen for committees on community-wide levels.
E. Set up a steering committee composed of Coordinating Council Chairman, Committee Chairmen, Congression and Assembly District Chairmen.
F. Further discussion of overall program and recruitment.

G. Set time and place for a general campaign meeting; ask each organization to get as many members as possible to participate.
(1) Ask each organization to assume a minimum quota (perhaps based on membership).

H. Give particular attention to duties and responsibilities of committees:

COMMITTEES

(1) Education - Plan campaign literature and/or determine what already available literature should be purchased by the group. Materials should include:

handbills, bumper stickers, leaflets, sample ballots where permitted and doorknob hangers, similar to the cards used by telegraph company to notify you of delivery when you are not at home. Print on it the facts about registration and voting or about the issue or candidate or perhaps about your campaign slogan.

(2) Speakers Bureau-

A. Recruit persons willing to speak before community groups.
(1) Have some central, well advertised place to which requests for speakers can be directed.
(2) Be aggressive in seeking engagements, remember you are the one with an idea to sell.

B. Prepare a speaker's kit containing information to be used by speakers.
(1) Prepare the text for several speakers. Remember some potential speakers don't have the desire or time to pore through reams of materials in order to prepare a knowledgeable speech.

(2) Prepare a list of questions and answers that a speaker can expect to be asked.

(3) Conduct several speakers clinics to serve as training for speakers.
(a) A good format is that of presenting speakers for and against the proposition with an opportunity for rebuttal and questions from the audience. This gives the potential speaker an opportunity to become familiar with the type of questions he can expect and to evaluate possible answers.

(3) Press Coverage and Publicity

Duties of the committee are to prepare press releases (to be approved by campaign coordinator for release) and to try to get as much press, radio and TV coverage as possible.

(a) Make all possible use of community service time on radio
 (1) Spot announcements
 (2) Inclusion of registration and voting information in regular programs.
(b) Try for appearances on interview programs on TV
(c) Use daily and weekly newspapers
(d) Use church bulletins
(e) Use organization newsletter
(f) Don't leave the coverage to chance. Plan a general press campaign with attention to what points you want to stress at what time.
(g) Consider the possibility of securing a column in the press.
(h) Try to get dailies to run editorials in support of your position.
(i) Try to get dailies to run feature articles
(j) Initiate a "letter to editor" campaign
(k) Ask radio and TV stations for free time
 (1) to present skits which emphasize registration and voting, and
 (2) talks by prominent civic leaders and/or officials.
(l) Ask organizations to insert information sheets in their regular mailing.
(m) Ask theatre managers to use "Register and Vote" slides between films.
(n) Ask businesses to include register and vote information in their regular advertisement.

4. Public Relations and Recruitment

All aspects of public relations, excluding press coverage. Major purpose of this committee is to encourage cooperation from all segments of the community and to recruit volunteer workers.

(a) Send persons to meet with various organizations to explain program and solicit workers. Don't stop at asking for on-the-spot volunteers. Ask each group to furnish a certain minimum number of workers based on its membership; this places upon the group the responsibility of putting pressure on its members to work in the campaign thus giving you the advantage to be derived from group loyalty.

(b) Set up a telephone committee to recruit workers by telephone.
 (1) Use a city cross-directory so that you can work in neighborhhods with the highest potential and so that you can solicit by blocks.
 (2) Ask groups to let you use their mailing lists.
 (3) Use a precinct register of voters, a list that can be secured from your election officials, Assemblyman or Congressman. People who are registered are usually more likely to work in a campaign

than people who are not registered.

(c) Recruit by mail; use a reply envelope or fold-over card. A volunteers card may look like this:

I want to volunteer to work on registration and getting out the vote in my neighborhood.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

PHONE _____

ORGANIZATION _____

Fill in the space below, only if certain of information.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT _____

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT _____

PRECINCT _____

This form should be memeographed and used when recruiting workers through organizations. Each precinct worker should have cards available to be filled out as he recruits new workers. Give cards to organizations that are requested to furnish workers.

(d) Get organizations and businesses to use the slogan "Register and Vote" on their mailing envelopes. This may be done by hand stamp, stamp meter machines or gummed labels.

(e) Use direct action techniques---have a register and vote march using appropriate signs etc. Involve a cross section of the community.

(f) Use buttons, ribbons and lapel cards. Imprint them with "I have registered" or "I will vote" slogans. Have all workers wear them. Issue one to persons who have registered and urge them to wear it on their lapels.

(g) Plan a campaign kick-off ceremony with dignataries. Plan rallies during a campaign. Always have volunteer cards available.

(5) <u>Finance and Fund Raising</u>

Every campaign takes money.

(a) Use whatever type of fund raising activity that might be successful in your community. These might include: pot-luck suppers, cocktail parties,barbecues, dances theatre parties, dinners, bean-feeds and shows.

Use your imagination. Best plan is to get some organization to put on these affairs.

(b) Solicit contributions from individuals, businesses, clubs, churches and other organizations.
(3) Consider a "Mother's March for Freedom". Select one day as Freedom Day. Publicize it extensively and have women volunteers canvass neighborhoods. (Be sure you comply with all city ordinances).
(1) Same idea is good for youth or any other group.
(d) Get contributions at rallies.

(6) Precinct Operations

This committee is responsible for setting up organizational structure on the precinct level and seeing to it that the precinct workers have all the aids and materials prepared for his use by other committees. Details as to organization will be considered later. Appropriate subcommittees are (at the precinct level these will be separate committees)

(a) Transportation: Recruit volunteer corp of cars and drivers to transport voters to the polls. If it is necessary to go to a central place to register, transportation must be furnished during the registration period. Have a well organized dispatch procedure.
(b) Baby Sitting: Recruit a corp of babysitters.

(1) Recruit volunteers to be dispatched to homes.
(2) Recruit babysitters within a block with whom children in that block may be left.
(3) Recruit homes in a block to which children in block may be brought to be cared for by babysitter furnished by you.
(4) Have well organized dispatch procedure.
(c) Telephone Committee: By election day, you should have compiled an extensive of potential voters from your precinct workers. The job of the telephone crew is to call persons who have not voted and urge them to go to the polls immediately prior to election day and remind them to vote on election day. On election day the telephone crew should telephone persons to see if they have voted and to urge them to do so if they haven't. In some preceicts, information as to who has voted is available. In this case, have someone to obtain this information and get it to the telephone crew. The crew then can limit its calls to the persons who have not voted.

The Telephone Committee should operate at full capacity during the week prior to close of registration and the week prior to election day. Prior to close of registration the committee should contact all persons whose names have not been checked off as having registered. Prior to election day, all registered

voters with telephones should be contacted to offer them services and to give information.

(7) Research and Planning Committee: The duties of this committee include:

(a) Determining the geographical concentration points of the campaign by finding out the voting pattern of districts.

(1) Get past election results
(2) Get racial composition of District
(3) Find out what percentage of eligible voters in district were registered for last election
(4) Find out what percentage of voters actually voted. This information helps you to determine where your efforts might be most effective. Thus, an area that normally has a high percentage of voters does not require the effort needed in an area with a low percentage. Similarly, your effort would probably be less effective (as to yourultimate goal of the desired results at the pool) if you concentrated great registration effort in an area that consistently votes an undesirable (from your viewpoint) pattern. CAUTION: Don't overlook these areas, however, in your education campaign. You need to win converts.

NOTE: The information required may be obtained from election officials and census tracts. Your Assemblyman or Congressman or party official can give you instructions as to how to obtain this information.

(b) Determine area of concentration as to mechanics of casting the ballot.
(1) This information may be obtained by getting it from election officials; information as to number of void ballots cast in various precinctsduring last election.

(C) Determine division of workload.
(1) Determine boundry lines of districts and precinct. From this information work areas can be set up. This would include division of assembly districts into areas containing one or more precincts and division of precincts into smaller work areas.

MEASURING LEADERSHIP PERFORMANCE

Let's assume that we have reached a point in the Branch where we have decided that we want to learn to operate more efficiently. Perhaps the most helpful thing to do is to help the Branch take a look at itself and how well the leadership services necessary for an efficient operation are being performed. This can best be done by use of a checklist, such as the following:

1. We plan our meetings in relation to our objectives.

   A. We never pre-plan a meeting in the light of specific goals.

   B. We sometimes have a rough pre-plan.

   C. We always pre-plan meetings, then submit the plan to the group for approval.

2. Does the leader take on this responsibility?

   A. Never.

   B. Occasionally.

   C. Frequently.

3. Do the members share in this responsibility?

   A. Never.

   B. Occasionally.

   C. Frequently.

4. Do we plan our meetings in relation to what our members expect from them?

   A. We have no way of knowing what members expect.

   B. If members specifically request something it gets consideration.

   C. We frequently find out what members expect before building our agenda.

5. Does the leader, in this case the Branch President, consider member expectations?

   A. Never.

   B. Occasionally.

   C. Frequently.

6. Do the members cooperate in informing the leader (President)?

   A. Never.

   B. Occasionally.

   C. Frequently.

7. Do we define or clarify our goals during meetings?

A. We never consider goals during meetings.

B. We attempt to define or clarify our goals when confusion is evident.

C. We frequently discuss and clarify our goals.

8. Does the Leader (President) suggest that this is needed?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

9. Do the members ask for a definition or clarification of goals?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

10. Do we summarize our progress from time to time?

A. We don't take the time to take stock.

B. We examine our progress if someone requests it.

C. We frequently summarize what has been accomplished.

11. Does the leader (President) take the initiative for this?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

12. Do the members take the initiative for this?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

13. Do we use suitable methods of procedure?

A. We use pretty much the same procedures over and over.

B. We think about the best procedure for handling

some activities but not others.

C. We try to select the procedure most appropriate for accomplishing each goal.

14. Does the leader (President) raise questions about procedure?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

15. Do the members take the iniative in this?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

16. Do we evaluate the efficiency of our methods of operating?

A. We don't think about how well our procedures are working.

B. We look at our procedures only when things go wrong.

C. We systematically evaluate procedures to find out how well they are working.

17. Does the leader (President) take responsibility for suggesting evaluations?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

18. Do the members take responsibility for suggesting evaluations?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

19. Do we watch our discussion to see if we understand one another?

A. Our discussions resemble a free-for-all.

B. If someone misinterprets the meeting he is usually straightened out.

C. We frequently check to be sure that every member understands.

20. Does the leader (President) assume this responsibility?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

21. Do the members share this responsibility?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

22. Do we test for agreement to see if we are ready to make decisions?

A. We usually call for a vote if anyone asks for it.

B. We sometimes take an informal poll to see if we are ready to make a decision.

C. We frequently test to see if everyone is satisfied that we are ready to make a decision.

23. Does the leader (President) assume this responsibility?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

24. Do the members assume this responsibility?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

25. Do we spread responsibility throughout the Branch or Executive Committee?

A. Most of the responsibility is given to the leader (President).

B. Sometimes group members share in responsibilities.

C. Responsibilities are widely distributed throughout the group.

26. Does the leader (President) suggest that other persons participate in responsibilities?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

27. Do the members volunteer for responsibilities?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

28. Do we discuss morale problems, such as, lack of interest, conflicts and anxieties in the Branch?

A. We never openly face these problems.

B. We face those problems that aren't too charged with emotion.

C. We accept these problems as things to be discussed and solved.

29. Does the leader (President) help the Branch face and solve these problems?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

30. Do the members raise and try to solve these problems?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

31. Do we tackle tense situations such as minority disagreement, violation ofthe Constitution, no response to requests for volunteers.

A. We try to ignore and forget such situations.

B. We usually settle such situations by a majority vote or leader (President) ruling.

C. We accept such situations as problems to be discussed and solved.

32. Does the leader (President) help solve these problems?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

33. Do the members help solve these problems?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

34. Do we have an atmosphere in which all feel free to express ideas and feelings?

A. Our discussions are formal and only a minority participate.

B. Everyone talks but some subjects are taboo.

C. We usually have an atmosphere of free, spontaneous discussion.

35. Does the leader (President) encourage a climate of free expression?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

36. Do members stimulate other members to express themselves?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

37. Do members exhibit a feeling of responsibility to restrict their contributions to those that are helpful to the Branch?

A. Members are "off the beam" frequently.

B. We wander about as much as the average group.

C. Members actively attempt to confine their contributions to relevant things.

38. Does the leader (President) help keep the group "on

on the beam"?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

39. Do members keep on the alert for wandering?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

40. Do we seem to communicate our feelings and expectations about his performance to the leader (President)?

A. We have never brought this up.

B. We occasionally make suggestions to the leader ((President).

C. We have regular procedures by which members can give their ideas and reactions about Branch leadership.

41. Does the leader (President) encourage members to discuss his plans and performance?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

42. Do members take responsibility for expressing themselves to the leader (president) about his performance?

A. Never.

B. Occasionally.

C. Frequently.

The Branch can use this checklist, even without a tabulation of the results, as a discussion guide, the members going through it point by point, sharing their ideas about the answers to the questions and agreeing on steps to improve their meetings. I think that, perhaps, the greatest value of the checklist is that it is a training device in itself. Some groups have found it quite valuable to have an observer or team of observers make notes at their meetings. As simple type observation checklist could indicate the kind of information about five general aspects of groups funtioning.

OBSERVATION CHECKLIST ON LEADERSHIP FUNCTIONS

DATE. TIME OBSERVED, WHAT HOUR TO WHAT HOUR, NAME OF OBSERVER

LEADERSHIP FUNCTIONS	CONTRIBUTION BY MEMBERS	CONTRIBUTION BY LEADER (PRESIDENT)
1. Defining and Clarifying Goals.		
2. Determining progress in relation to the Goals.		
3. Selecting the Appropriate Procedure.		
4. Maintaining the Group.		
5. Helping Members Participate Effectively.		

THE CONFERENCE

It has been jokingly said that "A conference is a group of men and/or women who individually can do nothing but who must meet and decide that nothing can be done."

Conferences are generally classed as staff (investigate or find facts); production (solve problems); committee (determine policy); training (inform and instruct); interview (counsel and advise); large or multiple (other or mixed).

Although conferences differ in type and pattern of discussion, the place of a conference in our organization is primarily as a communication medium to insure communication downward and upward and to draw on members of a work group to contribute their knowledge and experience to the solution of problems, the determination of policy, and development of information.

PLANNING A CONFERENCE

Conference objectives are usually to (1) solve problems, (2) determine policy, (3) investigate, (4) inform or instruct. Many conferences fail for want of careful planning and preparation. Your next conference can be a success if you follow a series of systematic steps.

STEPS IN CONFERENCE PLANNING

1. Determine the purpose of the meeting.
2. Consider the participants or speakers.
3. Analyze the entire group.
4. Prepare a conference agenda.
5. Send notice to all invited to attend.
6. Arrange physical facilities.
7. Assemble necessary materials.
8. Prepare an outline for leading the discussion.
9. Prepare for participation (if a participant).
10. Plan for making a report of the results.

CONFERENCE AGENDA

Type of meeting: Special meeting of Executive and Membership Committees

Purpose: To explain new procedure for processing $2.00 memberships

Time: July 5, 3-5 p.m.

1. Explanation of new procedure for issuing $2.00 membership cards
   - procedure for reporting by solicitor
   - preparation of branch income report
   - issuing of $2.00 member cards
2. Determining method to be used in purchasing card sets
   - before solicitation
   - after solicitation
3. Explanation of procedure for handling renewals and life memberships

CONFERENCE NOTICE

TO: _____

Please plan to attend a conference of NAACP executives and membership committees.

Place: Branch office, 1516 U St.
Time: 3:00 p.m.
Purpose: To discuss new procedure for processing NAACP $2.00 memberships

Please be prepared to discuss this subject. I would appreciate your notifying me if you cannot attend.

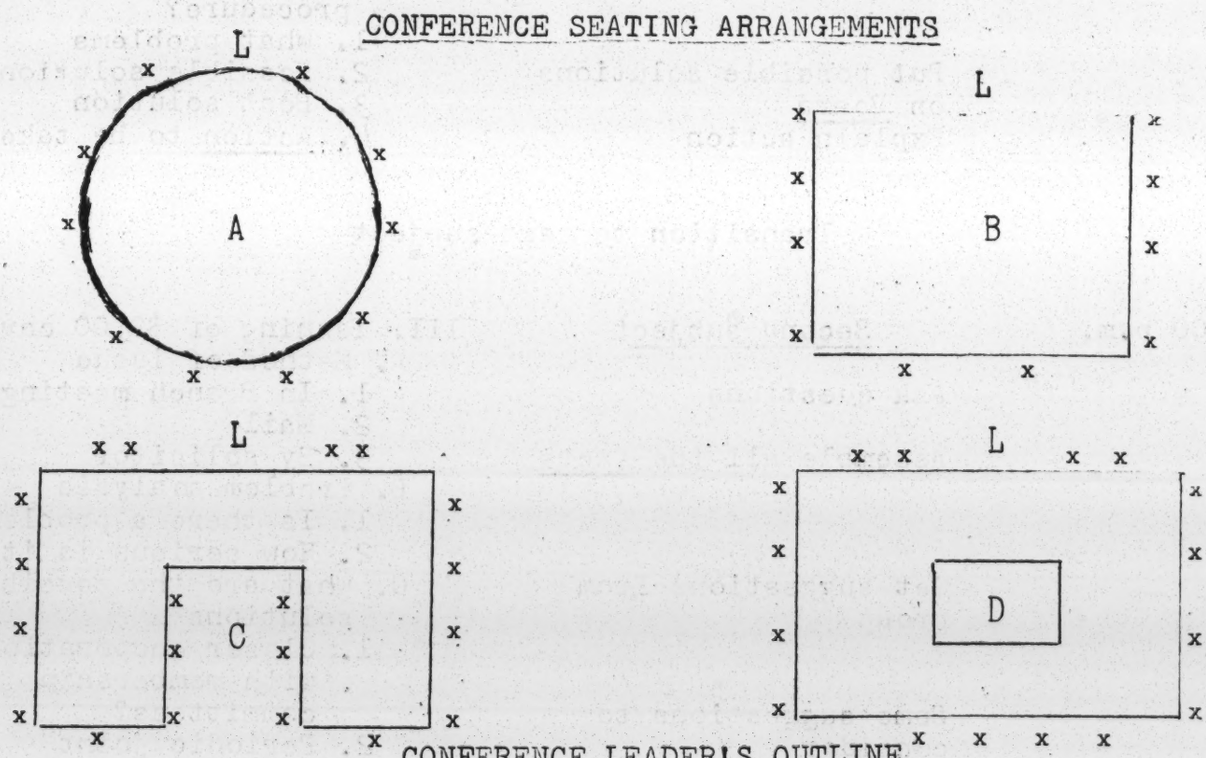
_____
Branch President

A copy of the Agenda is attached.

FACILITIES

1. A pleasant, lighted room.
2. An appropriate arrangement of tables and chairs.
3. Name cards, pads, pencils, etc. at each place.
4. Visual aids as needed.
5. Small speaker's stand if needed.

CONFERENCE SEATING ARRANGEMENTS



CONFERENCE LEADER'S OUTLINE

Special meeting of executive and membership committees

Purpose: To explain new procedure for processing of $2.00 memberships by the branch.

Time	Method & Techniques	Subjects
3:00 P.M.	Put members at ease. Develop interest.	I. Opening remarks and greeting A. Statement of purpose B. Subjects to be taken up

Time	Method & Technique	Subjects
	First Subject	II. Explanation of Procedure to be used by solicitor
	Use manual for new procedure	A. Features of old procedure
	Hand out membership card set	B. Features of new procedure
	Ask questions	C. Discuss procedure
		Answer questions
		D. Problems under new procedure?
	Put possible solutions on Board	1. What problems
	Explain action	2. Possible solutions
		3. Best solution
		4. Action to be taken
	Transition to next subject	
4:00 p.m.	Second subject	III. Issuing of $2.00 cards
	Ask questions	A. Method of issue
		1. In Branch meeting
	Assemble all the facts	2. Mail
		3. By solicitor
		B. Problem analysis
		1. Is there a problem
		2. How serious is it
	Get suggestions from group	C. What are the possible solutions
		1. Closer cooperation with membership committees?
	Some suggestions to consider	2. Periodic joint meetings?
	Put suggestions on Board	D. Which of these seems best?
	Evaluate each solution	1. Will it work
	Arrive at best solution	E. What specific recommendations should we make?
	Leave decision up to Group	F. What action should we take
4:30 P.M.	Transition to next subject	

Time	Method & Technique	Subjects
		IV. Preparation of Branch Income Report
	Basic Question	A. Should membership chairman handle branch income report? 1. Under what conditions? 2. What is wrong with this? 3. How can it be done better?
	Put suggestions for standards on Board	B. Can we arrive at a set of standards for doing this?
	Time may not permit finishing at this meeting. Carry over to next meeting.	
5:00	Adjourn on time	Closing remarks and summary A. Announcements B. Plan for next meeting

SUGGESTED FORMS FOR PUTTING MATERIAL ON BOARD OR CHART

What are the causes of the problem

1.
2.
3.

Objective: To find the best solution to the problem

Problem	Possible solution

Solutions

Advantage	Disadvantage
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

Objective	Obstacle	Solution
	1.	1.
	2.	2.
	3.	3.
	4.	4.
		5.
		6.

ACTION STEPS

Steps	Who
1.	
2.	
3.	

CONFERENCE REPORT FORM

Branch or Unit _____

Date and place held _____

Called by _____

Persons present _____

Purpose of conference _____

Subjects discussed _____

Actions & recommendations _____

General comment _____

Reported by _____

CONFERENCE PLANNING CHECK LIST

1. Have I determined the exact Purpose of the meeting? _____
2. Have all participants been considered? _____
   * Special guests or speakers? _____
   * Has notice been sent to all? _____
3. Has complete Group Analysis been made? _____
   * Knowledge and experience? _____
   * Attitude and prejudices? _____
   * Silent and talkative? _____
4. Has agenda been prepared? _____
   * Have I consulted with participants? _____
   * Has copy been sent to each? _____
   * Possible hidden agendas considered? _____
5. Have facilities been arranged? _____
   * Room engaged? _____
   * Prefer table and chair arrangement? _____
   * Blackboard, chart easel, chalk, crayons, pointer, speaker's stand, pads, pencils, name cards? _____
   * Audio visual equipment checked? _____
6. Do I have all reference materials at hand? _____
7. Have I prepared an outline of the discussion? _____
   * Does it show complete plan? _____
   * Questions and special methods? _____
   * Introductory remarks prepared? _____
   * Considered timing and transitions? _____
8. Have I planned for a report? _____
   * Asked someone to help with this? _____
   * Determined who will receive it? _____

APPLYING THIS UNIT

1. Prepare an agenda for a conference based on a problem in your branch. Make up an appropriate notice and a list of all persons to whom the notice and agenda will be sent.

2. At this same conference, might you have some information to tell the group on another subject? How and at what time will you work this into the agenda? Develop a complete outline from the agenda, showing how you plan to lead the entire conference.

QUALITIES OF CONFERENCE "LEADER"

Poise	Tact
Understanding and liking others	Sense of humor
Sensitivity	Intelligence
Impartiality	Animation
	Speaking and listening

CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADER - GROUP CONTROL

In Informational-Instructional Conferences	In Problem-Solving Conferences
Leader control dominant	Group control dominant
Tends to be restricted and closely shaped	Tends to be free, pure and permissive
Leader tends to make decisions	Group tends to make decisions

LEADER'S RESPONSIBILITIES

Accomplish the purpose of the meeting. S
Start and keep discussion organized
Stimulate, guide and control discussion
Make decisions
Keep records

LEADERSHIP TOOLS AND METHODS

Questions
Transitions and summaries
Visual and A-V aids
- Blackboard
- Charts
- Flannel board
- Handouts
- Demonstrations
- Films, filmstrips and records

Cases and similar devices
- Incidents
- Role Playing

Listening

FACT FINDING & INFORMATION-SEEKING QUESTIONS

Where did the problem start?
How did it start (what, when, how, who, where)
When did it start?
Who are the people responsible?
How much does this cost us?
Money? Manpower? Materials?
How many people affected?
What are the causes?
Just what does it add up to?

OPINION-SEEKING AND VALUE-JUDGMENT QUESTION

Do you think this plan will solve the problem?
Is this practical?
What do you think of solution A? B? C?
Will Plan B remove the causes?
In your judgment, what is the best plan?
From your experience, will this work?

Note: The leader must also handle questions raised by group members which seek information. Such questions are usually aimed at the leader with the expectation that he will answer them. The leader should refrain from answering questions as much as possible, for this puts him in the role of "experting" and dominating the discussion. Such questions should be bounced back to the group by the leader in which he asks the question of the group as a whole. He may reverse the question back to the person who asked it with "That's an interesting question - what is your best judgment regarding it."

Leadership requires resourcefulness, initiative, imagination and skill. The foregoing information, properly used, should assist you in developing your skill in leadership.

THE WORKSHOP TRAINING PROCESS

Adapted from Adult Education Association
Leadership Pamphlet No. 9

Workshops and institutes, regardless of their subject-matter, are usually devoted to training their participants to do some job better, whether it be teaching English to adults, leading a community council, or supervising a production line.

Improving performance, is, therefore, a common goal for all participants in workshops and institutes. Listed below are 11 steps in the process of training workshop participants (who are referred to as "leaders-in-training"). The first column describes the steps and the second column suggests ways the workshop leader can help participants take these steps.

PHASE I - GETTING READY TO CHANGE

1. Develop an atmosphere in which people feel free to discuss and express their problems of leading, their needs to change, their feelings of difficulty the places where they need help.	Listen sympathetically to the ideas, suggestions, and feelings of all members. Play down status distinctions among members and between leader and members. Assume all members have a part to play in defining the aims of training. Try to make participation easy for every member.
2. Develop a sense of shared interests and a climate of mutual respect and understanding among members in which each is willing to help and be helped by the others.	Help all members to understand and appreciate the contributions of each. Offer opportunities for every member to help and be helped by other members (organize sub-groups, etc.). Encourage group activities outside of training (meals, social events, etc.). Try to show common elements in the leadership experience and problems of different members. Stress that the training goals are the members', not the leader's.
3. Develop an expectation that all leaders-in-training (and the training-leader too) will change during their experience together.	Tell about other successful projects in leadership training. Assume that change is possible and desirable for every member. Accept members' fears of change as natural. Encourage them to share in planning. Try to select realistic limits to what members expect to learn from their experience. Suggest relatively easy first steps to insure a success experience.

4. Adapt the training program to meet the needs and interests of all members in this particular group.	Build training agenda out of the expressed needs, interests and problems of members. Encourage members to test ideas expressed in terms of their own experience. Use examples of leadership situations similar to those of members. Set up a steering committee in which members can take part in determining what to do next. Give members an opportunity to react anonymously to each training session and suggest improvements.
5. Develop a problem-solving orientation toward difficulties of leadership.	Encourage members to state and look at their problems objectively. Avoid identifying problems with persons. Encourage group to identify common elements in their individual problems. Encourage group to analyze and define their problems. Discourage members from looking for ready-made and over-simple answers. Assume that group can fully test ideas expressed only as they try them out and evaluate the results.
PHASE II - MAKING THE CHANGE	
6. Clarify the training goals - what members hope to accomplish through study, discussion and practice.	Involve members in defining goals. Try to be sensitive to feelings of confusion and to help group clarify confusions. Encourage expectation that goals will change as the training experience develops. Discourage efforts to freeze goals at the beginning of training.
7. Understand why leaders-in-training have been performing as they have been, the factors that make them want to change and those that make it hard for them to change.	Help members answer: How have we been performing as leaders? Why do we want to change? What keeps us from changing? How can we change? Discuss usual psychological resistances and supports to change. Discuss usual institutional or organizational factors for and against change.

A. Understand internal forces for and against change. B. Understand external forces for and against change.	Discuss community resistances and supports operating in the typical leadership situation. Help members apply psychological, institutional and community understandings to their own leadership situations. Use your own behavior as training-leader as an example for discussion and analysis of leadership problems. Ask for periodic group evaluation of group and member experiences.
8. Modify forces that will permit leaders-in-training to perform in an improved manner. A. Decide what changes we can make here and now. B. Plan what changes need to be made back home.	Help members pick out relevant psychological, institutional and community factors that can be modified most easily. Help members select things that can be worked on in the training sessions and those that will have to be modified later. Help members to determine a sequence of changed practice that will cause least disruption in their home settings.
9. Acquire and practice new skills which analysis of the leadership shows are most needed.	Set up opportunities, through role playing, for practice. Provide for practice in a setting where initial failure or imperfect performance is not too disturbing. Encourage helpful criticism by group of each member's practice attempts. Help group plan collection of data for evaluating practice experiments (use member observers, etc.)

PHASE III - TRANSFERRING CHANGES BACK HOME

10. Relate training to the actual situations in which the members will use it.	Use situations for training that seem real to the members. Help members generalize principles from their training experiences. Encourage testing of principles developed in training against the realities of the home leadership situations of members.
11. Provide continued re-enforcement and help in applying what has been learned in training on the job situation.	Encourage members to continue working as teams after training to help each other on leadership problems as they come up. Help members plan ways of getting support for improved practices in their parent organizations. Help members locate consultant resources available in their communities. Plan with members concerning their needs for further consultation and supervision.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10018
TRAINING DEPARTMENT

SUGGESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION LEADERS

There are few hard and fast rules for discussion leadership. A good leader should be flexible in adapting his technique to varying situations. However, some general principles can be suggested as a guide to effective leadership:

1. Prepare thoroughly for the meeting. This involves:

   (a) Reading the basic material carefully.
   In addition, do a little outside reading if possible. You do not have to be an expert or provide the answers, but you cannot lead a discussion on a subject about which you know nothing.

   (b) Analyzing the material carefully and determining the boundaries of the subject.

   (c) Spotting the issues — those points on which there are likely to be differing opinions.
   Note these down, for they are likely to be the most significant and stimulating areas for discussion.

   (d) Preparing some questions.
   Frame your opening question carefully, and have a few others in mind. Keep the questions brief and straightforward, and phrase them so that they get straight to the heart of the issues. Be sure that they are not loaded; never ask, "Don't you agree that ...?"

2. Open the meeting.

   Give a brief introduction so that people have a chance to settle down and adjust their thinking to the subject of the evening. Then (unless there is a recording first) open the discussion with a question to the group.

3. Keep the discussion moving along.

   A good brisk pace is desirable, but don't move it faster than the group wants to go; patience is an important attribute of the good leader. Have some questions on tap, ready to throw in if the discussion lags. But don't ask your questions mechanically according to any rigidly prepared agenda. The best questions are usually those which can be shaped out of the discussion itself.

4. Encourage general participation.

   Don't let anyone take over and monopolize the meeting, and don't rely only on those who are always articulate and eager to talk. Try to bring in those who aren't talking by making them feel that their contribution would be welcomed by the group. But call on people by name only when you know that they are trying to get in, or when you are sure they won't be embarrassed by being called upon.

5. Try to bring out all sides of the question.

   If only one point of view is being expressed, ask the group to think of arguments that might be expressed for the other side of the question. If the other

side is brought out in any of the readings, use short excerpts for this purpose. Remember that there is no attempt in these programs to produce a single "group answer" to the questions considered.

6. Help the group go about its task systematically. This involves:

   (a) Keeping the discussion on the subject. Some digressions may be fruitful, but only insofar as they can be related before too long to the main topic.

   (b) Taking up one issue at a time — although the first part of a meeting may be spent in exploring the subject and finding out which issues are important.

   (c) Helping the group bring out logical fallacies and errors of reasoning. It is one of the primary objectives of this program to improve the participant's ability to analyze problems systematically; and sometimes a sequence in systematic analysis may be followed. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to try to push too hard or too fast along these lines; and the leader should not fit the discussion rigidly into a preconceived pattern, nor use cross examination where the result is to make people look foolish.

As you can see from the above suggestions, the discussion leader has a very positive and creative function, which keep you fully occupied during the discussion. This will mean that, with few exceptions, you should bear in mind the following cautions:

Don't give the answers. It is not your function to lecture or instruct. If there are answers, they are to be sought in the basic materials or from the members of the group.

Don't give your own opinions. It is very difficult to be impartial, and you may have strong opinions on the subject being discussed. Still, the same principle applies here as governs the conduct of the chairman under parliamentary rules or the moderator of the panel discussion. The reasons for these are:

1. The prestige of leadership may give your views a little more weight than anyone else's, and you will be using your position unfairly if you express your ideas.

2. Once you become involved as a protagonist, expressing and defending your own views, you will not have time to perform the real functions of discussion leadership.

BRIEF TIPS ON DISCUSSION LEADERSHIP

Listen carefully and don't talk too much. Whenever the talk is worthwhile without you, stay out of it. The less you become involved in the discussion, the more you will be able to observe its development and be ready to improve it when help is needed.

Be a leader, not a lecturer. Don't use people for the purpose of giving the right answer. The program is based on the discussion method. Don't turn the discussions into disguised lectures.

The best opening questions are less than about twenty words long. Don't make your first question so involved that no one is sure when you have finished just what the question is. Make it brief, tough, uncomplicated, and right to the heart of the problem.

Remain neutral whenever a good controversy exists within the group. The leader may have to play devil's advocate at times, but only when there is no other member to support one side of the argument. Never open the discussion with a statement in support of one side of the argument.

Never interrupt a good discussion, if it is relevant, to introduce a new and different question. If interest in the discussion is high, but somewhat off the subject, try to steer it on to a more relevant vein without cutting off the interest existing at the moment. That is, don't break the discussion, turn it.

Sympathetic listening is an important part of good leading. Good ideas, being profound, are often difficult to express. It is your job as leader to detect half-hatched ideas and coax them into their full development. Never scoff when someone is struggling with a tough idea. Help him to work it out.

Don't encourage hand-raising. A good discussion should be like a good conversation. No one raises his hand in the living room.

Avoid confusion. Don't ask more than one question at one time, and never permit two discussions to go on simultaneously.

Look interested. Nothing is more effective in maintaining the group's interest. On the other hand, a bored leader staring off into space will soon find the group adopting the same pose. Keep looking at the participants. Read their faces. Set the example of listening attentively and of asking critical and analytical questions in a friendly way.

NEW FRONTIERS IN THE TEACHING OF LISTENING

by

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Adapted from a paper presented at the
21st Annual Convention of the American
Society of Training and Development,
Cleveland, Ohio, May 5, 1965

Listening Is in Part a State of Mind

Good listening implies the development of the ability to concentrate on the ideas being expressed, the application of good listening habits, and the desire to hear and to understand.

Be Ready To Listen. This includes physical readiness and mental readiness. Adapt to the atmosphere of the situation. In church emotional readiness for the sermon requires a different attitude from the after-dinner, contest, classroom, or club speech. You can prepare yourself physically by an alert posture, mentally by a sense of expectancy.

Want To Listen. You may feel impelled to try to understand, especially if what the speaker says has or may have an effect on something vital to you. On other occasions, as in class or club, you may feel trapped or that it is the job of the speaker to be interesting. Listening is work because it includes thinking and concentration. Unless you really want to share the speaker's ideas, you may listen half-heartedly and probably inaccurately.

Have In Mind A Purpose. One's goal in life affects the way he lives it. The way we swing a golf club, or drive a car, or write a letter is largely determined by the purpose we have in mind. Our listening is also affected by some motivating factor. Unconsciously perhaps, you have a reason every time you listen to what someone says. It may be involuntary or you may have a clearly defined purpose. Most purposes are predominately one of three types:

a. To be informed

b. To be critical or analytic

c. To be creative

The first of these is obvious; you want to learn something that you think the speaker can provide. It is similar to the way we read directives, reports, and most non-fiction material. We want to be better informed.

The second purpose predominates when we plan to evaluate or to formulate a critical judgment. We are concerned with content and the logic or selection of developed data, not just to acquire information, when we listen critically, we intend to form opinions, make judgments, and evaluate overtly or privately. This is the kind of listening you will do primarily when you anticipate using one of the charts in this manual.

The third type of listening is predominant when you go beyond the speaker, when you lend to his contributions experiences of your own that support or disagree with his. It is a type of silent discussion. You react mentally, emotionally, and perhaps physically. You may have noticed how children often react with their whole bodies as they listen with delight or fear. When the adult listens creatively he also feels a part in what the speaker says.

These are general purposes, but they can help to give your listening a focus. You can generally predetermine your reason for listening and frequently you can decide exactly what you hope to do.

Find areas of interest. If you know your general purpose in listening, you may find areas of interest easier to identify. Attention is vital, and attention can most successfully be maintained when you are interested. Seek to be interested in the subject; try to discover the significance of the subject; let your mind become curious about the topic and the way the speaker develops it.

Sometimes we may excuse our listening ineffectiveness by calling the subject uninteresting or by criticizing the speaker's delivery. Sometimes we may hear a point that excites us, stirs our imagination, and we will stop listening in order to think about all of the implications that the idea might have. We lose interest in the main stream of the speaker's ideas.

In successful listening it is important to develop the ability to be interested. In most instances the very act of attempting to listen will increase interest. Sometimes it helps to ask ourselves, "Why is this speaker addressing this audience at this time on this subject? Why did he select this information, this argument, this manner of persuasion, this means of explanation, this pattern of development?"

Most people find that much greater attention can be given to a book they are reading if they are seeking answers to specific questions. Raise questions in your mind that the speaker may answer in his talk; guess what kind of an approach he will take toward an issue; guess where his line of discussion will lead and then watch to see if you are correct.

Try To Understand - But Don't Try Too Hard

Almost all mental skill is achieved by effort. Don't expect the speaker to do all of the thinking. You will need to work with him if you are to get the most from his presentation. The more you try to understand, the more easily you will learn. Even in conversation, you will become more proficient as you try. It is effort that induces learning; experience alone is not enough.

Have you ever watched a three-ring circus and found that by watching one ring you missed other events which might have had even greater interest? There are times when the listener also becomes so attracted by a speaker's choice of words, his accent, or his manner of speaking that he misses the ideas. We can tense up mentally as well as physically. When we listen well, we need to be poised and alert, ready to leap from idea to idea, ready to receive and to analyze.

Keep An Open Mind. Listen and be willing to hear. If you are annoyed by diction, the use of a word, an error of statement, note these but don't fade out. Listening does not mean believing; it means being able to understand so that a fair judgment can be made. The speaker must realize that his listeners are forming opinions about him when his information is questionable or his arguments are specious. As a listener, part of your talk is to evaluate what you hear. It is possible, even probable, that frequently we do not hear what is actually said. We "hear" what we hope or expect to hear and then we react to our assumption instead of reality. The effective listener seeks to understand, to judge, to accept or reject, and to remember; he "hears" - Hears, Evaluates, Accepts, Remembers.

Certain Suggestions Can Help in Listening

Listen for Ideas. Most speakers develop a single central idea. They use facts, stories, illustrations, and other ideas to support the main thought - and it is the main thought that the listener must grasp. It is so important that every chart used in this manual asks you as a listener to identify the principal point the speaker was attempting to express. Other charts help you in this identifying skill by considering the pattern the talk follows, transitions and

means of development. Basically, the question to be answered by the listener is "What did the speaker actually say?"

Rarely will you be told, "The central idea that I am developing is ..." Whether the purpose is made obvious or not, it should remain the focus of the talk and determine the selection of supporting material. Listen for the ideas as they are presented and seek to discover the principal idea toward which they point.

Listen Between the Lines. You have undoubtedly noted in letters from friends an emotional quality that is not fully expressed in words. Playwrights frequently depict characters by what they do not do or do not say. A good listener needs to note the obvious omission of points as well as those stated if he is to understand most fully both the speaker and his idea. This is especially true when there are certain qualities in the speaker's voice or appearance that cause you to feel a sense of uncertainity in his presentation. Speech has many subtle vocal changes that may tell you more than the speaker's words convey. You can identify the comment that is flattery and the one that is sincere, and you must also be able to note the implications of the omitted comment.

Let the speaker know you are listening. The comic character in cartoon or play listens on the phone with his contribution limited to, "Yes, Dear." In some situations a smile or a nod of the head provides the speaker with helpful encouragement. Applause is generally a statement of approval. In discussion you may preface your comment with, "Now, as I understand you. . ." Some form of overt signaling to the speaker helps in listening. It is difficult to respond in any intelligent manner without remaining alert. And one must be alert to listen well.

Listen in Context. The proficient listener will seldom consider any presentation as an isolated event. When we see a dog or hear a train whistle or talk to a friend or eat a meal or become involved in any other fairly common event, we are likely to relate that with some past similar event. We evaluate in terms of past experiences. Listening to the speech of others is no novelty to any of us. But the habit of relating what we hear to what we have learned on other occasions may not be very thoroughly developed. Our major basis of evaluation is one of comparison. As listeners, our concern should be not only with what the speaker says, but also with how his statements compare with others we have heard.

Watch for Sign Posts. This habit of relating the comments of a certain speaker with previous knowledge will lead the

listener to watching for signposts. Although we may have travelled in many cities, our visit to each one is a new experience. But we know from past experiences that almost all cities have street signs and directions. By watching for the signs that the speaker uses to indicate his line of thinking, we can follow him more readily and understand more fully the message he is attempting to communicate.

Anticipate. This habit also gives us the chance to discover the path that the speaker is travelling so that we can leap ahead to a certain point and watch him as he approaches. When we are able to do this, we are able to see the discussion from more than one point of view and to evaluate the ideas much more accurately.

Use Your Time Efficiently. We have much time to think as we listen. A sophisticated and intelligent listener has spare time at his disposal when he is listening to a communication that is easy for him to understand--that is, he can handle the concepts faster than the talker is sending them. Think circles around the speaker if you really want to find him interesting and to understand what he means. One way is to engage in the activity just described--identifying the inferences and discriminating between them and the statements made by the speaker.

Another is developing more efficient ways of handling the information sent us and fitting it into our established meaning structures. We can use this spare time to examine our direction of attention and realign it with the purpose we have in listening. Or we can use it to make note of the way our own biases are filtering the talker's words.

Avoid Distraction

Distractions occur so easily. A distant radio, the shifting of a class or club member, smoke, in fact any noise or movement, pleasant or unpleasant, may cause you to think about something else.

Internal distractions - The way you feel today, what happened yesterday, your plans for tomorrow, your unknown biases can all interfere with your listening.

Our reaction to the speaker's method of presenting his ideas whether the situation is an interview, conversation, discussion or a formal address needs to be considered from at least two points of view. The speaker may have a pronounced dialect, or a heavy, unusual accent; therefore, we weigh his comments with our attitude toward persons whose speech is different from ours. This fellow has a

speech defect; he has a lisp, or a poor voice, or his speech is "mushy." Our reactions to his speech mannerisms may influence our reaction to his ideas. Any speech condition that tends to call unfavorable attention to itself may affect our listening.

Influence - Usually the enthusiastic speaker will cause us, as listeners, to be enthusiastic with him. There is the reaction known as empathy which causes us to tend to give back to a person the same spirit that he is exhibiting. We tend to react to sincerity with sincerity. If the speaker through voice and gesture carries us with him, we may find that we are listening to him rather than to his ideas. Some speakers shout most loudly when they have the least to say. Some speakers may cover the debris of thought or lack of thought with beautiful words. As efficient listeners, we need to avoid reacting against a person because of the way he speaks as well as to avoid "being taken in" by technique.

Emotional symbols - Some speakers, especially in propagandizing or in emotional persuasion, lean heavily upon slogans and commonly accepted generalities in order to lead the listeners into belief. As you listen, check yourself occasionally to see if you really agree with the speaker, or disagree, or whether you are allowing preconceived prejudices to determine your attitude. Effective listening requires an open mind and a willingness to delay judgment.

Make a habit of careful listening. Start listening now and don't stop. To improve, do some difficult listening every day. You may select a lecture, a radio or television commentary or program, a Sunday Service or even a serious discussion with your friends. Stretch that listening skill. If you read simple stories, your skill as a reader will remain pretty static. If you seldom do more than the basic requirements of your job you'll never advance very far. The same applies to learning to listen well.

Good listening comes from the combination of skills, attitudes, and knowledge. There are certain basic principles which are important and some things we should avoid as barriers to effective listening. Good listening implies the development of the ability to concentrate on the ideas being expressed, the application of good listening habits, and the desire to hear and to understand.

Listening can and should be a humanizing process. For example:

a. Listening courteously to the other person may help reduce his tensions, help him to get problems off his chest and to keep hostility from arising within him.

b. Listening may help another to clarify his own thinking about a matter. Often when we talk something out we can understand it better.

c. Mutual problems can frequently be handled best if both parties listen to each other. An intelligent disagreement requires mutual respect and willingness to listen.

d. Listening can help you win friends, not only because the other person appreciates your interest in his ideas but also because you learn to understand him better.

e. Knowing what and how the other person thinks can help you to work better with him.

f. Knowing more about a problem can aid in decision making. The man who says, "Don't bother me with facts, I've already made up my mind," may illustrate the humorous side of the executive who fails to listen to his consultants and colleagues. When you ask another what he thinks, you should listen to the reply.

g. If you listen intently and intelligently to arguments either from an opponent or from a collaborator, you can think with more data and act with more confidence. It is not selfish to seek assurance.

In a general way, the process of "humanized" listening can be encompassed under a half dozen headings:

a. Listen without your fears, worries, problems, and other emotions influencing what you hear.

b. Listen without wearing your judgments on your face. Of course, it is impossible to enter a conference or listen without some tentative opinions, but don't broadcast your opinion too soon.

c. Share some of the responsibility for communication with the speaker. Try to understand both his attitudes and ideas.

d. Remember that even people whom you do not greatly admire may have some very worthwhile things to say. React to ideas rather than to the person who expresses them.

e. Note not only what is said but how it is said and the implications involved. The emotional status of the speaker may be vital to his statements and his desires.

f. Listen to others as people. Little profit can come from antagonizing those to whom you listen either by interrupting them or by making too evident that you do not understand or agree. Withhold not only judgment and conclusions but also your overt attitudes, until you are fully aware of idea and intent.

Listening is a mental and emotional contact with others. The definition of successful listening includes the human element of one "who is able to follow, heed, trust, evaluate or enjoy what he hears." To this should be added that successful listening is a large part of successful living.

It has been a pleasure and a privilege to share with you some of my thinking about my favorite subject--the teaching of listening.

CONVENTION LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

PLANNING AND ASSIGNING WORK

OBJECTIVE: To emphasize the importance of planning branch operations and to help branch officers learn how to use the planning formula in directing the branch's operation.

To learn the factors to consider in assigning tasks and responsibilities to individuals.

For Your Notes

A. WHAT PLANNING IS

B. WHY PLAN

C. KINDS OF PLANNING

D. HOW TO PLAN

IN ORDER TO DO EFFECTIVE PLANNING, THE BRANCH OFFICER NEEDS TO:

1. Understand the organization of which his unit is a part

   --Relationships up the line, with other units, with technical staff.

   --Possible affect of action by his staff on work of people elsewhere.

2. Appreciate the objectives - general and specific of:

   --Association
   --Region as a whole
   --State or Area Conference
   --Local Branch

3. Know what is expected of him and of his branch:

   --Areas of activities

   --Degree to which he is responsible for developing or proposing solutions to problems.

   --What he may, or should, or should not delegate to
   -stand in or substitute
   -other staff in unit

   --What tasks must be done in the unit
   -monthly
   -at regular intervals
   -at no stated time

   --How long it takes for staff or committees to perform different tasks if they are
   -experienced
   -fairly new
   -still in training

   --What qualitative standards of performance have been set or has he set himself.

   --The capacities, skills, limitations of individuals who report to him in relation to what the unit is expected to achieve.

   --The tools and materials he will need to do the work.

PLANNING WORK SHEET

WHAT, WHY	HOW, WHEN, WHERE	WHO	HOW WELL

Cautions in Making Assignments

1. Get acceptance of the assignment by:

   --Giving the individual time, in advance, to consider the pros and cons
   --Giving him reasons for and importance of the assignment
   --Telling him why he was selected
   --Meeting his objections and resistance. Remember these may be because he is not happy on his present job, or because he feels he is being demoted or being asked to do work out of title

2. Do not take the "easy way out" by doing any of the following:

   --Imposing on the willing, cooperative workers who accept assignments without question
   --Giving or avoiding the giving of hard assignments to the problem or lazy workers
   --Giving the best assignments to favorites
   --Calling for volunteers too often; this gets good results usually but the volunteer may not be the best person for the assignment
   --Relying on the principle of rotation; this gives staff maximum chance for development and may solve some of the problems just mentioned, but often involves an extensive training job.

Planning Our Own Work

Cooperation in Planning

Criteria for Planning

Signals to Watch For:

Experienced, as well as new branch officers, sometimes find their plans are not working out. Situations such as the following may be "signals" to you pointing out faults or errors in your planning.

--Lack or shortage of materials, equipment
--Backlogs in work production
--Frequent need for reorganization
--Too many and unwarranted emergencies
--Misunderstanding, confusion
--Inadequate training
--Avoidance or postponement of disliked tasks
--Committee members not happy or adjusted in assignments
--Dissatisfaction, low morale
--Adverse criticism from public, state conference, regional or national office.

Assignment in Planning

CONVENTION LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

COMMUNICATIONS

OBJECTIVE: To learn the importance and methods of making communications effective and how to give instructions and orders

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For Your Notes

Meaning of Communications

Barriers to Good Communications

Signposts to Need for Better Communications

Methods of Communication

Giving Instructions and Orders

BRANCH OFFICER'S CHECK LIST FOR EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATIONS

1. Do I respect the upward line of authority or do I go over my supervisor's head?

2. Do my committees respect the line of authority or do they go over my head?

3. Does National respect the line of authority downward or does it fail to communicate through me?

4. Do I encourage the vice president to communicate in my absence?

5. Do I get the facts, digest the facts, understand the facts before I communicate?

6. Do I check first on accuracy of rumors, grapevine reports, etc.?

7. Do I select for communication what National and staff should or must know <u>or</u> do I sift and filter out only what will make a good impression for me?

8. Do I overcommunicate (too much) or under communicate (too little)?

9. Do I pass along good suggestions and give credit where due?

10. Do I cover up and hide bad details <u>or</u> am I truthful and frank?

11. Do I use the most practical method of communication, combining speed and understandibility?

12. Do I admit my mistakes <u>or</u> do I pass the buck?

13. Am I autocratic and do I talk down to staff?

14. Am I humble?

15. Are my communications brief, clear, vivid and accurate (plain talk and plain writing)?

16. Do my communications meet the test of effectiveness (meaning understood, acceptance, good effect)?

ASSIGNMENT

Read each of the following statements. Indicate which method of instruction you would use and why.

1. An operation requiring handling of funds, for which you are held strictly accountable.

Method	Reason

2. You need someone to escort a guest around the city.

Method	Reason

3. The vice president will assume your duties during vacation.

Method	Reason

4. The order will affect a number of people in various sections of the city.

Method	Reason

5. The order is to be carried out by a rather absent minded person.

Method	Reason

6. Subordinate located in another city.

Method	Reason

ASSIGNMENT

7. Person who is to carry out order has in the past ignored or pretended to forget your instruction.

Method	Reason
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

8. Order is to be carried out a month from now, by a very responsible individual.

Method	Reason
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

9. Instruction fairly complicated and must be done within an hour.

Method	Reason
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

10. Subordinate works under your own close supervision.

Method	Reason
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

CONVENTION - LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

PROBLEMS IN ADMINISTRATION

OBJECTIVE: To learn how to handle branch problem situations.

For Your Notes

Human Relations Principles

Attitudes and the Branch Leader

The Branch Officer

The job of the Branch president is to get results through the efforts of others.

The results of your Branch activities can be no better than the sum of the accomplishments of the individual committees in the Branch.

A Branch committee chairman's accomplishment is greatly influenced by his attitude (his will to do).

Therefore, the Branch president, to meet his responsibility to get and maintain satisfactory committee and individual accomplishment, must give attention to:

Committee Chairman - Natural Ability (Aptitude)
Training and experience
Physical condition

Materials

Methods

Attitude

Equipment

Only by giving attention to all these factors can the Branch president meet this responsibility for controlling the effectiveness of his Branch as an Arm of the Association in the Civil Rights struggle.

Sources of Problems

Problem Solving Pattern

Notes on Cases Discussed

Things to Remember in Handling People

1. Learn self-control.

2. Recognize good work and praise it.

3. Take a real interest in others.

4. Make people feel important.

5. Get people to work for rewards rather than to avoid punishment.

6. Criticize sparingly, gently, and constructively.

7. Listen; hear the other fellow's full story.

8. Explain thoroughly.

9. Put yourself in the other fellow's place in passing judgment.

10. Be fair and tolerant in all matters - and toward everyone at all times.

11. Review with committee chairmen at regular intervals how they're doing--their successes and their failures.

12. Be genuine.

13. Most leaders have the faculty of gaining confidence without becoming intimate with individuals. This avoids personal entanglements and the obligations they impose. Most leaders are, therefore, in a position to deal fairly, squarely and impartially with their men on the sole basis of their individual merits.

14. Most leaders are incapable of intense hatred, grudges or bitter quarrels, and are not conscious of enemies.

15. All leaders suggest rather than order.

SIGNS OF LEADERSHIP

1. A low voice and, frequently, slow and thoughtful speech.
2. A neat appearance in moderate style.
3. Rarely in a hurry.
4. Easy gait and moderate pace.
5. Does not show all he feels and thinks.
6. Looks you squarely in the eye without staring.
7. Punctual.
8. Orderly.
9. Accurate.
10. Decent.
11. Laughs only when he means it, and then under control.
12. Rarely interrupts.
13. Rarely says "I".
14. Is not afraid to have others think he doesn't know when he doesn't.
15. Rarely tells everything he knows.
16. Makes sure you know the difference between his opinions and his facts.
17. Easy to meet and easy to leave.
18. Enjoys a contest of wits and a game of chance.
19. A good loser.
20. Bored with too much logic.
21. Is not usually a heavy reader.
22. Hard to sweep off his feet.
23. Quickly gets to the point.
24. Never takes himself too seriously.

25. Does not like to do things himself; likes to do what he does through others.

26. Likes people.

27. Likes to read.

28. Has assurance.

29. Not inclined to sit still for long.

30. Good memory.

It would be hard to conceive of any human meeting all of the specifications for leadership we have listed. Personally, I doubt very much whether any such person ever lived. While an examination of ourselves in the light of these specifications might be somewhat depressing for the time being, in the long run a knowledge of our weak spots should be our first step in strengthening them.

In spite of our efforts to turn out good production work, we know for a fact that none of it has ever been perfect. That is why we have manufacturing limits, high and low.

By: Charles E. Wilson
Director of
Defense Mobilization

DECISION-MAKING

(Adapted from "The Leader Looks at Decision-Making" by David S. Brown)

WHAT IS DECISION-MAKING?

Decision-making is the process by which individuals and/or groups of individuals attempt to adjust their ideas and actions to outside factors which are believed likely to have influence on them. It may involve a personal action, such as the decision to wear a blue or a white shirt to work; or an organizational one, such as introducing a new product line. It may be important (initiating a new stock issue), or relatively consequential (choosing the color of the cafeteria walls).

Decisions provide answers to questions, whether they are actually asked or not. Some of the more common of these are the following:

* What, specifically, is needed?
* What quality (or type, pattern, style, etc.)?
* What quantity?
* What are the time factors? The priorities?
* How much will it cost? Can we afford it?
* What procedures or methods will be used?
* Who will do what? Do they understand this? Do they agree?
* How does this fit with organizational objectives?

ANALYZING THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES

An understanding of how decision-making takes place in an organization is fundamental to improving it. It is useful, therefore, to analyze decision-making processes with respect to four elements which seem to encompass the cycle of a decision. They are:

1. Background Factors in Decision-Making - Background factors involve not only the basic objectives of the organization, but also the manner in which these are related to each man in his particular job. This is more than what people say-it is what they do, The President is more than what the Branch Constitution defines him to be. The relationship of the officer to his fellow officers and members is something that each lives and feels. He knows what they approve, what they disapprove, and what they are indifferent to-and he is guided accordingly.

2. The Problem of Perception in Decision-Making - Each member of the organization sees events and persons in the light of his own experience. Individual perception therefore becomes very important in understanding the decision-making process.

   It involves also the individual's view of the organization and the organization goals. (What, for example, are the association's objectives? How does it seek to accomplish them?) In a more analytical way, it probes into areas of problem recognition and factor identification.

   A good mechanic is not satisfied with a motor because it happens to be running satisfactorily at the moment. He is concerned with its future performance as well. Those of us in organizations must also be concerned with future behavior-with what is likely to happen. Our ability to recognize problems and potential problems is a mark of our sensitivity to organizational performance.

It is also important to identify the factors that bear upon the problem. This involves analytical as well as perceptual skills, but our analytical ability depends to a large degree upon prior perception of what is taking place.

It is possible for an otherwise competent administrator to have grave deficiencies in this area. He may not see, for example, that the organization is changing, bit by bit as in the building of an ant hill; or that "little decisions" are remaking "large purposes". Or he may not understand how (and why) this is occurring. These are among the most common failings of managers.

In such cases, facts are replaced by assumptions. We assume that things are well because the balance sheets are favorable ("After all, the motor isn't knocking"). We assume that Bill is doing his job properly because no one has complained. We assume that "God's in His Heaven and all's right with the world" because there is no evidence to the contrary.

As any mechanic knows, such assumptions can be but an engine throb from disaster.

3. The Analytical Processes in Decision-Making - Once a problem has been perceived, attention ordinarily turns to its analysis, where the traditional approach assumes the "decision" is ordinarily made.

The process of analysis involves asking a variety of questions. What is the problem? Are we sure? What will happen if nothing is done? Is this good or bad? What is my role with respect to it? Is this the kind of a problem that I should decide, and then inform others? Or is it something that I pass along with information and recommendations to a higher echelon? What are the alternatives? Which is the best?

A satisfactory approach to problem analysis involves (a) problem recognition (b) factor identification (c) prognosis (d) listing alternative courses of action (e) weighing and testing possibilities (f) selection of the most appropriate course of action, and, finally (g) relating the decision to action on the total organization.

4. Action and Reaction - Far more emphasis has been placed in most organizations upon the making of the decision than upon its actual implementation.

Logically, no decision should be made without considering how it is to be implemented-the procedures and how they are likely to work, as well as the roles which various persons are to fill, and in what priority. It should take into account the current assignment of those involved, as well as their skills and their willingness to use them.

The action processes also involve communications-communications not only of ideas down the line once agreement has been reached, but also communication up (if the decision has been made at a lower level), and communication across, obliquely, and even tangentially. Sometimes communication needs are great; sometimes modest. Whatever they are, they should be taken into account.

Attention should also be given to determining what takes place after agreements have been reached. For some, this will be in-

terpreted as determining that the action has been carried out as intended. Those who are more realistic will realize that the decision will probably require continuing modification as time goes on; and that this can be done adequately only where the information is available to all parties to the decision.

IMPROVING THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES

An administrator can improve the decision-making processes by:

1. Understanding organizational objectives
2. Understanding what is going on in the organization
3. Understanding the role of the individual
4. Clarifying problem areas and issues
5. Improving problem-solving skills
6. Strengthening internal communications
7. Clarifying the relationships between decision-making action
8. Improving the working relationships at all levels.

GUIDELINES FOR IMPROVING DECISION-MAKING

1. There are no one-man decisions in an organization. Any kind of a decision will eventually involve others.

2. Even those at the lowest echelons of the organization, drawing the lowest pay, may have a significant influence upon what takes place.

3. If the client ultimately determines the shape of the organization, then those dealing with the client become persons of substantial influence as well.

4. Problem-solving and decision-making can be improved not so much through the improvement of the individual executive's performance as through finding ways and means by which others may be involved.

5. The time and attention given to the involvement of others may be costly, but not so costly in the long run as the failure to carry out properly the decisions of the organization. This failure is the price that is nearly always paid by autocratic administration.

6. Just because you don't see the slow-down, don't conclude it isn't there. Sometimes a slow-down is of such a nature that even those most involved are not aware that they are failing to give their best.

7. There are many blocks to effective organizational performance. The intelligent administrator will try to understand and remove them.

8. Communication is the medium through which the various posts of the organization-top, bottom, and across-are helped to understand each other. No organization can be really effective without an effective communication system.

9. It is usually more dangerous to act without sufficient knowledge than to slow down the processes while information is being obtained.

10. There is no "decision-making type", just as there is no single "leadership type". The person in an executive position will do well to understand what others expect of him in a problem-solving way-and also how others see their own roles in the process.

11. Don't expect that your organization can change too rapidly from "poor" problem-solving is good. Whatever change takes place is likely to gradual. Give it all the time it needs.

12. Finally, people will support what they help to create. If they are invited into the decision-making process, they are likely to feel more responsibility for the decisions that are made.

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

What Type of Leader Are You?

The following quiz can reveal to you in approximate terms the type of leader you actually tend to be. Answer all questions as honestly and as accurately as possible. Where the question asked has no ready answer from your experience, indicate what you believe you would do in the situation described.

When you have completed the quiz, go on to the directions for scoring, and the analysis will be given by your instructor.

	YES	NO
1. Do you "enjoy running the show"?	____	____
2. Generally, do you think it's worth the time and effort to explain the reasons for a decision or policy before putting it into effect?	____	____
3. Do you prefer the administrative end of your leadership job - planning, paperwork, and so on - to supervising or working directly with your subordinates?	____	____
4. A stranger comes into your department and you know he's the new employee hired by one of your assistants. On approaching him, would you first ask his name rather than introduce yourself?	____	____
5. Do you keep your people up to date on developments affecting the group, as a matter of course?	____	____
6. Do you find that in giving out assignments, you tend to state the goals, leave methods to your subordinates?	____	____
7. Do you think that it's good common sense for a leader to keep aloof from his people, because in the long run familiarity breeds lessened respect?	____	____
8. Comes time to decide about a group outing. You've heard that the majority prefer to have it on Wednesday, but you're pretty sure Thursday would be better for all concerned. Would you put the question to a vote rather than make the decision yourself?	____	____
9. If you had your way, would you make running your group a push-button affair, with personal contacts and communications held to a minimum?	____	____
10. Do you find it fairly easy to fire someone?	____	____
11. Do you feel that the friendlier you are with your people, the better you'll be able to lead them?	____	____
12. After considerable time, you dope out the answer to a work problem. You pass along the solution to an assistant, who pokes it full of holes. Would you be annoyed that the problem is still unsolved, rather than become angry with the assistant?	____	____

13. Do you agree that one of the best ways to avoid problems of discipline is to provide adequate punishments for violations of rules? ___ ___

14. Your way of handling a situation is being criticized. Would you try to sell your viewpoint to your group, rather than make it clear that, as boss, your decisions are final? ___ ___

15. Do you generally leave it up to your subordinates to contact you, as far as informal day-to-day communications are concerned? ___ ___

16. Do you feel that everyone in your group should have a certain amount of personal loyalty to you? ___ ___

17. Do you favor the practice of appointing committees to settle a problem rather than stepping in to decide on it yourself? ___ ___

18. Some experts say differences of opinion within a work group are healthy. Others feel that they indicate basic flaws in group unity. Do you agree with the first view? ___ ___

YOUR SCORE

To get your score, indicate the number of yes answers you had for the following groups:

I: 1, 4, 7, 10, 13, 16

II; 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17

III: 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18

If you had most "yes" answers in Group I, chances are that you tend to be an autocratic leader.

If your total of "yes" answers was highest in Group II, you probably have a predisposition toward being a democratic leader.

If Group III is the one in which you show the greatest number of "yes" answers, you are probably inclined to be afree-rein leader.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

DIPLOMA

Issued to: _____

This diploma is awarded in grateful recognition of participation in and for the successful completion of a course in Training for Better Leadership in the Leadership Development Institute at the NAACP 56th Annual Convention.

Awarded this 2nd day of July, 1965 at Denver, Colorado.

Secretary for Training

Roy Wilkins

Executive Director

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VJ File

May 12, 1966

Dear Friend:

How long must the Negro citizens of the South be subjected to murder and intimidation in their struggle to achieve freedom? How long will the authorities -- federal and state -- permit the brutal murder of civil rights workers to go unpunished? How long will Klan-dominated "lily-white" juries set free the brazen criminals who have perpetrated these disgraceful crimes?

The answers to these questions concern every one of us, Negro or white, wherever we live. At stake is the very core of American morality and justice.

On January 10, nightriders in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, killed Vernon Dahmer, a local NAACP leader, in a pre-dawn firebomb attack on his home and his grocery store. Only by a miracle did Dahmer's family escape death. Dahmer had been leading the local drive to register Negro voters. Ironically, four of his sons are members of the U. S. armed forces.

This "Crime Against Civilization," described in the enclosed Washington Post editorial, is but a single link in the shameful chain of lynchings and assassinations designed to obstruct the Negro's drive for full freedom. In August, NAACP leader George Metcalf was critically injured by bomb throwers in Natchez, Mississippi. In December the homes of NAACP leaders were bombed in Charlotte, North Carolina.

Those who believe in freedom for every American MUST FIGHT BACK. Efforts are already under way to define such attacks on civil rights workers as a federal crime. There is only one enduring answer to the bomb throwers and the other cowards -- one meaningful memorial to the martyrs in this struggle: to register every qualified Negro we can reach.

Through the tax-exempt NAACP Special Contribution Fund, we are seeking $385,000 to mount the most massive voter education campaign in the history of the South. Our goal is to register at least 800,000 new Negro voters by Election Day next November. Only in this way can we attain our freedom and exercise it meaningfully.

I implore you to contribute to this historic undertaking. Please make the most generous possible contribution. It will aid the families of the bomb victims and it will help to liberate the Negro from Southern bondage and brutality.

Sincerely,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins

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THE SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION FUND IS THE ONLY TAX-DEDUCTIBLE CHANNEL FOR AIDING THE WORK OF THE NAACP, A NATION-WIDE MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATION WITH BRANCHES IN ALL 50 STATES

Testimony of Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary,
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People, New York City, before the
New York City Commission on Human Rights,
Construction Trades Hearing, 80 Lafayette St.,
New York, New York, September 26, 1966, 10:00 A.M.

File

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION:

My name is Herbert Hill and I am Labor Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People whose national office is located in New York City at 20 West 40th Street. I wish, first of all, to thank the Commission for this opportunity to appear and to present testimony on the urgent need to eliminate the pattern of discrimination in the building and construction trades industry of New York City.

In New York City and elsewhere in this state, high public officials are calling upon the Negro community to observe law and order, but the entire body of federal, state and municipal anti-discrimination laws and executive orders is being nullified as a result of non-enforcement in the construction industry. The failure to enforce civil rights laws and executive orders is directly contributing to the growing civil rights crisis in New York City and in other urban communities throughout the state and nation.

The public demonstrations at major public construction sites by the NAACP and other civil rights organizations in New York City during 1963 and 1964 after years of futile negotiations with representatives of the building trades unions have had only one purpose -- that is, to get the laws against racial discrimination in employment on public works contracts enforced.

The rights that Negro workers have been seeking through these demonstrations are non-negotiable legal rights that exist at the federal level through Executive Order 11246 (previously 10925 and 11114) and now because of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

At the state level, by virtue of the New York Civil Rights Law and the State labor law, both of which specifically prohibit discrimatory practices by labor unions and employers on the grounds of race and color and at the city level by Section 343-8 of the Administrative Code which prohibits discrimination by contractors doing business with city agencies. The failure to enforce this extensive body of

civil rights law constitutes a classic example of the administrative nullification of anti-discrimination statutes and executive orders.

The irony is not lost upon the Negro citizens of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant or of Rochester, Syracuse, Albany or Buffalo for that matter. They have noted that high government officials who piously demand law and order are the same public officials who refuse to enforce the law in protecting the rights of Negroes against discrimination in employment. This can no longer be permitted. Public officials at every level of government must immediately enforce the letter and spirit of civil rights laws with special emphasis as they relate to the construction industry.

In this industry, especially in the craft occupations, trade union racial practices are the decisive factor in determining the status of Negro workers. The basic operational characteristics of craft unions in the building and construction trades is that they control access to employment by virtue of their rigid control of the hiring process. In this industry labor unions control the assignment of union members to jobs. The refusal to admit Negroes into membership simply denies Negro workers opportunities to secure employment. Quite frequently Negro craftsmen denied union membership are totally excluded from work in white residential neighborhoods and new commercial construction. This means that skilled Negro workers are restricted to marginal maintenance and repair work within the Negro community and that they are seldom permitted to work on the larger and more desirable construction projects.

All state and municipal construction contracts contain a clause, pursuant to Section 220-e of the New York State Labor Law which states: "That in the hiring of employees for, the performance of work under this contract or any sub contract hereunder, no contractor, sub contractor, nor any other person acting on behalf of such contractor or sub contractor shall by reason of race, creed, color or national origin, discriminate against any citizen of New York State..." Section 220-e which became law in 1935 has never been enforced.

Paragraph 296 of Article 15, 1-a (a) and (b) of the Executive Law of 1945 which established the State Commission for Human Rights

reads in part as follows:

> 1-a. It shall be an unlawful discriminatory practice for an employer, labor organization, employment agency, or any joint labor-management committee controlling apprentice training programs:
>
> (a) to deny or to withhold from any qualified person because of his race, creed, color or national origin the right to be admitted to or participate in a guidance program, an apprenticeship training program, on-the-job training program, or other occupational training or retraining program.
>
> (b) to discriminate against any qualified person in his pursuit of such programs or to discriminate against such a person in the terms, conditions or privileges of such programs because of race, creed, color or national origin.

Paragraph 296 of Article 15 of the Executive Law prohibiting racial discrimination in apprenticeship training programs has never been enforced. The State Civil Rights Law declared that the opportunity to obtain training and employment without discrimination is a basic civil right, <u>but this has not been enforced in the construction industry of New York City and State</u>.

The city of New York adopted a law in 1945, Section 343.8 of the the City Administrative Code, requiring in addition to what is called for by Section 220-e of the State Labor Law, that each city construction contract contain a provision which states that discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin constitutes "a material breach of the contract," and that the city may cancel such contracts. <u>Not a single contract has ever been cancelled and this law has never been enforced</u>.

In addition to prohibiting racial discrimination in employment, on state and municipal construction projects, New York State Law also specifically bans racial discrimination by labor unions. Section 43 of the Civil Rights Law states "no labor organization shall hereafter directly or indirectly, by ritualistic practice, constitutional, or by law prescription, by tacit agreement among its members, or otherwise, deny a person or persons membership in its organization by reason of race, creed, color or national origin." Violation of this law is punishable by fines up to $500 and jail sentences up to 90 days. <u>This law has never been enforced</u>.

Amendments to the National Labor Relations Act adopted by the Congress in 1947 have clearly outlawed the closed shop. Under

federal labor law union membership must not be a condition of employment. Closed unions operating closed shops through the device of union hiring halls which refer only union members to jobs, is clearly a violation of the National Labor Relations Act, but this law has never been enforced in the construction industry in New York City.

The contract of the Board of Education of the City of New York contains Article 64 on pages 21 and 22 of the printed contract which states that:

> In the hiring of employees for the performance of of work under this contract or any sub contract hereunder, neither the contractor, sub contractor, nor any person acting on behalf of the contractor or sub contractor, shall by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin, discriminate against any citizen of the State of New York who is qualified and available to perform the work to which the employment relates.
>
> Neither the contractor, sub-contractor, nor any person on his behalf, shall in any manner discriminate against or intimidate any employee hired for the performance of work under this contract on account of race, creed, color or national origin.

This contractual provision and similar provisions in other municipal contracts have never been enforced.

The Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 clearly outlaws the closed shop. The statute specifically prohibits making initial employment dependent on union membership and bans discrimination in hiring hall arrangements as well as other discrimination based on an employee's membership or non-membership in employment.

Such exclusive hiring hall arrangements, which in reality constitute a "lily white" closed shop, are in violation of the decision of the National Labor Relations Board in the case of Astrove and Plumbers Union Local 2. In this decision the NLRB explicitly established the legal concept that a union has no right to establish union membership or any other qualification as a condition for employment and that labor unions may not exclude Negroes from membership and prevent them from being employed in public construction. The law established that only the employer can determine qualifications for employment and that any other test is illegal.

Labor unions that engage in discriminatory practices are violating their duty of fair representation as established by the law

and may have their certification as exclusive collective bargaining agent revoked. Thus, basic federal labor law is violated in New York City because of exclusive hiring hall arrangements, either formal or informal, between contractors and labor union, and the NAACP will have no choice but to take appropriate action on behalf of Negro workers as indicated by the law.

The announcement by the New York City Board of Education on September 5, 1966, regarding 17 new public schools built at a cost of 58.9 million dollars means that the city has again used public funds, including the tax dollars of its Negro citizens, in violation of its own municipal code and state and federal laws. The fact is that not one public edifice has been constructed in New York City during the last half-century which has not been the work of labor provided by craft unions which systematically deprive Negroes of the right to work in the craft jurisdictions they rigidly control. It is, of course, also a fact that such discrimination is expressly forbidden by a comprehensive body of federal, state and municipal laws.

Failure to enforce the laws by public officials makes a mockery of the law and breeds contempt for it. The high public officials who do not enforce anti-discrimination statutes and contractual provisions are at the very least as guilty of breaking the law as the person who throws "Molotov cocktails" during disturbances in the ghetto.

The question arises has there been any racial discrimination in violation of the statutes I have cited, and does is still exist? Does the broad pattern of discriminatory practices continue in the skilled trades, on public construction projects in New York City? The answer to both these questions is yes.

The economic structure of the building industry is unusual in that it concentrates in local craft unions the power to decide who obtains employment and who gets admitted to the craft. Men engaged in construction work are recruited from labor pools controlled by the various unions in the craft jurisdictions in the building trades. By virtue of exclusive hiring hall agreements, contractors must rely entirely on pools of available workers in each trade and are completely dependent upon the local unions for their labor supply. Thus,

the economic characteristics of the industry provide the soil in which racial discrimination flourishes.

The broad pattern of Negro exclusion and other discriminatory practices by the building trades unions of the AFL-CIO in New York City has been documented again and again. I will cite but a few instances. On August 1, 1963, the New York State Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights released a report that sustained the charges made by civil rights organizations that a variety of anti-Negro practices were characteristic of the building trades unions in New York City. The Report was based on a seven month investigation of the industry by Dr. Donald Shaughnessy of Columbia University and stated that:

> Negroes are denied access to employment in most of the building trades in New York City...the retention of present practices of admission to apprenticeship programs will mean that Negroes can expect no more than token participation in most of the building trades in the future.

The Report also noted that "out of town construction workers commute over 100 miles daily to jobs in New York City while local Negroes and Puerto Ricans are denied employment and entry into union dominated apprenticeship programs." Dr. Shaughnessy's study noted, for instance, that Local 2 of the Plumbers Union, AFL-CIO, with 3,300 members did not have a single Negro member but as a result of an acute labor shortage in its jurisdiction had brought in 1,000 out-of-town white plumbers to work on new construction within New York City.

On December 13, 1963, the New York City Commission on Human Rights after an extensive series of public hearings and investigations of the racial practices of New York building trades unions issued an official report entitled "Bias in the Building Industry." The Commission said it found "a pattern of exclusion in a substantial portion of the building and construction industry which bars non-whites from participating in this area of the city's economic life." By restricting the right to become an apprentice to sons and relatives of its members, the Report of the City Commission explains that unions thereby automatically exclude Negroes since few have ever belonged. Union members view this position as a source of "job security" and proclaim that they do not discriminate against Negroes but only against non-members. But this particular form of "union

security" results in the systematic exclusion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans as a group.

On March 4, 1964, the New York State Commission for Human Rights ruled that Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union had "automatically excluded" Negroes over the entire 78 years of the union's existence. This was held to be a violation of the New York State Law Against Discrimination and the Commission issued an order for the union to "cease and desist from such discriminatory practices." The order was sustained by a state Supreme Court to which the Union had appealed the Commission's decision. This case is of particular historical significance because in 1948 the New York State Commission had ordered the New York Sheet Metal Workers Union, Local 28, to desist from "executing and/or maintaining constitution or by-law provisions which exclude Negroes." But 17 years later the Commission found that absolutely no progress had been made, although the "caucasian only" clause was removed from the Union's constitution apparently for public relations purposes only. This is indeed a very dubious example of "progress."

On August 24, 1964, the New York State Supreme Court, in a historic decision, struck down the legality of the traditional father and son membership arrangement in Local 28. (Lefkowitz v. Farrell, C-9287-63, N. Y. State Commission for Human Rights, 1964.) Justice Jacob Markowitz, in his decision, declared that the law and "the realities of today's society" require that labor unions abandon all apprentice selection plans which "could be used directly or indirectly to discriminate against any person on the basis of race, color, creed or national origin."

Because similar father and son arrangements and other forms of nepotism within labor unions have had the effect of excluding all Negroes from membership in many labor unions and from admission into union controlled apprenticeship training programs, a request was made by the NAACP national office on August 28, 1964, to Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, requesting that the Federation endorse the decision of the New York State Supreme Court and that admission practices based upon nepotism be declared a violation of AFL-CIO policy. It was further requested that the Federa-

tion require affiliated unions to take action against these and related discriminatory practices in New York City and elsewhere. The NAACP never even received the courtesy of an answer from the AFL-CIO, nor has the Federation taken the necessary action on this matter, although the decision of the State Supreme Court provided an excellent public opportunity for doing so.

Mr. W. Willard Wirtz, United States Secretary of Labor in his address to the AFL Building and Construction Trades Department Convention in New York City on November 7, 1963, stated that the U. S. Department of Labor

> conducted a survey earlier this year on federal projects in some fifty cities...On most of these projects there were no Negroes employed either as journeymen or as apprentices in a majority of the skilled trades.

In regards to New York City the Secretary of Labor stated that

> there are two largebuilding trades locals in New York City with a total membership of about 4,500 - which have no Negro members. A question exists as to whether another local with a membership of 3,300 has any Negro members. There are comparable situations in many other cities. (W. Willard Wirtz, Labor and the Public Interest, Harper and Row, New York, 1964, pp. 111-112.)

On June 2, 1965, the National Labor Relations Board held that Local 2 of the Plumbers and Pipefitters Union in New York City had violated the National Labor Relations Act and invalidated the provisions in the union agreement giving job preference to union members. This case involving four Negro and Puerto Rican plumbers denied employment on the Bronx Terminal Market construction project when unionized white plumbers, members of Local 2 of the Plumbers Union, refused to work with the nonwhite plumbers and forced a work stoppage on this New York City construction project in 1964. On May 12, 1966, the United States Court of Appeals granted the Board's petition to enforce its order of June 2, 1965 which required the Plumbers Union to compensate the nonwhite workers for income losses sustained because of the refusal of union plumbers to work with them.

Among the most important of the authoritative studies of the discriminatory racial practices of building trades unions was the extensive testimony before hearings of the special sub-committee on labor, January 15, 1962 and published as Equal Employment Opportunity Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee

on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87th Congress, 2nd Session, Part 2, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1962, pp. 718-744.

The 1961 Employment Study of the United States Commission on Civil Rights investigated the national pattern in the building trades unions and reported that:

> None of the construction unions surveyed have racially restrictive provisions in their constitutions or by-laws. Most however, require that an applicant for membership be approved by the local before acceptance. It is clear that the absence of Negro members in the 'lily white' construction locals means that few, if any, Negroes will be employed in these highly paid craft jobs on union construction projects. Obviously then to the extent that union membership practices are discriminatory, they deny employment opportunities to Negroes on racial grounds. (Employment, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1961, Washington, D. C., p. 131.)

The Employment Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights also noted that many building trades unions:

> Openly practice racial discrimination in their membership policies. Local union officers have been known to explain the absence of Negro members in the following terms: 'Nigras are all afraid of electricity...Jews and colored folks don't want to do plumbing work because it is too hard'. (Ibid, p. 130.

Gunnar Myrdal in his classic study, An American Dilemma makes the following comment, which has as much validity today as it did in 1944:

> The discriminatory attitude of the organized building crafts is the more significant at present, since they dominate the American Federation of Labor...a circumstance which is behind the reluctance of this organization to take any definite action against exclusionist and segregational practices. (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Harper & Bros., New York, 1944, p. 1102.)

Myrdal also observes that:

> The fact that the American Federation of Labor as such is officially against racial discrimination does not mean much. The Federation has never done anything to check racial discrimination exercised by its member organizations. (Ibid., p. 402.)

At the present time in New York City the basic construction industry labor force consists of 255,000 workers organized into 122 local union affiliates operating in 18 jurisdictions and affiliated with the New York City Building and Construction Trades Council of the AFL-CIO. Approximately two-thirds of these may be classified as

skilled, that is, requiring an apprenticeship training period of from three to five years before a worker is a fully qualified journeyman. The rest are unskilled, or at best, semi-skilled, that is, they are classified as non-apprentice trades and it is here that the great majority of Negroes are concentrated.

The incontrovertible fact is that in New York City, Negro membership in building trades unions is limited with some few recent exceptions to the unskilled and semi-skilled unions such as the common laborers, the house wreckers, the trowel trades and to the Carpenters' Union, including the segregated Harlem local of the Carpenters' Union, that is, Local 1888, which has 300 Negro members with less than ten whites.

But in the major skilled craft local unions which have established some of the highest wage rates in the city, the pattern of Negro exclusion remains intact and it is precisely in these jurisdictions that there exists exclusive union hiring hall arrangements which prevent Negro workers from securing equal job opportunities. I do not deny that there has been some small measure of progress, but a close examination of the nature of this progress indicates that it is extremely limited, that at best it might be regarded as a mere token adjustment, a strategic accommodation to the requirements of the law and to the increasing pressures of the Negro protest movement.

On July 13, 1963, The New York Times, after reporting on the Mayor's special panel investigating racial discrimination in the building trades, commented editorially that, "Negro participation in the building trades is less than two percent, concentrated in the low paying jobs. The high paying jobs including steamfitters, iron workers, metal lathers and plumbers, are trades pretty much off limits to non-whites." This pattern has not changed.

As a result of action by the NAACP during the 1962 contract negotiations between Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Contractors Association which created an unusually large number of apprenticeship openings, Negroes for the first time were admitted into the apprenticeship training program controlled by this union. However, it would be interesting to know

four years later exactly how many Negro workers currently hold membership in the "A" card division, that is, in its jurisdiction of new construction work that is rigidly controlled by Local 3 which has a membership of over 36,000. The two major Plumbers locals in New York City, with a combined membership of some 7,500, have during the past four years admitted 25 Negro journeymen between them and a small number of apprentices. Here too, I would have to raise the question of how many of the newly admitted Negroes are "A" card holders engaged in new construction work and how many are "B" card holders limited to repair and maintenance work. But as far as I can determine in many other important craft unions among them the Iron and Structural Steelworkers, the Steamfitters, the Metal Lathers, the Rodmen, the Elevator Constructors, the Operating Engineers, the Glaziers and the Asbestos Workers, in these and in most other skilled craft jurisdictions, less than a beginning has been made. Thus, after more than a decade of public demonstrations, mass picket lines, litigation in the courts, the filing of complaints with federal, state and municipal administrative agencies, "Action Panels" that led to no action, broken promises from high state and city officials, interminable studies, surveys, public hearings and investigations, a few isolated, symbolic breakthroughs have been made involving a small number of Negroes, but this does not constitute real, genuine progress and the pattern of anti-Negro practices continues.

It is the rate of progress that counts and the rate of integration of Negro workers in the skilled craft unions of the building construction industry in New York City is slower than the rate of integration of Negro children in the public schools of the South during the past decade. A major test of the rate of progress is to be discerned in the number of Negroes participating in union controlled apprenticeship training programs. In the past, Negro participation in these programs has remained consistently very low and relatively constant in relation to the growth of the Negro population in New York City.

According to the New York State Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, in 1950 Negroes constituted 1.4 percent of the building trades apprentices and 13 percent of the population in New York City. In 1960, Negroes comprised two percent of the apprentices and 22 percent of the population. Based upon all of

the available demographic data, we may assume that nonwhites of New York City now comprise more than 25 percent of the city's total population, but there has been no corresponding percentile increase in the number of Negroes involved in union controlled apprenticeship training programs. At the present time over 45 percent of the population of the Borough of Manhattan is nonwhite. Given the increase in the Negro population of New York City, the percentage of Negroes in apprenticeship training has actually decreased in relation to their percentage in the total population. With a very few exceptions, including Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union which admitted a small number of Negroes as a result of a court order, no significant changes have taken place in the pattern of exclusion.

On August 26, 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law a 3.3 billion dollar Public Works and Economic Development Act. At the ceremony in the White House East Room where he signed the law, President Johnson warned that "the clock is ticking, time is running out." The President called attention to the fact that the law he had signed would provide funds for vast public construction projects through a program of grants and loans to many cities and towns where the President said, "too many men have been out of work too long." The President noted that long-term unemployment among Negroes has been a major factor in recent racial disturbances in Northern ghettos and called upon cities and states to assume their responsibilities to provide equality of opportunity for all American citizens.

Negro wage earners in New York City and in other metropolitan areas in urban New York State and elsewhere in the nation are denied full and equal participation in the various public and private construction programs because the "lily white" AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades craft unions retain control of job opportunities in th the construction industry. This is done by making union membership a condition of employment and then by excluding Negroes from membership and from union controlled apprenticeship training programs. Although Negro workers more than any other group in the labor force qualify for participation in public works programs, they are not permitted to share in the new employment opportunities in this expanding sector of the economy, because of the collusion between building con-

tractors and construction labor unions which give the craft unions job control.

Given union control of the hiring process and of apprenticeship training programs in the building trades, it is no longer possible to regard racial bias by labor unions as simply a private matter involving "voluntary associations" or of a "quasi-sovereignty" as Robert M. Hutchins describes American labor unions today. Such discrimination is a fundamental social barrier to the entire Negro community and certainly no less serious than segregation in the public schools which the U. S. Supreme Court has declared to be unconstitutional. It is now clear that the intervention of the larger community through the instrumentality of law and law enforcement has become necessary to remove discriminatory practices by labor unions as well as employers.

Periodically, the public relations spokesmen for the building trades unions issue alleged statistical information in an attempt to "refute" charges of racial discrimination. This is frequently done by lumping together the membership figures of both the skilled craft unions which are almost completely white and the membership figures of the unions of unskilled workers which are predominantly Negro. Thus they equate the membership of the virtually all-Negro House Wreckers Union with that of the highly skilled all-white Iron Workers or Steamfitters locals. Using this device the New York City Building and Construction Trades Council has in the past released undifferentiated membership information that is deliberately calculated to mislead the public.

The NAACP's demand is for job equality for Negro citizens in the highly skilled well paid craft jurisdictions which have been traditionally "lily white". We are not arguing about unskilled low-paying menial dead-end jobs which have, in fact, always been open to Negroes and in which Negroes continue to be concentrated. Negroes have always been window-washers, house wreckers and common laborers. But Negroes have not been plumbers, steamfitters, electricians, sheet metal workers, operating engineers, millwrights, lathers, elevator constructors or mechanics in the other skilled craft occupations.

Representatives of organized labor have frequently stated that unemployment among unionized white workers prevents the immediate

integration of the labor force and that Negro workers must wait for some far distant future when there is full employment in order to be admitted into union controlled apprenticeship training programs or as journeymen into union membership. The assumption that all the white union members must first be fully employed before Negroes can be permitted to work, the notion that white workers have a prior right to a job is an expression of the racist mentality within the craft unions and permeates a section of the leadership of the AFL-CIO in New York City and elsewhere. Unfortunately, it is also shared by too many public officials. These assumptions have no basis in law and certainly not in any concept of morality. For many long hard years Negro workers have disproportionately shared only unemployment. The time has now come for Negro workers to share in whatever employment opportunities there are at present and in the future.

While I am not unaware that there is temporary seasonal unemployment in some specific crafts (this is a characteristic of the industry), the building and construction trades industry in New York City represents an expanding part of the economy. On December 13, 1965, the United States Department of Commerce reported that outlays for new construction would reach an all time high of about 72.7 billion dollars in 1966. The F. W. Dodge Company, Inc. reported on December 12, 1965 that July contracts for future building in metropolitan New York totaled 180.3 million dollars and represents an increase of 4 percent over the previous year. Non-residential contracts of 101.7 million dollars were up 13 percent. According to the Dodge Company which maintains the most accurate data on these matters, in the seven months preceding August 1, 1966, total building contracts for the New York City metropolitan area were: 1.188 billion dollars and represented an increase over the previous year. But Negro workers do not share in this prosperous sector of the American economy because of the built-in institutionalized discriminatory practices of the building trades craft unions.

Thus, Negro workers are prevented from acquiring not only the rewards of high wages, but also of status, the status that is directly related to holding meaningful and productive jobs.

The obscene game of adopting civil rights laws to please the victims of discrimination, and then not enforcing these laws to

please the politically powerful discriminators, must now stop. The building trades unions have used their vast political power to secure an immunity from the enforcement of civil rights laws and this too, must finally come to an end.

The concept of passive non-discrimination is now totally inadequate and obsolete, especially in relation to the building trades unions in New York City and elsewhere where Negro workers have been systematically and deliberately barred from membership for many generations. The burden is clearly upon these unions to accept the affirmative obligation of active large-scale recruitment among Negroes. This is a practical and realistic possibility, but it has not been carried out.

Each year thousands of Negro students are graduated from New York City high schools who qualify for admission into union controlled apprenticeship training programs.

A truly meaningful trade union civil rights program would require representatives of the AFL-CIO to actively recruit Negroes through all the institutions of the Negro community. Once the doors are really open, Negroes in significant numbers will then begin applying of their own volition, but given the tragic history of rigid racial exclusion, the burden is clearly upon the unions to engage in broad efforts to include Negroes in their membership and in their training programs. Just as Negroes have been deliberately and systematically excluded, so now unions have the obligation to deliberately and systematically include Negroes in apprenticeship training programs and as journeymen members.

When the AFL and the CIO merged in 1955 resolutions were adopted committing the merged labor federation to the rapid elimination of racial discrimination by organized labor. But now, a decade later, the reality for Negro workers is significantly different from that anticipated at the time of the merger. The status of Negroes in the skilled craft unions in New York and elsewhere is clear proof that the AFL-CIO has not kept its public commitment to eradicate racist practices within affiliated labor unions. Obviously, a policy that is not enforced is not a policy. It is worthless.

Because the quality and quantity of vocational and technical training is a basic element in fundamentally changing the Negro's

economic status, effective methods must now be taken by all agencies to eliminate current racial restrictions both overt and covert that prevent the admission of qualified Negroes into apprenticeship and other training programs, public and private, concerned with effective manpower utilization in the national economy.

Although racial discrimination in apprenticeship and in other training programs has been outlawed by a significant body of state and federal civil rights laws and executive orders, all the data clearly indicates the persistence of a broad national pattern of racial discrimination in the vital area of apprenticeship and vocational training. Craft unions have the power to promote or prevent the admission of individuals of an entire class of persons into skilled occupations. By formal and informal controls, craft unions are frequently the decisive factor in the recruitment process for apprenticeship programs and often directly prevent Negro youths from becoming skilled craft workers.

On the level of the small shop and local union the traditions of racial discrimination have become deeply institutionalized, a form of caste psychology that impels many workers to regard their own positions as "white men's jobs" to which no Negro should aspire. These workers and, often, their union leaders regard jobs in their trades as a kind of private privilege to be accorded and denied by them as they see fit. Often, Negroes are not alone in being barred from such unions which attempt to maintain an artificial labor shortage. This is especially true in the building trades craft unions which do not function as modern American labor unions in an advanced technological society, but rather as narrow protective associations obsessed with job control and arbitrarily restricting the available supply of skilled labor. Thus, the building trade craft unions have much in common with medieval guilds.

The following proposals, if accepted as basic public policy by the municipal government and vigorously enforced, would have the effect of fundamentally altering the broad pattern of discrimination in the building and construction trades industry. Further token adjustments involving one or two Negroes, are totally unacceptable to the NAACP and to the entire civil rights movement. Fundamental

changes in the status of Negro wage-earners are necessary and can be substantially achieved through the following Four point program:

1. OPEN HIRING

Under the law only management can determine a worker's competence for employment. Membership in a labor union especially one that discriminates against Negroes, must not be considered a condition for employment. All qualified, competent workers must be given an equal chance to obtain employment in construction projects financed by public funds. This is clearly stated in the law and the city has the responsibility to protect the rights of its citizens, especially in municipal construction. Hiring must be open to all who are qualified at the gate, not through a restrictive "lily white" union hiring hall.

2. CONTRACT COMPLIANCE

The city must refuse to award contracts to construction companies and contractors that use discriminatory union hiring halls or referral lists as the exclusive source of labor supply. The contractor must not be permitted to obtain immunity from federal, state and municipal civil rights laws and evade compliance with the anti-discrimination provisions of public contracts by turning over the hiring function to a third party who is not a signatory to the contract. Pre-award contract commitments for open hiring must be obtained from all municipal contractors and frequent compliance reviews should be made by the city. Wherever discrimination is indicated contract awards should be refused in the first instance and revoked if necessary. Although there is now a massive body of evidence that clearly proves a pattern of institutionalized discrimination in the construction industry of New York City, not a single contract has ever been cancelled. Contract cancellation is a most potent instrument in enforcing the law. It indicates that the city administration takes its civil

rights commitments seriously and it should be used. The avowed policy of equal employment opportunity on projects financed by taxpayers' money will never be worth the paper its written on until there is real enforcement and that includes contract cancellation.

3. NEGRO CONTRACTORS

A special effort must be made by the municipality to award contracts to Negro owned construction companies as a way of guaranteeing the employment of Negro workers. The city should require all prime contractors to agree that subcontracts will be awarded to Negro contractors. The Office of Government Contract Compliance of the U. S. Department of Labor has now begun to do this successfully on major U.S. Government construction projects and I urge the city to follow the same procedure.

4. ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION IN APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAMS

The municipality must remove private, that is, union control of the operation of apprenticeship training programs in the skilled craft occupations. The social consequences of the operation of these programs are much too broad and pervasive to permit private interest groups to impose their restrictive controls in the operation of such programs. A system of objective standards must be established as the basis for admission into such programs and it is necessary that impartial public agencies determine eligibility for admission into apprenticeship training programs. Testing procedures are now effectively used to exclude large numbers of Negroes from union apprenticeship programs, therefore, an impartial public agency must administer uniform standardized tests. Such tests should be job related and not based upon irrelevant subjective considerations that have their basis in middle class, white social experience thus blocking off the Negro applicant whose social and cultural development takes place within the Negro ghetto. The city in conjunction with private agencies such as the NAACP, the

Urban League and Negro churches must conduct intensive affirmative campaigns to recruit Negro youth for involvement in apprenticeship and other job training programs.

The time to enforce the law is now, not tomorrow or next year or at some far distant time in the future. The crisis of unemployment and underemployment in the Negro community and the growing militancy of the civil rights protest movement has created a new set of conditions for municipalities and their human rights commissions.

Outbreaks of violence in many communities must be understood within the context of a growing economic crisis in the major urban centers of Negro population concentration. The great mass of Negroes are locked in a permanent condition of poverty. This includes the long-term unemployed as well as the working poor, who know only a marginal economic existence and thus, increasingly, are forced into the ranks of the unemployed. If the traditional patterns of job discrimination are not rapidly eliminated, the growing crisis of unemployment and poverty among Negroes threatens to plunge entire Negro communities into further alienation and despair.

Civil rights commissions must now proceed boldly to the attack upon discriminatory patterns in entire industries and crafts, with new concepts of permanent affirmative compliance and above all a far greater use of mandatory measures including the frequent issuance of cease and desist orders, court enforcement of commission rulings and contract cancellation.

If northern municipalities and their civil rights commissions continue to operate with timidity and a general reluctance to broadly and rapidly enforce anti-discrimination statutes then the potential of fair employment practice laws will never be realized and the Negro mass movement will proceed to the attack against discrimination in its own way. What state and municipal anti-discrimination commissions do within the next months and how rapidly they go about doing it will determine in large measure the nature of the racial confrontation in the Northern urban center. This is now especially important as it becomes clear each passing day that the great and growing crisis in American race relations is in the urban North.

File NAACP

Sheriff Threatens Arrest of Reporter

Sheriff F. Quill Sammon Jr., obviously disturbed over a reporter's visit to the Gwinnett County jail last Thursday, declared he would have the newsman "locked up" if he made a return visit to the county bastile.

Mr. Sammon has denied the press access to the jail records.

The reporter went to the jail during the visiting hour of 10 and 11 a.m. Thursday when the sheriff was not present and the jailer granted the reporter's request to visit Franklin D. Brown, accused of slaying his teenaged sister-in-law (see separate story).

Brown, speaking through the bars of the cell he occupies with several other Negro prisoners, denied the slaying and asked if he could speak to the reporter in the hallway where prisoners are normally allowed to talk with visitors.

The reporter, after rattling the hallway door which is locked from the outside, summoned a jail official, asked if Brown would be permitted to talk in private and was told, "Visiting hours is over now."

Calling for a return visit the following day, the reporter was told by a desk officer, "The sheriff says you can't talk to any of the prisoners without his special permission."

The reporter called the sheriff at his home and Mr. Sammon said he would not let the newsman talk with a prisoner "unless I know what you're going to talk about."

The sheriff then said he would be down at the jail in about 10 minutes and showed up some 30 minutes later. After ignoring the reporter for some 10 minutes, the newsman asked if he would be permitted to talk to the prisoner.

The sheriff then asked if the reporter had relatives in the jail and was he (the reporter) trying to run for sheriff. "I've got a campaign to manage and people to take care of," he declared, adding that he would not let the reporter interview the prisoner.

"You're creating dissension," he said, "and I've got the evidence to prove it." Then, turning to several of his deputies, the desk officer and jail matron, he ordered: "And if he comes down here again y'all lock him up."

Franklin D. Brown Awaits Gwinnett Grand Jury Action

A 26-year-old Buford mechanic has denied the slaying of his teen-age sister-in-law despite a signed "confession" that he killed her.

This came to light in a brief interview with Franklin D. Brown, Negro who has been held on a murder charge in the Gwinnett County jail since shortly after the slaying in mid-October, 1963.

Brown, a lifelong resident of Buford, was locked up shortly after the rape-slaying of Judy Ann Randolph, 16, who according to the state crime laboratory report was five months pregnant.

He was released about two days thereafter, then picked up again by Sheriff R.L. Smith of the Sugar Hill District and GBI Agent H.B. Freeman.

While in jail the first time, Brown told a reporter, someone stole the armrest from his automobile and also a grease rag which he used during his work at O'Rouke's Gargage in Buford. The armrest is listed by state witnesses as evidence.

Asked why he signed the statement of "confession," Brown said he was frightened and he had no idea it would get him "in this kind of trouble."

The case has been made returnable to the March grand jury and Brown's trial is expected to come up in the third week of March.

Circuit Judge Charles Pittard reportedly appointed Rhodes Jordan of Lawrenceville to defend Brown and the family of the accused has retained Attorney J. Ray Merritt of Buford.

While investigating officers have been close - mouthed regarding the details of the investigation, unconfirmed reports are that Brown was taken to the scene of the slaying where he explained in detail how he inadvertently strangled Judy Ann.

"He didn't intend to kill her," one of the investigators allegedly told a Buford man. The second-hand account of the slaying was to the effect that Brown had a dispute with Judy Ann, and pressed a wire around her throat while the two were in his automobile.

The slaying reportedly took place near the Buford Rock Quarry Prison Farm.

The officers' investigation re-

(Continued on Page 4)

Corley Files For New Term In Election

Commissioner Minor Corley, a lifelong resident of Gwinnett now serving his first full term as a county commissioner, has qualified as a candidate to succeed himself subject to the Democratic Primary April 15.

Mr. Corley, now vice-chairman of the board, was born Minor Morton Corley Oct. 22, 1911, the son of Alvin J. Corley and Mamie Morton Corley, fourth generation of Corleys in Gwinnett County. His father served on the Board of County Commissioners for a four-year term beginning in 1944.

Mr. Corley's homeplace is near Sweetwater Church in Pleasant Hill Community. He attended local schools and graduated from Duluth High School. He later attended Oglethorpe University.

Now holder of the Allis-Chalmers equipment franchise in Duluth, Mr. Corley first started in business in Duluth with an ice route in 1929. He added a drugs and sundries business in 1934 and four years later started in the equipment business.

Mr. Corley is married to the former Miss Frances Payne of Duluth, daughter of the late Lee Payne, and they have one daughter, Betsy.

He is a member of the Duluth Lodge F&AM, Woodmen of the World, the Lions Club and the Duluth Methodist Church.

Mr. Corley began his term of office as a member of the Board of Commissioners of Roads and Revenues in May, 1958, to fill the unexpired term of the late Gordon I. Frachiseur.

~~Confederate~~

Harold NAACP

Forsyth + Gwinnett
Teen-age col girl = preg
Killed near Quarry...
Boy locked up...26...
Wh boys tried pick up...
G.B.I. inves -
No record...
Girl's sis-in-law...
Ray Merritt, ch Demo Ex-Ex...
Picked him up to quiet town...
Franklin D. Brown...
Fam lives Buford -
Mech O'Rourke's Garage...
Gwinnett Co.

#

John Quarter (G-7 Pine)
colo colored...
534-1212
Jonesville

bxw Photographs of S. W. Tucker and Donald L. Hollowell were taken from this folder. Check photo file for Org NAACP and individual name listing

LWD ✓

Telephone 688-7510

NCCJ

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.

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REGIONAL SECRETARY
Mrs. Billie M. Dell

June 18, 1964

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Just a note to let you know how greatly I appreciate your contribution to our Seminar on Civil Rights for the youth group from Indiana this week.

The young people were deeply impressed and grateful for your willingness to take the time to speak with them.

They have now returned **home** with a wealth of new experience and insight.....and a mass of information which may take months to digest.

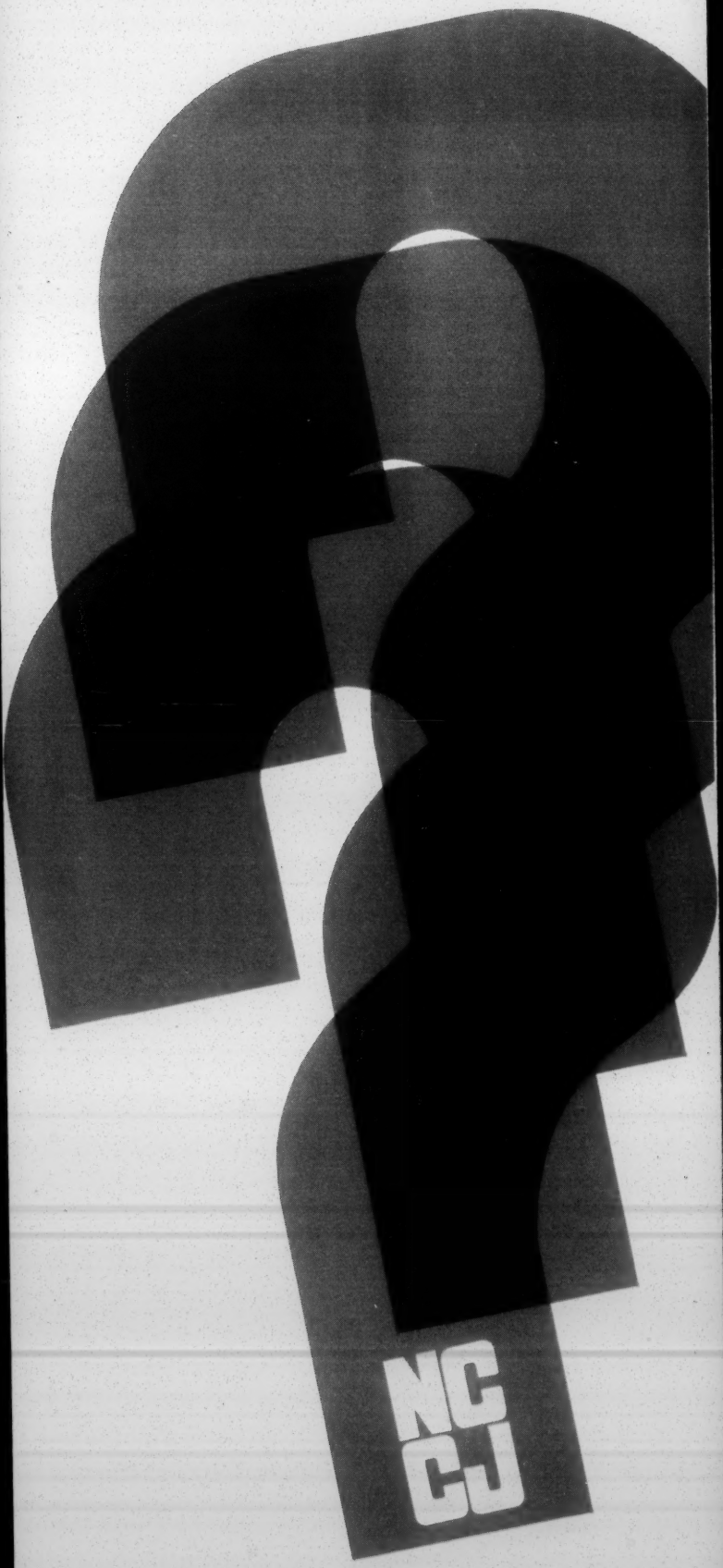
Sincerely,

Don

Don McEvoy

"—TO PROMOTE JUSTICE, AMITY, UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION AMONG PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND JEWS, AND TO ANALYZE, MODERATE AND FINALLY ELIMINATE INTERGROUP PREJUDICES WHICH DISFIGURE AND DISTORT RELIGIOUS, BUSINESS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS, WITH A VIEW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOCIAL ORDER IN WHICH THE RELIGIOUS IDEALS OF BROTHERHOOD AND JUSTICE SHALL BECOME THE STANDARDS OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS." (NCCJ BY-LAWS)

WHAT IS THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS?



NCCJ

. . . was founded in 1928 by Charles Evans Hughes, Newton D. Baker, S. Parkes Cadman, Roger W. Straus, Carlton J. H. Hayes and other distinguished Americans.

It is a civic organization of religiously motivated people, seeking through education and discussion to promote civic cooperation and mutual understanding among men of good will of all religious and ethnic groups.

Its purpose is positive: to approach more closely the national ideal of building "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

It is concerned with the disruptions of the public order resulting from conflict based on race, economic interest, and political belief, as well as those based on religious differences. It is dedicated to efforts encouraging the tradition of civility and achieving the consensus which enables a plural society to act on its problems.

NCCJ's program is educational and follows a multiple approach at various levels to the intergroup situation in the community. It reaches millions of Americans annually by conducting programs with and through existing institutions and organizations of society.

It is not an "interfaith" movement. It does not aim at any sort of amalgamation of religious bodies or a least common denominator of doctrine. It does not engage in common worship. It seeks in all its work to guard against the dangers of religious indifferentism.

It is neither a propaganda organization nor a pressure group. It does not lobby, it does not pass resolutions "viewing with alarm."

The education it seeks to promote is a profoundly important form of action when it influences citizens to appreciate the diversities and bear the responsibilities of human community.

NCCJ PROVIDES A MEANS FOR MEN AND WOMEN OF GOOD WILL OF DIFFERING RELIGIONS TO WORK TOGETHER ON COMMON CIVIC CONCERNS.

MAJOR NCCJ PROGRAM DEVELO

We must help our children grow into emotional maturity so they do not use prejudice and hostility as a crutch for their own personality inadequacies.

NCCJ conducts "Rearing Children of Good Will" Institutes, varied to meet local community needs, but focused upon the important role of parents in teaching children attitudes suited to democratic living.

The dissemination of accurate, objectively reported news about all religious constituencies, and of the major national and international issues and developments of concern to religiously-motivated people, has helped to create better intergroup understanding and harmony and to strengthen the public order.

The Religious News Service of the National Conference serves some 750 clients — daily newspapers and news magazines, the religious press of all faiths and radio and TV stations across the country—with daily domestic and foreign news reports, photos, and special features. It is the world's only interreligious news agency.

To achieve the maximum impact in education, we must help train teachers and community leaders to acquire new understandings and skills in religious, racial and ethnic relations.

Since 1941 NCCJ has cooperated with leading colleges and universities in all parts of the country in a summer Workshop Program. In a university setting teachers and community leaders spend two to six weeks together, sharing, exchanging and learning practical ways of meeting the problems which confront them in their communities.

Today's young people are tomorrow's leaders and America's future may very well depend upon their understanding of what it means to live in a free, democratic society.

NCCJ is increasingly emphasizing its program for youth leaders. Conferences and Institutes for high school youth provide opportunities to discuss issues of deep concern to young people in the growing complexity of our society.

It is evident that there can be no positive education for civility where peace and order are in jeopardy or where minority groups are victims of discrimination.

NCCJ'S Program in Police-Community Relations brings together law enforcement officers and community leaders to achieve communication and understanding in everyday situations. It includes an annual week-long National Institute at Michigan State University and state and local institutes.

Opportunities for labor and management to meet and talk to one another about common needs in non-crisis situations provide greater areas of understanding.

NCCJ Institutes involving Labor, Management and Community Leaders help to create an understand-

PMENT & SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS

ing of mutual responsibility in crucial human relations problems. The NCCJ Merit Promotion Program assists management organizations in their search for more just and efficient criteria for promotion.

In matters of interreligious relations the important consideration is not that agreement be reached but that lines of communication be kept open for a frank exchange of ideas and viewpoints.

NCCJ'S Religious Freedom and Public Affairs Program provides an opportunity for Dialogue in the Community to raise the general level of public discussion and understanding among religious groups differing on issues of public concern.

The development of sound informational materials on basic human relations problems expands knowledge and understanding.

NCCJ'S extensive Publication Program produces materials for schools and colleges, churches and synagogues, civic agencies and the media of mass communications that stimulate thought and shed new light on important issues.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK, sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, has been observed since 1934. It serves as a time of renewal and resolution to sustain Brotherhood throughout the year.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews is wholly supported by voluntary contributions from individuals, corporations, foundations, fraternal organizations and religious groups. These contributions make possible a network of 66 regional offices and their year-round programming for better human understanding.

NCCJ now starts its 37th year of increasing program to build better relationships in the community. With its already established and proven experience in reaching people in all walks of life, NCCJ is uniquely qualified to meet the challenge of building a better democracy.

WITH YOUR HELP
AND YOUR
CONTRIBUTIONS
WE CAN BUILD
TOWARD THE
NATIONAL IDEAL OF
**ONE NATION
UNDER GOD,
INDIVISIBLE,
WITH LIBERTY
AND JUSTICE
FOR ALL**

NCCJ

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229 Yonge St.
Toronto, Canada

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REGIONAL SECRETARY
Mrs. Billie M. Dell

February 24, 1965

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Jordan:~~ Vernon

Attached is the Atlanta schedule for the Hiram College Seminar for March 20-22.

Your willingness to participate in this project is greatly appreciated.

The group of fourteen students have been preparing for this for several months. They have had bi-weekly lecture sessions and considerable back-ground reading. This tour is being conducted during the spring vacation period.

In addition to the visit to Atlanta, they will also make stops in Nashville, Birmingham, and Jackson, Mississippi.

If you have any questions concerning your participation, please call me.

Sincerely,

Don

Don McEvoy

attach.

"—TO PROMOTE JUSTICE, AMITY, UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION AMONG PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND JEWS, AND TO ANALYZE, MODERATE AND FINALLY ELIMINATE INTERGROUP PREJUDICES WHICH DISFIGURE AND DISTORT RELIGIOUS, BUSINESS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS, WITH A VIEW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOCIAL ORDER IN WHICH THE RELIGIOUS IDEALS OF BROTHERHOOD AND JUSTICE SHALL BECOME THE STANDARDS OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS." (NCCJ BY-LAWS)

July 13, 1965

Mr. John P. Sisson, Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70113

Dear Mr. Sisson:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated July 6, to Mr. Dunbar.

Whether we overlooked the Georgia Bulletin's - June 10, 1965 - article "The Archbishop's Notebook," or that it just did not appear in our clips I do not know, but we are happy to have this sort of news for our files. We highly appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending it to us.

Sincerely yours,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street · New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 · 523-2901

Recd 7/8/65

July 6, 1965

SPA

BP + BM
Do we need for file?

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a copy of an article from the Georgia Bulletin, June 10, 1965 entitled "The Archbishop's Notebook" which summarizes the activity of the Archdiocese of Atlanta in matters of race relations. I am sending it to you because it is the sort of thing which might have been overlooked by your research department but which shows significant church involvement in the whole northern half of the state of Georgia in a very courageous way.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson
Director

fl

enc

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HELEN P. BAIN, President
SAM M. LAMBERT, Executive Secretary

October 28, 1970

Mr. Paul Gaston
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Your participation and contributions in the meeting on the emerging problems in school desegregation held at the Airport Holiday Inn in Atlanta on October 19, 1970, were much appreciated.

We are anxious that this meeting will have served as a stimulus for further cooperation among all of the groups and agencies involved in struggle to obtain equality of educational opportunity for all of our children, as well as helping to call attention to the immediate problems related to the misuse of Federal funds in resegregation and discrimination in the public schools, the rapidly increasing uses of testing and ability grouping for resegregation in "desegregated" districts, and the continuing displacement of black teachers and principals, and to identify some sorts of organizational responses to these problems.

Information sharing where appropriate, cooperative press releases or responses, and joint ventures in various directions seem to offer some possibility for improving the effectiveness of each of us.

One suggestion was made that a representative group re-convene to consider specific strategies in the areas discussed at the meeting during the State Convention of the Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP November 5-8 in Clarksdale. If those present at that meeting can arrange to get together whenever Aaron Henry will let us, perhaps we can develop some specific plans in the directions we discussed.

We are also hoping to develop some more efficient procedures in communicating with individuals and organizations working toward our common ends. We hope you will be considering the same thing.

A list of participants with addresses is enclosed for just this purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Boyd

Boyd Bosma
Assistant Director for Civil Liberties
and Intergroup Relations
Center for Human Relations

BB:gl

Reverend Rims Barber
Delta Ministry
Box 457
Greenville, Mississippi

Horace Barker
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Boyd Bosma
National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Mrs. Lucy M. Boyd
c/o Mississippi State Conference NAACP
213 Fourth Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi 38614

James T. Butler
DuShane Emergency Fund
National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Mrs. Debbie Campbell
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file NEA

Paul Laster

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D C 20036 • (202) 833-4292
HELEN P. BAIN, President
SAM M. LAMBERT, Executive Secretary

January 15, 1971

TO: Selected Leaders

FROM: George W. Jones GWJ
Director, NEA Center for Human Relations

RE: Planning Meeting on Problems of Black Majority School Districts

The enclosed memorandum will help to explain the purpose of this invitation.

The NEA Center for Human Relations is deeply concerned about the problems of children and adults residing in majority black school districts whose leadership and power structure has failed to meet their educational needs.

We have been particularly impressed with the report on Majority-Black School Districts in the 11 Southern States which was recently released by the Race Relations Information Center, the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Southern Education Foundation. We believe this report deserves a concerted response.

For the purpose of bringing together organizational representatives to plan responses in this effort, especially in relation to the feasibility of a conference as described in the enclosed memorandum, please let me invite you to a special meeting for this purpose to be held in the Captain's Room of the Air Host Inn in Atlanta on Monday, January 25, from 10:00 a.m. until 4:30 p.m.

The Air Host Inn is near the Atlanta airport and maintains a limousine service for those arriving from other cities.

This is by no means intended to be a closed meeting. If additional representatives from your organization plan to attend, or if you wish to suggest additional persons who need to be with us, please do not hesitate to contact us.

We hope to see you on the 25th.

GWJ:gl

COUNCIL MEMBERS:
Joseph C. Duncan, prin., Jones Elem. School, Yanceyville, N.C. 27379, chairman
Betty I. Buford, teacher, 3902 E. 29th St., Bryan, Tex. 77801, vice-chairman
C. Sullivan Culver, teacher, 4513 N.W. 33rd Ave., Miami, Fla. 33142
Mrs. Margaret Fischer, teacher, Churchill Hotel, 1255 N. State Pkwy., Chicago, Ill. 60610
Clymathes B. King, teacher, 935 Eastview St., Jackson, Miss. 39203
Mrs. Edith Manfredi, teacher, 1204 Chama, N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87110
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Lois J. Wilson, dir. of studies, 152 Washington Ave., Albany, N.Y. 12210
Dr. Wade Wilson, pres., Cheyney State College, Cheyney, Penna. 19319

STAFF CONTACT:
George W. Jones, director, Center for Human Relations

CONSULTANT:
Samuel B. Ethridge, assistant executive secretary, Teacher Rights

CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D C 20036 • (202) 833-4000
HELEN P. BAIN, President
SAM M. LAMBERT, Executive Secretary

January 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: George W. Jones

FROM: Boyd Bosma Boyd

RE: Planning Session for Black Majority School District Conference

The purpose of this memorandum is to pull together some thoughts concerning the possibility of a conference of representatives (teachers and community people) from black majority school districts to look at means for modifying political structures, improving participation, and gaining improvement of educational patterns in these districts.

Since most or all of the participants would almost certainly need to be subsidized to a major extent, and because of the extensive implications of such a conference, it seems essential that at least one planning meeting be called to explore and seek consensus on specific objectives and programming for the conference itself by representatives of the organizations most directly concerned with the problems outlined in the RRIC-SED-SRC-AFSC report on Black-Majority School Districts in the 11 Southern States.

Specific objectives for this planning meeting would include achievement of consensus on the following items:

1. Feasibility of the conference.

2. Establishment of major objectives and purposes for the conference.

3. Forms of organizational cooperation

   a. Selection of delegates and districts to be represented
   b. Sponsorship of delegates.
   c. Organizational representation and sponsorship.

4. Plan of action

   a. Further planning efforts.
   b. Identification of coordinators.
   C. Date, place, time.

Although more specific objectives would be needed, initial purposes for the major conference would probably include:

1. Improvement of cooperation and relationships among teachers and community representatives.

2. Identification of problems that teachers and community organizations can work together to solve.

3. Identification of organizations and persons willing to work jointly to meet local educational needs.

4. Clarification and development of specific strategies to bring about effective change in educational conditions and power structures in black majority school districts.

Because many delegates, including both teachers and community representatives, would find difficulty in being released from their jobs, most or all of the conference would probably need to be held over a weekend or during the summer. It is our hope that it might be possible to complete the arrangements and hold the conference prior to the end of this school year.

The report on Majority-Black School Districts raises a number of pertinent questions in a paragraph in the introduction:

> . . .How can the public school system be preserved? How can the white minority be retained within the local public schools and prevented from fleeing to segregated private schools or leaving the community? Will the white power structure reduce its support of a desegregated majority-balck system? How can blacks obtain a voice and representation in the operation of the public schools?

These questions, and especially the last, are so vital that any actions taken in this direction should begin immediately.

BB:gl

file Pearl Swalon

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NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D C 20036 • (202) 833-4000
HELEN P. BAIN, President
SAM M. LAMBERT, Executive Secretary

February 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Participants in the Atlanta, January 25, 1971, Meeting on Black-Majority School Districts in the 11 Southern States

FROM: Boyd Bosma Boyd

RE: Status Report on Conference Plans

Enclosed with this memorandum is a copy of a report of the January 25, 1971, meeting of concerned organizations in Atlanta, Georgia, on the educational problems of black-majority school districts in the eleven southern states, with additional informational items.

You will recall that consensus of the meeting was that most organizations indicated interest in participating in a conference on this topic in Mississippi, with the provision that the major sponsor would be, with their agreement, the Mississippi Educational Resources Center. Two organizational representatives indicated the necessity for further reponse at other levels before any formal commitment could be made. In a meeting of the Education Resources Center in Jackson on February 1, 1971, it was agreed that the Center would sponsor such a conference and that cooperating organizations would be listed as "in cooperation with".

The purpose of this memorandum is to indicate progress to date in planning for the conference, and to call to your attention the need for formal commitments at an early date.

I hope to be able within a few days to talk with each of you by telephone to plan further steps in implementing the conference. If you have any questions or suggestions, please do not hesitate to bring them to our attention.

BB:gl
Enclosures

CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D C 20036 • (202) 833-4000
HELEN P. BAIN, President
SAM M. LAMBERT, Executive Secretary

Minutes

January 25, 1971

Planning Meeting for Black-Majority School District Conference
Atlanta, Georgia

Participants

Southern Regional Council
- Paul Gaston
- Leon Hall
- Clarence Wright

NAACP
- Ruby Hurley
- Rufus Huffman
- Robert Flanagan

Southern Education Foundation
- Eldridge McMillan

SCLC
- Dorothy Cotton

AFSC
- Winifred Green
- Hayes Mizell

Manpower Development
- Charles Hicks

Georgia Association of Educators
- H. E. Tate

Arkansas Education Association
- T. E. Patterson

National Education Association
- Samuel B. Ethridge
- James H. Williams
- George W. Jones
- Earl Jones
- Jean Parlett
- Gwen Scott
- Paul Ryan
- Debbie Campbell
- Marie Turner
- Boyd Bosma

The initial discussion centered on the publication, Majority-Black School Districts in the 11 Southern States, published in July, 1970, by the Race Relations Information Center in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee, the Southern Education Foundation, and the Southern Regional Council. Strategies discussed included:

possible legal attacks on all-white boards of education
political strategies in changing school boards
research on composition of school boards
research on methods of selection of school board members

--

techniques for accountability of superintendents and board members
written personnel policies
training for black school board members
affecting national thought

The meeting identified need for further research on the following subjects:

1. Composition of boards

2. Methods of selection and appointment

3. Changes in law

4. Cases for contempt (civil and legal)

5. Changes in central offices

6. Formation of local coalitions

7. Abuse of children

8. Changes in county governments

9. Written personnel policies

It was agreed that training was needed for school boards, community leaders, and educational leaders in the following areas:

1. Skills and techniques in how to get the job done

2. Coordination of efforts by groups currently working

3. What resources are now available?

4. What do local leaders see as their goals?

It was agreed that a conference to consider the educational problems of black-majority school districts should concentrate on two primary objectives:

1. techniques to effect changes in local power structures

2. strategies to make school boards more responsive or for removing unresponsive boards

--

Organizational leaders present agreed that a conference in Mississippi should be conducted if the Mississippi Educational Resources Center would be willing to serve as primary sponsor with other organizations identified as "cooperating". Boyd Bosma was requested to meet with the Board of Directors of the Educational Resources Center at the earliest possible date to determine their reaction to this proposal.

CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D C 20036 • (202) 833-4000
HELEN P. BAIN, President
SAM M. LAMBERT, Executive Secretary

MAJORITY BLACK SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Districts listed below are identified as majority black in the publication, Majority-Black School Districts in the 11 Southern States, published by the Race Relations Information Center, the Southern Regional Council, The American Friends Service Committee, and the Southern Education Foundation in July, 1970. A total of 52 districts in 38 counties are identified.

Aberdeen (Monroe County)
Amite County
Anguilla Line (Sharkey County)
Attalla County
Benton County
Bolivar County
Canton (Madison County)
Carroll County
Clairborne County
Clarksdale (Coahoma County)
Clay County
Coahoma County
Drew (Sunflower County)
East Tallahatchie (Tallahatchie County)
Franklin County
Greenville (Washington County)
Greenwood (Leflore County)
Grenada County
Hinds County
Hollandale Consolidated (Washington County)
Holly Bluff (Yazoo County)
Holly Springs (Marshall County)
Holmes County
Humphreys County
Indianola (Sunflower County)
Issaquena-Sharkey
Kemper County
Lafayette County
Leake County
Leflore County
Leland Consolidated (Washington County)

McComb (Pike County)
Madison County
Marshall County
Montgomery County
Natchez (Adams County)
Newton Municipal (Newton County)
North Panola (Panola County)
Noxubee County
Okolona Municipal (Chicasaw County)
Quitman County
South Panola (Panola County)
South Pike (Pike County)
Sunflower County
Tate County
Tunica County
Vicksburg (Warren County)
Western Line (Washington County)
West Point
Wilkinson County
Yazzo County
Yazoo City (Yazoo County)

CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS

Paul Sastom
file

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D C 20036 • (202) 833-4000
HELEN P. BAIN, President SAM M. LAMBERT, Executive Secretary

February 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Hermel Johnson, Director
Educational Resources Center

FROM: Boyd Bosma Boyd

RE: Proposal for Conference of Black-Majority School Districts

This memorandum is to serve as a means of pulling together the current status of our thinking around the plans for a conference for representatives of majority-black school districts in Mississippi, and to provide a guide for future planning.

Those issues which remain unresolved or which need to be referred to the Educational Resources Center for consideration as so indicated.

Conference Name (unresolved)

Political Clinic
Community Alliance for Educational Change
Educators and Community: Partners for Change
Community Political Action for Education Change
?

Selection of Districts

There are 52-56 black-majority school districts in Mississippi. The Educational Resources Center is requested to submit a list of 15-20 districts from which 10 will be selected on the basis of the following criteria:

1. potential for change
2. present or potential community coalitions
3. present or potential educational leadership
4. identifiable problems subject to attack at local level
5. motivation of local educational and community leaders

Districts should be variable in size, and should not necessarily be limited to counties (Hollandale, Western Line, Greenville are examples).

Districts with successful records of activity (Coahoma County, Clarksdale) should be included with those seeking to initiate active programs for change.

Selection of Participants

If 12 persons are selected to represent each of the 10 districts, there will be 120 participants, plus NEA staff and organizational representatives.

Teams should be selected according to the following formula:

4 students
4 teachers
4 community or local organizational representatives

Participants should be chosen on the basis of actual demonstrated or potential leadership, as for example:

Students--high school or college
two officers of student councils or similar groups (status positions)
two members of youth branch of local civil rights or community organization (activists)

Educators
two from the following group
president of local teachers association
president-elect of local teachers association
principal
two classroom teachers active in civil rights organizations

Community Representatives
two officers of NAACP or dominant civil rights organization(s)
two staff representatives of governmental project, such as CAP, Head Start, OEO, Rural Legal Services, other community services program

Time and Place

The Board of Directors of the Educational Resources Center indicated preference for the weekend of April 16-18, 1971. Staff and consultants must plan to be available at the conference site by Thursday morning, April 15, for pre-conference training.

Counties with majority-black districts are mostly located west of a line drawn north to south through the center of the state. The Educational Resources Center is requested to select the conference site, preferably Jackson or Greenville. Factors to be considered in making the selection are accessibility, availability of meeting rooms, and costs.

Since conference participants will be requested to remain at the conference site through the entire conference, a motel may be a likely choice. Availability of a neutral location away from the motel might, however, be considered, such as Jackson State College or a large church.

Staff and Trainers

Aside from those few individuals who will have general responsibilities during the conference, all persons present must plan to participate as team members, consultants, or leaders. No person should plan to come for only a portion of the conference.
NEA staff will be available as group trainers, one for each of the 10 teams. Each NEA staff member should be paired with one consultant, a qualified organizational leader (for example, a member of the Board of ERC) so that two resource people will be present for each team.

Pre-Conference Publicity

Several Board members of ERC were concerned that advance publicity about the conference could possibly help to hold off some of the projected teacher dismissals later this spring, as well as assist in maintaining some conditions in the schools as the end of the year approaches. Considering the sensitivity involved in a conference of this type, as well as the concerns of possible participants, it is our feeling that pre-conference publicity should be deferred, at least until after a further planning meeting can be held, probably around the first of April, except of course, in determining local desires to participate as a team in the conference. It is also our request that pre-conference publicity be coordinated with Paul Ryan in the NEA Southeast Regional Office.

Future Planning Meetings

At least one planning meeting should be held prior to the pre-training session. A date around the weekend of April 3 seems most desirable at this point. Participants could include:

Representatives of major organizational sponsors
Three members of the Board of Directors of ERC
Two local community leaders
Two local teacher leaders
Two students (our suggestion would be Leon Hall and Butch Wright of SRC)

Since this meeting should require a full day for planning, we probably need to consider Saturday, April 3, to provide for transportation and work problems for the community and teacher participants. Advice from ERC is requested on this point. I have requested Mrs. Marie Turner of our staff to assist with arrangements for this meeting because of extensive staff commitments on my part through March.

Financial Support

Representatives of state and national organizations hopefully will be sponsored by their organizations.

It is our recommendation that transportation not be subsidized for participants, except as available through local organizations. Costs of meals and lodging for participants, and other incidentals, such as mailings, publication of a conference report, etc., should be estimated by ERC as a specific conference site is recommended.

Staff transportation and costs for NEA staff members will be underwritten by the NEA.

* * * * * * * * * * *

If you have any questions or suggestions concerning this memorandum, or as you and ERC develop responses to the questions we have raised, please call me and/or write as soon as possible.

cc: C. J. Duckworth
Samuel B. Ethridge
George W. Jones
Marie Turner
Earl Jones
Jean Parlett
John Lawton
Organizational Representatives, Atlanta January 25 meeting

BB/ka

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

YEAR-END REPORT

TO CONTRIBUTORS

1961

The Year 1961 Saw Heartening Gains in key areas of race relations and civil rights, due in some measure to a more positive leadership exerted by the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. Courageous action by dedicated young people – Negro and white – and Federal concern that laws be enforced made a tangible improvement in the public's attitude toward the Negro's struggle for first class citizenship.

These are some of the actions that influenced the new climate in which the League worked during the year: the Interstate Commerce Commission's action against segregated bus and airport facilities; the beginning of efforts toward enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 protecting the voting rights of Negro citizens; the spread of school integration deeper into the South; the establishment of the President's Committee On Equal Employment Opportunity along with Executive Order 10925; and the Kennedy administration's appointment of qualified Negroes to some key posts in government – including one at cabinet rank. The stronger Executive Order suggested that the Government intends stiff penalties for discriminatory employment practices on Federal contracts.

During 1961 the National Urban League – with branches in 62 cities – tightened its national structure to put new muscle and imagination into the attack on racial problems across a wide front.

Negroes Are Still Boxed Out of Broad Job Fields because of discriminatory hiring as well as by hostile unions. Negro graduates are increasing faster than their absorption into job levels utilizing their skills. At the unskilled level, automation continues to extract a larger toll in the Negro work force because it is more heavily concentrated at the unskilled level. Improving the Negro's status as wage earner and consumer continues to challenge League operations across the country.

Executives from 50 major U. S. corporations and officials from ten Negro colleges came together in May in New York City under the aegis of the Commerce & Industry Council of the National Urban League. They explored ways in which more corporations could tap the reservoir of Negro manpower now enrolled in colleges and universities. This idea promises to be the most successful in a battery of techniques aimed at alerting America's corporate structure to the vast manpower potential virtually untouched because of tradition or unimaginative management.

In Washington, D. C. the Urban League was consultant to government agencies, committees and commissions. They also helped the U. S. Civil Service Commission plan a special recruiting tour of Negro colleges, and did a similar service for the Peace Corps.

On the West Coast, Lockheed Aircraft, along with 24 other major companies, accepted a "Plan For Progress in Equal Opportunity" in cooperation with the Los Angeles Urban League.

In New York City, the local League launched a major effort to widen opportunities for Negro youth in apprentice training. It spurred community groups to devise their own action programs; moved the New York City Central Labor Council to make more information available on training opportunities, and influenced the New York State Department of Labor to give active assistance to Negro youth seeking skilled craft training.

Detroit and the rest of the middle-west continued to feel the pinch of unemployment – crushing for Negro workers. Danger signals from a number of League executives prompted a League survey in 50 cities. It revealed that the percent of Negro workers unemployed is often twice to three times that of the total unemployed rate. In St. Louis 20 percent of the Negro workforce was found to be unemployed; in Detroit the figure was a hefty 39 percent.

In Richmond, the League placed 20 sales-people with large food chains, and in Washington, the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, with the League's help, subscribed to merit hiring. Two young alumni of Tomorrow's Scientists and Technicians (TST) programs were selected by Secretary of Labor Goldberg for government jobs in Washington – one as a personnel assistant, the other as a research analyst.

In Illinois, the State Legislature passed an FEPC Bill due largely to the research and community organization efforts of the Chicago League.

The hiring practices of New York's multimillion-dollar advertising business was the subject of a study by the Urban League of Greater New York. Circulated by the League to the industry's top spokesmen and policymakers, the report pointed out that "advertising agencies in the city almost never hire Negroes." Result: A promise to work with the League on new opportunities.

And in another move to set the stage for exploratory probing, the New York League organized a special committee of physicians to survey alleged discriminatory practices against Negroes in the medical profession. Heading the committee, which will recommend action by the League, is Dr. Vaughan Mason, president of the National Medical Association.

Urban League spadework helped the first Negro teacher into a school in upper Westchester County, New York. Negro teachers now number 160 in the county as compared to 34 in 1956.

The League's Role in Expanding Job Opportunities would be less effective but for the twin role of extending career horizons of Negro youth. The latter received strong emphasis in 1961. TST Career Clubs attracted a growing number of high school students as the program increasingly attracted successful people willing to guide and inspire these youth. "Back to School" and "Stay in School" campaigns were sponsored in Chicago, Grand Rapids and other League communities to help reduce a growing drop-out rate.

In Portland, Oregon, an apprenticeship program gave high-schoolers facts about breaking into the skilled trades. A program to overcome "blue collar" prejudices among young Negroes was launched in Westchester County by the League. And in Los Angeles, parents and high school students met community leaders at an Urban League first annual career night.

Early in 1961 a national TV audience numbering more than four million saw the Urban League's 28-minute film, "A Morning for Jimmy." Since then it has had numerous private showings and additional local TV exposures. "Jimmy" is a thought-provoking documentary about a Negro boy who faces the problem of growing up and meets it courageously.

These are but a few of the examples of programs aimed at raising the incentive level of Negro youth.

In a Special Effort, the New York League distributed 150,000 pieces of literature in mobilizing civic groups to support a local Board of Education's open enrollment program. More than 7,000 students are participating.

Problems of The Negro Family frequently have their roots in inadequate housing. The Urban League continues to point out that of the myriad problems, none arouses more deep, bitter frustration among Negroes as does the search for decent housing. League officials admitted that gains in the area of housing for Negroes were not numerous nor did the few that were made come easy. The need for Federal legislation and most immediately an Executive Order in housing was never greater.

The St. Paul Urban League during the past year conducted such a well-planned campaign of education that the long fight for the passage of a fair housing law in the state of Minnesota finally succeeded.

A number of Leagues, including Columbus, Anderson,

Whitney M. Young, Jr. (left), who succeeded Lester Granger (right) as executive director. They are shown above at NUL Annual Conference with Henry Steeger, president.

CIVIL RIGHTS CONVENTION. Left to right: Whitney M. Young, Jr.; Louis Simon, chairman of the Central Labor Council's Civil Rights Committee; James Farmer, Director of CORE; Council President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., and William H. Bowe, Sleeping Car Porters. Simon and Van Arsdale are NUL Trustees.

At the 1961 EOD Dinner: (l to r) NUL president Henry Steeger, Walter H. Wheeler, Jr., Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, David Sullivan, NUL executive director Whitney M. Young, Jr., and Martin E. Segal, dinner chairman.

New Brunswick, Springfield, Chicago and St. Paul, tackled the problems of urban renewal. The aim – to make sure that new housing developments and slum clearance in these cities are a blessing, not an extension of segregation.

To bolster the local effort, the National Urban League sponsored in Warren, Ohio, an eight-city Urban Renewal Institute. League officials sat down with housing specialists from all levels of government and private agencies from Akron, Canton, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Warren and Pittsburgh to develop mutual understanding and approaches to housing problems.

In Akron, Ohio, the local League's "Total Housing Market Drive" is credited with opening Real Estate Board membership to Negro realtors.

In the Queens section of New York, several hundred families were the victims of a ruthless relocation program. The Urban League of Greater New York stepped in with planning, consultation and public education to eliminate the hardships created when these families were uprooted.

Early in 1961 the Urban League, almost single-handedly, was responsible for the investigation by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare of Louisiana's "Suitable Homes Bill." The League in New Orleans had successfully mustered help for destitute mothers and children through its "Feed The Babies Campaign" late in 1960. The League was not prepared for this kind of relief but met this emergency because of the dire need. HEW's decision: New Orleans must continue aid to dependent children without discrimination or lose the federal monies contributed to its welfare program. Again the League's position had been justified by the results!

In the health and welfare field, "Newburghism" became a synonym for discriminatory welfare programs. Through its Annual Conference in Dayton, the Urban League called on New York State for action on the Newburgh plan – and got it. The Newburgh plan was enjoined by the court. Other Leagues around the country were alerted to the dangers of "Newburghism." In Westchester for example, the League compiled data on welfare problems and other costs – ". . . so Newburghism couldn't happen here."

As recently as December 7, the Miami Urban League executive testified before a Senate sub-committee in Washington on the social and economic problems of the Negro community resulting from the great influx of Cuban refugees into Florida. His expert testimony will help guide the Committee in drafting remedial action for this League community.

In Kansas City, Missouri, an "Adoptive Home Recruitment Project" was launched by the League with the aid of the Greater Kansas City Chapter of Links, Incorporated. The city-wide committee set up by the League had representation from such organizations as the Kansas Citians Association of Colored Women, the AKA's, the Delta's and several of the large churches. The program was undertaken at the request of the United Fund and Kansas City Health and Welfare Council to help resolve the problems of finding adoptive parents for Negro children.

"What Are The Facts?" – this is the question that generally precedes Urban League programming. The League's reputation has been built on knowing the facts. A major fact-finding job was completed by the National Urban League's Research Department with the completion of a report: "A Review of the Economic and Cultural Problems of Springfield, Ohio." The study and the resulting 169-page report established a definite need for an Urban League in Springfield.

In Chicago a League study was the basis for charges that the Chicago Board of Education was budgeting 20 percent less per pupil for "Negro" schools than for "white" schools. At a hearing of the Board, the President of the Chicago Urban League pointed out "the pattern absolutely follows the color line" and urged the Board to adopt "a positive policy of integration" to achieve more economic use of existing facilities.

In 1961 the Urban League of Greater New York, with the aid of a special grant, launched a two-year study to determine the quality and quantity of education available to Negro and Puerto Rican youths in New York.

The Columbus Urban League's study, "Programming for Gifted Children" centered on the problem of helping to develop latent abilities of gifted children and explored how the Urban League could supplement the work of the public schools to meet the need of underprivileged chil-

dren of that city. In a summary statement the report indicated that racial segregation is becoming more widespread in the nation's public schools and that the children of parents living in blighted, overcrowded and inadequate housing may never recover from the damage incurred. The situation, it concluded, presented a challenge not only to the school system to do a better job but also to the Urban League.

"The Economic and Social Status of the Negro in the United States," a report summarizing the most recent Census information on social and economic status of the American Negro family relative to white families, was published by the National Urban League in 1961. The data was first used at the League's 1961 Annual Conference in Dayton, Ohio. The study up-dates population growth, housing, marital status, employment, income and a number of other characteristics.

News Was Made In 1961 by these Urban League activities:

¶ The Lester B. Granger tribute luncheon in October where more than 1,000 people, including Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Wagner, hailed the Urban League's retiring chief. Of the honoree, Governor Rockefeller said, "He has done more than any other American to open the doors of opportunity."

¶ The passing of the League's leadership to Whitney M. Young, Jr., former Dean of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, who became on October 1st the League's fourth Executive Director in 51 years.

¶ "The Time Is Now," a 26-page report addressed to President Kennedy and his new administration recommending action to end discrimination in every area of American life, especially those in which Federal money is spent. Every major newpaper in the country gave attention to the report.

¶ "America's Many Faces" – from 50,000 entries the work of 133 photographers was chosen by a star jury headed by famed photographer Edward Steichen. Winners were announced in April and practically every photo magazine and editor in the country gave space to the story.

¶ Equal Opportunity Day, November 19th, was celebrated throughout the nation. A variety of observance activities were held in local League cities. More than 1,250 people filled The Waldorf-Astoria Grand Ballroom to hear Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, and witness the presentation of the 1961 Equal Opportunity Awards to Walter H. Wheeler, Jr., Board Chairman of Pitney-Bowes, and David Sullivan, President of the Building Service Employees' International Union. A message from President Kennedy, read at the dinner, warmly lauded the League's contributions toward equal opportunity for all Americans.

¶ A survey of Negro unemployment in 50 cities. The survey, referred to earlier in this report, was released to the press in March and received exceptional broad coverage throughout the nation.

¶ The League's 51st Annual Conference in Dayton, Ohio. Approximately 700 Urban League volunteers and staff gathered to discuss "Reshaping Community Relations – Our Job in the Sixties."

The 60's Will Bring Marked Progress In Race Relations and provide the Urban League with an even greater opportunity for service. The trend has been set and the League's commitment is clear in its responsibility to eliminate "man's inhumanity to man."

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

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One of the winners in "America's Many Faces" photo search.

Photo Credit Betty Gayhart Nellist

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, 14 EAST 48TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. SPRING 1962

NUL Gets $215,000 Carnegie Grant — Earmarked for Youth Service

HOSTS ON COAST—Edgar Kaiser (right) and Judge Alvin E. Weinberger (left) Bay Area UL president, greet Whitney M. Young, Jr., NUL executive director, at luncheon held in San Francisco.

The NUL has received a $215,000 foundation grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to be used over the next five years for strengthening the organization's youth incentives program of educational motivation and guidance for Negro youth.

In commenting on the grant, NUL Executive Director Whitney M. Young, Jr., described its far-reaching significance to the nation and termed it "of incalculable importance toward dissolving the barriers of indifference and discrimination stifling the aspirations of a myriad of young Negroes in America today."

John Gardner, Carnegie president, pointed out that the funds were given for the Urban League's new expanded program, with its emphasis on the organization's coming to grips with the challenges posed by today's changed ways of life. He noted that the corporation has in the past supported a number of programs to assist disadvantaged youth.

"Such youngsters need help," he said. "They need jobs. They need to be aided to think constructively about their own abilities and limitations, about job opportunities and about their further learning and growth."

As an urgent part of the problem, Mr. Young noted what he termed a "staggering trend" upward in school drop-out rates, particularly among Negro youth. He said the Carnegie contribution will, among other advantages, give the Urban League the means "to forge new and vital tools to reverse this devastating upsurge."

Mr. Young declared that concentrated effort must be directed toward the motivation of Negro youth to assure that they enter the labor market skilled and equipped ■

Capitol Report . . .

UL Officials to LBJ: 'Take Close Look'

An appeal for close scrutiny and positive action in crucial areas of manpower utilization, in which discrimination is blocking equal job opportunity for Negro citizens, was presented personally April 9 to Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson by top officials of the NUL.

The Vice President is chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Among responsibilities of that body is to insure that Negro citizens in every state enjoy a fair chance, in keeping with their qualifications, in the job benefits provided by Federal subsidy and law.

Representing the NUL at the Capitol conference were President Henry Steeger; Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director; Nelson C. Jackson, associate executive director for program; Mahlon T. Puryear, associate director for job development; and Mrs. Cernoria D. Johnson, director of the NUL Washington office.

The League officials cited "bottlenecks" urgently in need of correction in USES procedure, in training and re-training programs and in the Plans for Progress and urged promp remedial action.

The delegation told Vice President Johnson that the League is prepared to cooperate with all agencies of government charged with the obligation to serve the best interests of all citizens, to the full extent of its "grassroots" facilities for community service throughout the nation.

"It would be most unfortunate," they stated in their presentation, "if at this moment in history the parallel efforts of the Committee and the Urban League are not unified in teamwork." ■

In the racial ferment of today the United States cannot afford an ill-financed, ill-equipped Urban League.

So declared Executive Director Whitney Young in addressing a luncheon meeting of Bay Area business leaders in San Francisco recently.

Host of the meeting was Edgar Kaiser, president of Kaiser Industries.

Mr. Young pointed up that the business community holds a major responsability in assuring equal opportunity for all Americans.

He said that in the mounting crises of the present, industry must provide the UL with resources adequate to apply full measure of its skill and experience to challenges of today and tomorrow.

Mr. Young accompanied his remarks with a presentation of slides delineating the structure, the resources and the needs of the UL movement in its work ■

Leaguer's Notebook . . .

Denver's 'Family Motivation' Story

DENVER—A unique and challenging approach in community organization, through strengthening of the family unit and alerting parents to expanding opportunities for their children is successfully under way in Denver under the auspices of the UL of Colorado.

Some 20 women's clubs, bolstered by the aid of individuals and parents, are involved. The job of these volunteers is to visit the parents of public school pupils whose full potentials have not been explored and utilized and urge the parents to take the children to visit places of educational and cultural interest.

In still other cases, a volunteer accompanies both the parents and children on such field trips. The basic idea of the project—entitled—"Family Motivation Project" of the UL, is to cement the family structure at its weakest link—parent-child relationship.

Key to the project technique is the parent. Many children in Negro homes lack evidence that their parents have any interest in their ambitions and school achievements. Too many Negro parents lack both the inclination and the skill to communicate with their own children concerning such basic things as their education, the Colorado UL believes.

The committee is divided into five sub-committees, each with a special area of concern. The UL Board meetings, the reports of the sub-committees are reviewed and discussed by the overall body.

Does this approach work?

The Colorado UL says it appears too early to determine its effectiveness in specifics, but there have been notable examples of its success. In one instance, after a visit to a clay foundry, a youngster wrote a paper which drew the highest mark in his class. This, though, is not the entire objective of the project. Its goal is improvement of parental cooperation and encouragement of self-inspiration of the children.

Chairman of the UL committee of Family Motivation is Mrs. Martha Radetsky.

It is the ultimate objective of the Colorado UL to provide the facts which will motivate both parents and school officials to negotiate the required achievements ■

Urban League STRIDES

NEWARK, N. J.—An important forward step by civic leaders toward solving the problems of the 160,000-odd Negroes living here, spurred by an array of facts assembled by the UL of Essex County, has been hailed as one of the "first really basic attempts to do something toward rebuilding the city."

Mayor Leo P. Carlin, to whom the League submitted a comprehensive report on community conditions several months ago, called into executive session a "pilot" group of Newark public figures.

Representing the League at the meeting were James A. Pawley, executive director of the UL of Essex County, and Whitney M. Young, Jr., NUL executive director.

Underscored in the League's confidential presentation to the Mayor were detailed findings concerning problems of the Negro community in Newark—38.9 per cent of the population, according to the 1960 census—in employment, school opportunity, housing, welfare and "integroup tensions."

These latter have drawn widespread attention to Newark problems arising in recent months through a number of highly publicized instances: Clashes between Negro and white youths at a high school; interracial discord at a housing project and an inflammatory public demonstration against a prospective Negro apartment house builder.

It was suggested to Mayor Carlin by the local League that plans for extensive civic improvement now being shaped would be seriously impaired, if not hamstrung, unless leaders of the area take decisive action.

The UL report declared that present conditions in Newark prevent the Negro citizen from assuming his fair share in plans to "rebuild the city." ■

"FOR SCHOLASTIC IMPROVEMENT"—Charles W. Schobinger (right) presents Colorado UL awards to Whittier pupils (l. to r.) Bobby Jones; Zebra Vivens; Robert Gordon and David Lopez.

NUL Film Document, "Jimmy", Wins Coveted NCCJ Award

NEW YORK—The NUL has been honored with an award conferred by the National Conference of Christians and Jews "for outstanding contribution to good human relations."

The award was given in recognition of the NUL-produced film, "A Morning for Jimmy", as a nontheatrical motion picture document "interpreting on a very human level the discouragement and hope for young Negroes in today's world."

The half-hour film, centering on the life of a Negro boy and his family living in a metropolitan community, was released early in 1961.

To date, it has been telecast 120 times around the nation to a viewership of 4,761,800, and has been shown on 3,955 occasions before various public gatherings, including school, social service, public and private welfare agencies and other groups, the NUL reported. Viewership of these showings thus far has totalled 280,833, of which nearly a quarter-million were boys and girls.

Candidates for the 1962 NCCJ awards covered all major categories in the field of mass communication—the written and spoken word and all the media of visual presentation.

William R. Simms

Mr. Simms, a 10-year veteran in UL service, is director of nationwide NUL financial resources activities. Previously, he headed the no - longer - existing Urban League Fund of New York.

URBAN LEAGUE FOCUS

Here in brief are two examples of League undertakings in which research and fact finding brought Northern school segregation into focus:

The implications of "de facto segregation" as a thinly comouflaged blockade to Negroes in education has boiled over in recent months into Northern communities.

The aftermaths have been as explosive as those centering on long out-moded ways of living in the South in years just passed.

Responsibilities of the nationwide machinery of the UL movement, as a keystone to efforts of other private social service agencies toward wrenching wide open the school room door, have never been etched more sharply than in the past year.

The UL role, and effectiveness of its time-tested professional techniques in ripping away the shame of "de facto" segregation sometimes becomes obscured by more sensation-provoking occurences. The UL movement has, through its techniques, quietly chalked up an array of gains for Negroes in America, which only history will take note of. These gains have been achieved without fanfare, inch-by-inch, toehold-by-toe-hold.

Notable examples accomplished in the year just passed, according to NUL President Henry Steeger, include these:

In Chicago—second in the nation not only as a metropolitan behemoth, but also in numbers of its Negro citizenry—the Chicago UL dredged-up to public view an array of community "dirty-linen" that won for the city a dubious but nationally publicized acclaim as "the most segregated big city in this country", particularly with reference to its schools.

More recently, a crucial situation in public school integration arose in Englewood, N. J., over the issue of "the ghettoed schoolhouse."

As in Chicago, the local league in Englewood applied the organization's instruments of fact finding, mobilization of community leadership and dissemination of clear-cut public information.

Here, in brief, is the Chicago story:

Spurred by mounting indignation among Negro citizens over the fact that Negro children were being denied access to better, predominantly white and less-congested school facilities and literally forced to attend inferior installations, the Chicago UL went into all-out research of still more facts.

Resulting, was a documentation of evidence that showed classroom space created by new construction arising from condemnation of old buildings was, in effect, being "reserved" for white pupils to an almost incredible degree.

At the same time, thousands of Negro pupils were required to attend double-shift classes in inferior, outworn facilities.

School officials took loud exception to the League's findings. They contended there were only some 14 surplus classrooms in white schools. The UL researchers were able to show, however, that 382 classrooms were not included in the report. A demand for explanation arose.

School administrators declared the League's figures were in error. The Chicago UL researchers stood by their guns. Then the school administration position was reversed. A recommendation was put forward that a limited transfer plan be set up for the next school year. That will apply to 1962-63. Meanwhile . . .

Occasionally, the Chicago League found "temporary" facilities for Negro children were established in decrepit structures on crowded streets. Again the League was able to come forward with records showing that in many instances the buildings had been condemned for institutional use.

Indigation of Negro parents turned to outrage. There were numerous demonstrations. But the Urban League is not in the business of picketing. To paraphrase one description of the League's approach to situations such as Chicago's classroom crisis, "facts can be pickets, too."

To further paraphrase a description of this element of the League's research technique, Mr. Steeger quoted the admonition of a famed newspaper editor of the past. It is:

"Get the facts first. But first get them right."

Here is the background on the Englewood, N. J., school situation, as developed by the Englewood UL:

While there is no official segregation in Englewood schools (it is outlawed by statute) there is a concentration of Negro pupils in one elementary school. This has resulted principally from residential patterns of living (ghettoism). Junior and senior high schools of the community, however, are completely integrated.

The UL Board, officers and members publicly urged that school authorities name an advisory committee to study ways to promote racial integration of pupils in the school involved. In addition, the UL Board resolved to hold itself and its facilities in readiness to assist the education officials in whatever way the latter might wish to accomplish the objectives sought by the League.

Considerable public resentment flared several weeks ago into threats of business boycotts and other demonstrations.

Dr. Harry L. Stearns, supertendent of Englewood schools, named by school authorities to examine and report upon racial imbalances in the school system, presented his report to the Board of Education. In it, Dr. Stearns pointed to six proposed courses of action toward ending these imbalances.

He approved of two, rejected three and had divided opinion on the other.

Coming closest of any to what the report suggests as the best remedial action would be extensive renewal plus establishment of central intermediate school facilities.

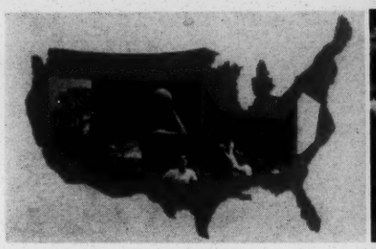
Crux of the problem, according to Dr. Stearns' findings, is population "drift" in the community. This has caused many middle and upper income families, both Negro and white, to move to more desirable neighborhoods. Their former dwellings have been remodeled for multiple occupancy by low income newcomers from nearby metropolitan areas ■

Local Staff Joins In St. Louis Fete

LOCAL STAFFERS at luncheon honoring NUL Trustees in St. Louis: (l. to r.) Hugh Jackson; Marie W. Williams; Julia Gearin; Frank Campbell and David V. Essex (See story, Page 4).

UL—USA...

Cross Country with Urban Leagues



California Bay Area UL Gets $39,000 Youth Grant

OAKLAND—The Bay Area UL has received a $39,000 Rosenberg Foundation grant to expand its program of developing the employment potential of Negro youth.

Kenneth F. Smith, League executive director, said that "career clinics" will be established in Oakland, San Francisco, San Mateo and Marin City.

These cities requested the service after observing the success of a pilot venture in nearby Richmond, Mr. Smith said.

The Richmond project began three years ago with 35 youngsters attending clinic meetings in a Negro church. These group sessions were followed up by individual vocational counseling provided by members of the Urban League staff.

For the past two years, the clinics have been held in the Richmond junior high schools with the school department serving as an official sponsor of the program. (See editorial, page 7).

CLEVELAND—Shelton B. Granger, executive director of the Cleveland UL since 1958 has been appointed consultant to the President's Committeee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

Mr. Granger, now stationed in Washington, is on a one-year leave of absence from his league duties to serve on the President's Committee.

PORTLAND—Two Clinics for parents, sponsored jointly by the UL of Portland and Delta Sigma Theta Sorority were held recently.

The clinics are designed to provide parents with guidance to motivate their children.

PEORIA—Arthur J. Holst, administrator of the Forest Park Foundation, spoke on "Community Service" at the first of four meetings sponsored by the Peoria committee for UL. Following meetings will be on education, housing and equal job opportunity. The committee seeks support for establishing a UL in Peoria.

CANTON—Clay E. Hunter, former Canton UL President, and long active in civic affairs of the community, has been named Judge of the Municipal Court by Governor Michael V. DiSalle. Judge Hunter, who assumed the bench on March 4, is the first Negro in Canton history to don judicial robes and the fifth to serve on Ohio court benches. He was named to fill an unexpired term created by a resignation and will serve through January 2, 1964.

SAN FRANCISCO—Arthur Bradford, industrial relations secretary of the Bay Area UL is co-chairman of a state-wide committee on Equal Opportunity in apprenticeship training.

Th committee is comprised of representatives from labor, management, minority groups and governmental agencies. Its purposes are to inform minorities of opportunities in apprenticeship training and to increase industry to expand these opportunities.

TULSA—Mrs. Moise S. Cahn, chairman of NUL's Leadership Development and former Trustee, who has long been active in League affairs in her home city of New Orleans, was speaker at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Tulsa UL. Her subject was "The Time Is Now".

Mrs. Cahn

Mrs. Cahn is past-president of the Greater New Orleans UL and past president of the National Council of Jewish Women. She is also an honorary past president of both the national and international council of Jewish Women.

SAN DIEGO—A series of workshop sessions designed to aid the schools in discovering and encouraging talent in minority groups is under way for 1962. Workshops are sponsored by the San Diego UL and Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, in cooperation with the Memorial Junior High School PTA.

GRAND RAPIDS—Grand Rapids UL executive director, Paul Phillips, has been elected to the Board of Education. Mr. Phillips is the first Negro to serve on the school body. He has headed the Grand Rapids UL since 1947 and has been active in civic service agencies.

NEWARK—More than 1,000 persons attended an international program featuring foreign ambassadors and representatives to the United Nations, sponsored by the UL Guild of Essex County.

The program, held at Seton Hall University, in Orange, N. J., culminated in a two-day interracial project which drew representatives from Twenty-two foreign countries and all of the continents.

PHOENIX—The Phoenix UL has formed a church youth guidance council, designed to coordinate youth motivation services by the congregations. Members of the council include representatives from church groups of the area.

DETROIT—John C. Dancy, retired director of the Detroit UL, was awarded the 15th Annual Amity Award conferred for outstanding achievement in the improvement of intergroup relations through bringing to public attention careers of those who contribute to social justice and equality in the community. Mr. Dancy retired in 1960 after 42 years of League service.

DAYTON—Harold I. Newsome, Dayton UL Board member and personnel director of Inland Manufacturing Division, General Motors Corporation, has been named general chairman of the 1962 Community Red Cross Fund campaign.

DENVER—Sebastian C. Owens, executive director of the UL of Colorado, is attending a special 16-week study course at Brandeis University, Brookline, Mass., as a Florina Lasker Fellow.

Mr. Owens

Mr. Owens was one of five from throughout the country whose professional careers have been directly or indirectly connected with preservation of civil liberties and rights, chosen for Florina Lasker Fellows in Civil Liberties, and Civil Rights.

Mr. Owens is on leave from his duties in Denver to attend the Brandeis study course.

ANDERSON, IND.—A "professions" career club sponsored by the Anderson UL, has been established as the latest among six such clubs organized by the League as part of its Youth Incentives Program. The clubs are designed to develop career consciousness and to provide student members information and counsel in a wide variety of fields.

LOUISVILLE—The International Harvester Company drew plaudits as an example of industrial foresight in spearheading non-discriminatory hiring policies here.

Sparked by the UL in the early 1950s, the IHC has since increased the number of Negro employes in one of its major plants alone from fewer than 450 in 1954 to more than 3,000 today.

Of its total work force of approximately 2,500 in this Louisville plant, 15 per cent are Negroes. The entire population of Louisville is in almost exactly that percentage, racewise. Further, statistics show the firm now employes twice as many semi-skilled Negro workers as there are laborers.

UL—USA...

Cross Country with Urban Leagues

St. Louis Is Host To Three-Fold Trustees' Meeting

ST. LOUIS—For the first time—except for its Annual Conference session each year—the NUL Board of Trustees convened a regular meeting in outside New York City.

Host of the Spring gathering, held here April 5-6, was the UL of St. Louis. Present were Trustees from various League cities across the country.

One highlight of the meeting was announced of the $215,000 Carnegie grant for youth service programs (See story, Page 1).

At a special press conference President Steeger and Executive Director Whitney Young discussed other current League developments. In interviews with reporters, they drew attention to two new League publications, "Talent Bank, USA," a three-year illustrated report on TST and other youth incentive programs, and "A Fair Chance."

A third high spot of the meeting was a luncheon honoring the Trustees, given by the St. Louis League at the Statler-Hilton Hotel. Presiding was Judge Theodore McMillian of the 8th Circuit Court of Missouri, UL of St. Louis president. Eugene H. Buder, retiring president, was master of ceremonies.

Mayor Raymond R. Tucker headed a roster of distinguished community leaders attending. Dr. Werner Z. Hirsch, director of regional studies at Washington University, was principal speaker. He emphasized the important role played by education in developing the opportunity potential of the city.

NUL staffers attending the Spring meeeting were Alexander J. Allen; Nelson C. Jackson; Enid Baird and Guichard Parris.

The proceedings concluded with the afternoon business sessions of the Trustees. (Other pictures on Pages 3, 7 and 8).

HAILED AT LUNCHEON—Among those honored at St. Louis Board affair were (bottom, l. to r.) Whitney M. Young, Jr., Mayor Tucker and Judge McMillan. Top: M. Leo Bohanon and Henry Steeger.

CLEVELAND—Although the United States has hurtled a man into orbit around the earth, "we still can't send a next busload of white and Negro students into Mississippi."

This paradox was expressed by Carl Rowan, Deputy Assistant U. S. Secretary of State, in an address to the 44th Annual Meeting of the Cleveland UL.

Mr. Rowan told a turn-away crowd that he is particularly appalled by a feeling popularly expressed by white people, that Negroes are the principal beneficiaries as racism is reduced.

PHILADELPHIA—The UL of Philadelphia launched its annual membership drive with a luncheon at the Sheraton Hotel. Alexander J. Allen, NUL associate executive director, was speaker. He stressed that "any community service agency that might seek to soft-pedal urgency of problems it faces would be traitor to its constituency and to its basic reason for being."

NEW YORK—The New York World's Fair Corporation came under attack recently for what some construed to be "a calculated indifference" to racial bias in hiring practices in the current phases of the 1964-65 exposition.

The UL of Greater New York publicized the fact that no Negroes had been employed in technical or professional capacities in the Fair's initial cadre of 100 workers.

Almost simultaneously with the disclosures by the ULGNY, UN diplomat Ralph Bunche was appointed to the executive committee of the Fair corporation, headed by Robert Moses, fabled leader of civic enterprises in the nation's greatest metropolis.

The ULGNY has urged that Mr. Moses act swiftly to "resolve an apparent pattern of discrimination in employment.

New Jersey UL Is Leader In Housing Plans

ELIZABETH, N. J.—A recommendation that the UL of Eastern Union County take the lead in establishment of a city-wide housing committee to assist municipal officials in reaching decisions on local issues related to that field as they heartily endorsed at a recent meeting of welfare and redevelopment officials.

Two of the more crucial issues, concerning which the UL of Eastern Union County has been particularly active, are a proposed new housing code as a bulwark against civic flight and a recommendation that community leaders urge that FHA modify policies that now preclude its ensuring mortgage loans on homes in areas zoned for business and commercial use, or adjacent to them.

A questionnaire distributed by the UL produced some interesting results in both issues. Among the more important statistics developed were these:

It was noted that about 46 percent of the households contracted had some knowledge of the urban relocation program; 30 percent heard about it, but did not understand it; and 24 percent knew nothing of it.

Eighty-four percent of the persons contracted wanted to live in Elizabeth and slightly more than 50 percent indicated they wanted to move back to the area if they had to move; 43 percent of the heads of households expressed an interest in buying new homes and the same percentage wanted to rent, but only 5 percent wanted to buy in nearby communities.

The study showed the largest number (41 percent of persons paid between 50-75 dollars a month for rent (not including heat and electricity).

The largest percentage of households with school-age children (23 percent) had two children in school; 34 percent had no children in school. However, in this group it was found that some of the older children had dropped out of school ■

'Let's adopt a baby . . .'

Two Cities Tackle The 'Hapless Tot' Problem

In Kansas City:

KANSAS CITY—A project launched by the UL of Kansas City a year ago at request of the United Fund and the city's Health and Welfare Counsel to find adoptive parents for Negro babies is producing gratifying results, local UL officials report.

Originally the program—titled Adoptive Home Recruitment Project—centered on children from Florence Home, a voluntary agency. Soon, however, a more extensive problem was unearthed—finding foster homes and adoptive parents for Negro children born out of wedlock at General Hospital.

This is a city institution where the volume of illegitimate births is high and there are no services for them available through either the Juvenile Court (the adoption agency) or Family Service (the foster home agency).

Advised of the scope and the vital implications of the project, the Greater Kansas City chapter of Links, Inc., made a substantial contribution toward production of brochures and other literature.

The general chairman of a city-wide adoption committee set up to spearhead the AHRP is a member of the Links, and two other members are on the committee. Also represented on the body, functioning under auspices of the League, are Alpha Kappa Alpha, Deltas, Kansas Citians, Association of Colored Women, church and other groups.

The UL of Kansas City has set up machinery whereby prospective foster parents, reluctant to adopt because they are unacquainted with the facts, and "seared away from it" because of misinformation, may get answers to some of the principal questions that arise. Among questions most frequently posed are these:

Q—How do we apply?

A—Call the Urban League, where staff will help you make your application and inform you on the next steps to take.

Q—What investigations are involved?

A—The adoption agency makes home study in order to get to know you and your home and thus be able to place the most suitable child with you.

Q—How long does it take?

A—This depends largely on your own promptness in having your physical examination and presenting your application. The adoption agency acts as promptly as possible.

Q—How much does it cost?

A—No child will be deprived of a home, nor a family of a child, due to lack of money. Every effort is made to set court costs according to ability to pay.

Q—Are there risks involved?

A—If you get a child through a professional child-placing agency, you have the protection of knowing the child has had complete medical and phychological study.

League officials are gratified at progress of the AHRP and the response accorded it by the community. For example, in the first few months of its operation twenty couples found and adopted infants through the League-sponsored project ■

In Winston-Salem:

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.—There is probably no more tragic future for a human being today than to be without a family.

In the much-publicized statistics of the so-called "population explosion" of the 1960s, a child is born every 10.5 seconds. This means that every hour 300 children come into our way of life under every concievable prospect of tomorrow.

There can be no statistics, of course, as to how many of this staggering total — Negro and white — will have to face life with only public assistance their parent; with no encouragement of a family unit to guide and inspire them to worthwhile years ahead.

There is nothing new in the situation. It is more crucial than ever before though, because there are so many.

With this in mind, the Winston-Salem UL Guild has this year shaped a drive designed to seek out adoptive parents who for one reason or another are reluctant to adopt a child.

Biggest stumbling block to the problem, the UL leaders have determined, is the erroneous belief that adoption hinges on economic status.

The Winston-Salem UL, through dilligent effort by the Guild, set forth early in 1962 to dissolve these assumptions and, at the same time, "introduce" an adoptive Negro child to a family.

They found that the church is a vital part of making this part of American teamwork workable. They discovered, too, that both sides of the adoptive problem—the natural mother and the prospective parents—are woefully ill-informed.

John McDowell, superintendent of the Forsyth County (Winston-Salem) Welfare Department, told the UL Guild:

"There are more white couples wanting to adopt children than there are babies to fill the demand. On the other and, there are more Negro babies available for adoption than there are prospective parents."

This set the Guild to work.

They were advised by R. Winfred Tyndall, executive director of the Associated Family and Child Service Agency, that:

"There is a difference percentagewise between use by Negro and white couples of social agencies for adoptive purposes and work with unwed mothers. As a result of these differences, very few children placed for adoption are Negro."

The Winston-Salem Guild has turned its facilities all-out to assist not only the agencies headed by Mr. Tyndall and Mr. McDowell to inform both the mother who must relinquish her child and the parents who yearn for a child, but also they have enlisted support of the local clergy.

Mrs. Martha Young, retiring president of the Winston-Salem Guild, is chairman of the adoption committee. Through this group, clubs, organizations and individuals have been mobilized to participate in the program. Working in close concert, the public and private agencies of the community have mapped an extensive project of counseling and allied services to prospective parents and Negro mothers required to give up their babies ■

Photo by Paul Parker

The UL and the Nation's Editors . . .

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT US

Excerpts from editorial comment in leading newspapers concerning the Urban League:

OKLAHOMA CITY TIMES

In Demand

The fact that the local Urban League is having difficulties in obtaining a new director reflects an interesting trend in American life.

Officials of the local organization explain that the usual sources of supply of Negro directors are being dried up by the increased demands by private industry and government for trained and talented Negroes.

In some cases the trend has come because of industry's own initiative; in others because of the Kennedy administration's policy of bringing more Negroes into government; and in still others because of the administration's insistence that industries

---

WASHINGTON POST AND TIMES-HERALD

Foundation for Progress

The program to promote job opportunities for Negroes worked out by The Washington Urban League and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association lays an indispensable foundation stone for the healthy development of this community's economy. The League has undertaken to maintain a roster of specialized skills of Negro job applicants; and the Association, on its side, has urged its 385 member firms to work for the establishment of specialized job-training courses in Washington area high schools and colleges and to adhere faithfully to the principle of merit hiring, without regard to race, creed or color.

In this period of changing racial patterns, a useful and necessary role has been played by organizations which staged protest demonstrations and carried test cases into court. But the quiet, unsensational work of the Washington Urban League in fostering understanding and opening opportunities has been no less vital.

SAN FRANCISCO NEWS-CALL BULLETIN

Job Aid for Negroes

As pointed out in the News-Call Bulletin's recent series, "The Negro in San Francisco," a constantly recurring roadblock against improvement of the Negro's lot is limited job opportunity.

It is encouraging news then that the Urban League has received a $39,000 Rosenberg Foundation grant to set up a program of career clinics. It is hoped that professional counseling will help the Negro overcome the social and historical forces which have kept him from realizing his full employment potential.

The results of the League's efforts will be carefully watched. If as rewarding as expected, they should be extended. (See story, page 4).

PEORIA JOURNAL-STAR

Urban League Would Be Asset

We are always admirers of something that "works," something that produces results, something that accomplishes predetermined end.

Thus it is that we are looking hopefully toward the efforts of a group of Peorians to bring to our town an office of the National Urban League. The sponsoring committee is facing a critical year in this endeavor. It is a year when it must not only prove the worth of having an Urban League to the National Urban League itself but to Peorians in general and the board of the United Fund in particular.

To bring it here, its Peoria sponsoring committee must follow a definite pattern set up by the Urban League itself.

WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN

Welcome, Mrs. Johnson

A charming and very able lady has "invaded" our town and we hope she will be here for a long, long time.

We have reference to Mrs. Cernoria Johnson, newly appointed Washington representative of the National Urban League.

Mrs. Johnson's appointment is an overdue recognition by the National Urban League that somebody has to devote full time to the relationship of the National Urban League to Congress, the White House, and to legislation which vitally concerns colored people.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

It Ain't Funny, Louisiana

Barely concealing their chuckles, Louisiana segregationists are predicting that the Louis Boyds soon will find how bad things are for Negroes in the North, and realize how heavenly everything really was back in Dixie.

We wish Boyd and his family the best of fortune. But in the meantime there is no espaping the fact that such episodes as this are simply, as termed by N. Y. Urban League director Dr. Edward S. Lewis, "a vicious publicity stunt designed to embarrass the North."

DAYTON JOURNAL-HERALD

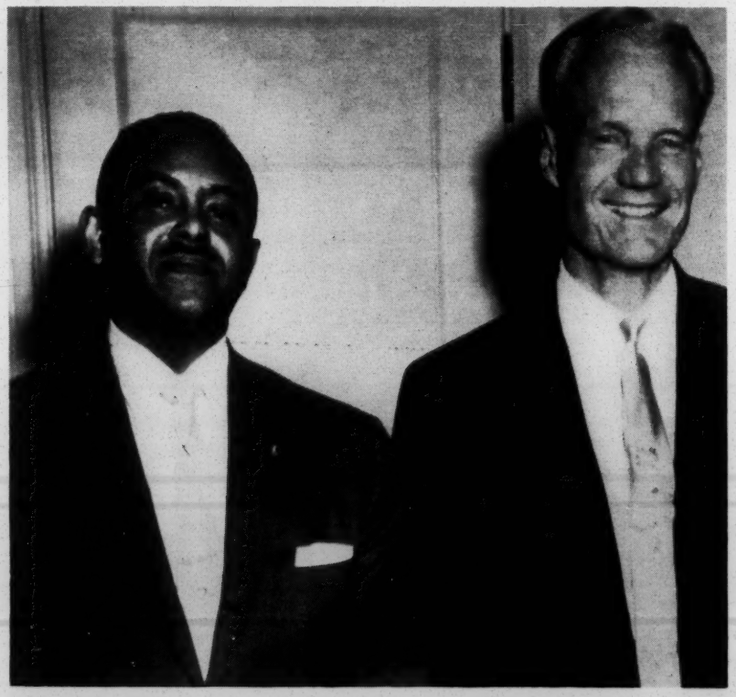
A More Sophicticated Negro Vote

One of the significant, though infrequently-discussed, strengths of the Dayton area is its ability to work on some of the fundamental problems of human relations without setting off citizen against citizen, group against group.

This strength would be impaired, we believe, if one of the ideas mentioned at the Urban League's 14th annual Human Relations Institute this week were taken seriously. This idea is that "a more sophisticated Negro vote" is influential in breaking down the barriers that tend to restrict the homes of Negroes to certain sections of the city.

This newspaper has long advocated the full participation of Negroes (and of all citizens) in the affairs of the city. It called for Negro representation in the city commission two years ago and supported the successful candidacy of Don L. Crawford for a seat on the city commission last year. It believes strongly in equal opportunity for all ■

NULers At St. Louis Parley



TAKING TIME OUT from Trustees' Meeting sessions, Nelson C. Jackson, NUL associate executive director (left), and President Steeger chat. (See story Page 5)

RESEARCHER UPPED TO NEW POST

ATLANTA — Herman M. Sweatt, former research director of the Cleveland UL, has taken over as associate director of the NUL Southern Regional Office here.

Mr. Sweatt became known internationally when he, as the test plaintiff, won the U. S. Supreme Court case against race segregation in "separate but equal" schools.

In 1950 he became the first Negro to enter the University of Texas Law School. He then went on to earn a master's degree in social work at Atlanta University and did field work in the UL industrial relations program here.

TRUSTEES IN SESSION—At St. Louis (l. to r.), Mrs. Charles Keller, New Orleans; Dr. Ray E. Clarke, Cincinnati; Alexander J. Allen, New York; Dr. R. Frank Jones, Washington; Ivan C. McLeod, William H. Baldwin, Lindsley F. Kimball and Mrs. Mollie Moon, all New York, and Everett O'Neal, Kansas City Board Member. (See Story, Page 5).

'STRANDED DOMESTICS' PLIGHT REVIEWED AT ULGNY MEETING

NEW YORK—The Urban League of Greater New York was sponsor of an emergency conference called to air the pros and cons of long-smoldering issues arising from the plight of the "stranded domestic."

Under scrutiny, in addition to the morals question raised, were existing and proposed legislation drawn to protect maids, waitresses and other young women, who are being lured daily to New York and other Metropolitan centers by advertisements in various Southern publications.

It has been asserted, with mounting frequency, that young women have been cruelly victimized by unscrupulous employment tactics reminiscent of the "shanghai" practices of the 19th century. In some of these cases, it has been publicly alleged, the victims recruited from remote sections of the country, have been forced into a life of ill repute in order to survive.

Representatives of the UL and other private and public agencies attended the meeting.

Discussion centered not only on the moral but the economic implications of a situation. There have been charges, increasing in intensity in recent years, that "bait" ads have been placed in Southern and Carribean newspapers offering exaggerated opportunities for domestic employees in the cities of the Northern United States.

Bernard J. O'Connell, New York City Commissioner of Licenses, denied that conditions were as deplorable as some of the conferees had charged.

Robert F. Wrisley, Deputy Industrial Commissioner of the New York State Department of Labor, acknowledged that in practice the state laws are enforced in a "patchwork" degree by local officials who "do not even know the law, let alone implement it."

Jerome Lefkowitz, State Labor Department Counsel, said he had received reports that "shocking circumstances" have been disclosed in some suburban communities. These included seizure of the prospective employee's luggage; billing illegally for food, lodging and other services required by law, to be provided by the employing agency and improper supervision of the recruited worker between her arrival in the city and her acceptance of the job she has paid for. State legislation is now pending which would correct some aspects of the situation outside the City of New York.

Conferees called into the meeting by the ULGNY took the legislative proposals under advisement and agreed to supply their proponents with all possible objective information concerning this explosive situation ■

IN THE NEXT ISSUE . . .

FOCUS — A blueprint for UL programs and services tomorrow.

* * *

VOTER EDUCATION—The inalienable right-of-ballot of every citizen.

* * *

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June 19, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The enclosed document is for your information and action.

Mr. Joseph Jacobs, Attorney, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, is very anxious to bring his colleagues to a meeting of your organization to answer any questions concerning this matter. You may contact Mr. Jacobs at 160 Central Avenue, S. W. (Ja 2-4280).

Sincerely,

Harold N. Arnold

Harold N. Arnold, Director
Vocational Services

HNA:msj

Mr. Lester Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

DOBBS HOUSE STRIKE IS YOUR CONCERN!

Nearly 300 workers at the Dobbs House at the Atlanta Municipal Airport organized into the Hotel & Restaurant Workers Union, and voted for it in a National Labor Relations Board secret election. When they could not get an agreement they began a strike on April 16th. Nearly every one of the strikers is a Negro. The Company is recruiting strikebreakers from the greater Atlanta Community, and nearly everyone of them is a Negro.

The strike is legal - it is being supported by the National Union - the 94 Unions in the Atlanta Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and the thousands of Union workers in the Georgia State AFL-CIO have endorsed and are supporting the strike.

These workers were being paid as little as 75 cents an hour in the Airport Terminal. Waitresses are paid as little as $2.00. a day. In the catering division they are paid the wage-and-hour minimum of $1.15 an hour. Is this decent pay? Or sweat shop wages?

IS THIS WHAT YOU WANT IN YOUR CITY OF ATLANTA?

Do you want a Dobbs Company at your City Airport which hires 70 strikebreakers without Food Handlers Health Certificates?

Do you want a Dobbs Company at your City Airport which has private gunmen roaming over the airport and the town and pulling guns on Negro strikers?

Do you want a Dobbs Company at your City Airport which sells liquor to minors, and to persons who are obviously drunk?

Do you want a Dobbs Company at your City Airport that uses strikebreakers who run Dobbs trucks into a plane, gas truck, and baggage tug at the airport?

Do you want a Dobbs Company at your City Airport which is charged with violation of the National Labor Relations Act, and discrimination against its employees?

HERE IS WHAT YOU CAN DO-

Tell your congregation - your friends - everyone - that Negro workers should not scab on Negro strikers.

Join with the thousands of labor union members and their families in supporting this strike.

Let the Mayor and Aldermen and City Airport Manager know that you do not like what is going on at the City Airport.

Let the Mayor and Alderman know that you do not support the Dobbs House monopoly at the airport which means that you have to eat scab prepared and served food at your City Airport.

Let the airlines know you won't eat scab food--and you want a credit on your plane ticket for the meal you do not eat.

Urge the Mayor to get the parties to settle the strike fairly and honorably.

THE DOBBS HOUSE STRIKE

The workers at Dobbs House, Inc., organized into the Hotel and Restaurant and Bartenders Employees Union. In a Labor Board election in November, 1962, they voted for the Union by a two to one vote, and the Union was certified as the bargaining agency for these workers. These nearly 300 employees at the Atlanta Municipal Airport work in the restaurants, at the counters, and in the catering divisions which furnish food which is put on board Eastern, United, Piedmont, Southern, and Delta planes in Atlanta.

After being certified as the bargaining agency, the Union undertook to reach an agreement with Dobbs Houses, Inc. It was unable to reach an agreement and the workers voted to strike beginning April 16th. The strikers ranks have held firm and only a handful have deserted the strike.

The Company even while negotiations were going on began making preparations for the strike by hiring Southern Detectives, and worked out plans to bring in personnel from other towns to train strikebreakers, according to National Labor Relations Board charges filed by the Union.

SWEAT SHOP WAGES AND CONDITIONS

Dobbs employees in the Atlanta Airport Terminal are paid as little as 75 cents an hour. Waitresses are paid as little as $2.00 per day, and get no overtime pay. The catering employees who work in preparing food for the Eastern, United, Piedmont, Southern, and Delta planes are paid the $1.15 minimum required by the Wage Hour Law.

However, employees in the airport restaurant operations must furnish their own uniforms at their cost. In the catering division employees are charged 50 cents a meal whether they eat them or not, and this is taken out of their pay whether they authorize it or not. These meals may be stale meals which are not sold because of bad weather, or left-overs - or hot dogs. Right after the Union won the NLRB election the Company tried to feed these workers ox-tails, neck bones, pig ears, and pig tails for six days.

There is no shift premium whether you work at day time or on the evening shift. If you come to work and there is no work for you, you wait around on your own time, and get no reporting pay or even car fare for having come to work. There is no job security, and workers are fired without notice, regardless of whether they have worked for many years and given loyal and faithful service.

HERE IS HOW DOBBS IS OPERATING NOW
GUN-TOTING SOUTHERN DETECTIVES

Since the strike began Dobbs House has hired scabs and strikebreakers to break the strike. It is paying hundreds of dollars each week to Southern Detectives. This Company is notorious for its strikebreaking and anti-union activities.

These gun-toting private detectives have pulled guns on strikers and threatened to shoot these unarmed workers. One of these hired gunmen is presently under $2000 bond for pointing a gun at four strikers and threatening to use it on them.

In another instance a Southern Detective stopped a striker coming out of a telephone booth, pulled a gun on him, and made him hold his hands in the air for sometime, because he claimed the Hapeville police had a warrant for him.

These private gun-toting detectives have harassed and sought to interfere with the peaceful picketing, and have repeatedly interfered with the efforts of the pickets to carry on their picketing in a peaceful and orderly manner cussing and abusing them and seeking to intimidate them, and thereby break the strike.

70 STRIKEBREAKERS CAUGHT WITHOUT HEALTH CARDS

Although the law requires that all persons handling food have health cards, the Dobbs House in its diabolical haste to break the strike has completely ignored the law in hiring strikebreakers without health cards.

As a result of the complaint made by the Atlanta Labor Council, AFL-CIO to Dr. James F. Hackney, Fulton County Health Commissioner, an agent from this Department found 70 persons working, who for weeks had been preparing and serving food at Dobbs House and who did not have Health Certificates.

When this County Health Agent found these people at work without Health Cards, the Dobbs House people sent these scabs to have health examinations which included X-Ray for Tuberculosis, and Wasserman Test for Venereal Disease. IN THE MEANTIME, HOWEVER, THESE STRIKEBREAKERS WERE PERMITTED TO CONTINUE WORKING AT DOBBS HOUSE PREPARING FOOD WHICH IS BEING SOLD TO THE PUBLIC, AND WHICH IS BEING PLACED ON PLANES LEAVING THIS AIRPORT.

Not one case was made against this Dobbs Company for hiring and permitting these 70 people to go to work handling food without Food Handlers Health Certificates, even though this is a clear violation of existing laws and regulations.

DOBBS HOUSE SELLING LIQUOR TO MINORS

Municipal Court Judge Ed Brock has bound over William Paul Porter, Liquor Store Manager for Dobbs House for selling liquor to three minors, after a hearing involving one negro and two white soldiers.

The evidence showed that these soldiers, one of whom was already badly intoxicated, spent several hours at the airport, and had no difficulty in buying bottles of liquor from the Dobbs House Liquor Store, at various times during the afternoon although one of them was 18 years old and the other two were 17.

The three soldiers had previously pled guilty to being drunk in a public place, and to violation of the Wine and Beer Ordinance. One of the soldiers involved in the arrest testified that one of the three soldiers was so sick that he kept pleading for them to help him.

In another incident in the Passport Lounge where poured drinks are served, when the age of a soldier was questioned as being a minor, the waitress involved in serving the drink quickly removed it from in front of the soldier, and claimed that it was a coca-cola.

It was only ninety days ago that Police Chief Herbert Jenkins warned all liquor dealers that selling liquor to minors would result in loss of licenses, and that these dealers would be held strictly accountable for violation.

PLANES AND TRUCKS DAMAGED BY SCABS

A strike-breaker who had been working for Dobbs only a few days backed a Dobbs Food truck into the tail section of a Delta DC-6 plane. The plane's tail cone and elevator were so badly damaged that the passengers were transferred to another flight, and the plane was taken out of service for repairs. Normally, such trucks carrying food to Delta and Eastern planes are manned by two workers, one of whom directs the driver how to handle the truck around the plane.

Another Dobbs truck also hit one of the gas trucks which supply gas to planes on the field. It is well known that these gas trucks are highly inflammable, and any accident involving them might well result in a catastrophic fire or explosion.

In another accident one of the Dobbs House trucks ran into a tug which carries airplane passengers baggage. This occurred on City of Atlanta Airport property.

DOBBS HAS EXCLUSIVE LEASES AT CITY OWNED AIRPORT

All concession and business leases at the Airport are made with the City of Atlanta. These leases require Dobbs to "conduct a first class business of high quality".

These leases require Dobbs to "comply with all federal, state, and local laws, ordinances of the City of Atlanta, and rules and regulations" applicable to their business.

The City of Atlanta can cancel any Dobbs lease upon its failure to comply with any of its obligations. The City of Atlanta can require Dobbs to set reasonable prices on food sold by it.

In return Dobbs House has a monopoly, and the exclusive right to sell food, liquor, gifts, put food on planes, operate vending machines at the airport.

IS THIS WHAT THE CITY OF ATLANTA WANTS?

Does the City of Atlanta want a Dobbs Company at its airport which hires 70 people without Food Handlers Health Certificates?

Does the City of Atlanta want a Dobbs Company at its airport which has private gunmen roaming over the airport and on the City property and pulling guns on people?

Does the City of Atlanta want a Dobbs Company at its airport which sells liquor to minors, and to persons who are obviously drunk?

Does the City of Atlanta want a Dobbs Company at its airport that uses strikebreakers who run into planes, gas trucks, and baggage tugs on the airport field?

Does the City of Atlanta want a Dobbs Company at its airport which operates a low sweat shop pay establishment?

Does the City of Atlanta want a Dobbs Company at its airport which is charged with numerous violations of the National Labor Relations Act, and with discrimination against its employees?

WAKE UP ATLANTA -

DOBBS HOUSE IS RUINING YOUR GOOD NAME!

The Hotel and Restaurant Workers strike is being supported not only by its National Union, but also by the 94 unions in the Atlanta Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and the thousands of other labor union workers in the Georgia State AFL-CIO.

The nearly 300 workers of Dobbs House who are on strike ask the support of the citizens of Atlanta. Let the Mayor and City Aldermen know that you do not like what is going on at the City's Airport. Let the Airport Manager - and the City Officials know that you do not like the monopoly of the Dobbs House in serving scab prepared and served food at the City Airport. Get the Delta, Southern, United, Piedmont, and Eastern airlines to give you credit on your plane ticket for your meal that you do not eat.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ABOUT MINORITY HOUSING

IN

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PREPARED BY

ROBERT A. THOMPSON,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

J. B. BLAYTON, CHAIRMAN
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MAY, 1964

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PART I

POPULATION

Atlanta, with its million people, is presently one of the twenty-five largest cities in the United States, and some authorities estimate that this metropolitan city will have over two million citizens by 1980. The addition of one million citizens in a twenty year period (1960-1980) will tax greatly the ingenuity of Atlanta's financial, educational and business, leaders and the heads of government. In the main, Atlanta's people in 1980 will, constitute, based upon reliable estimates, about forty percent of the population of the State of Georgia.

The Standard Metropolitan Atlanta area has 232,169 nonwhite citizens who live in the five counties of Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton and Gwinnett. Of the total number of nonwhite, 186,820 or 80.5 percent live inside the city limits of Atlanta as compared to 300,635 or 38.3 percent of the white residents as shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1

Number And Percent Distribution Of Nonwhite and White Population Living Inside and Outside Of City Limits Of Atlanta, Georgia, 1960

Race	Total	Inside City Limits	Outside City Limits	Percent Inside City Limits
Total	1,017,188	487,455	529,733	47.9
Nonwhite	232,169	186,820	45,349	80.5
White	785,019	300,635	484,384	38.3

Table 2

Percent Distribution Of Nonwhite And White Population Living Inside And Outside Of City Limits, Atlanta, Georgia, 1960

Race	Total	Inside City Limits	Outside City Limits
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nonwhite	22.8	38.3	8.5
White	77.2	61.7	91.5

Atlanta's attraction, as a good city for work and decent, safe, and sanitary homes, can be maintained and enhanced only in so far as positive and bold steps are taken to protect the neighborhoods and improve the living conditions of the 232,000 nonwhite citizens, in Metropolitan Atlanta. The nonwhite citizens, constituting 22 percent of the total in the Metropolitan Area, and representing 38.3 percent (187,000) of the City's population, live on approximately one-sixth of the residential land.(1) The housing conditions and the general neighborhood characteristics of the nonwhite population still leave much to be desired in terms of Atlanta's capabilities to abolish present and prevent future slums.

The number of Atlanta's nonwhite residents is increasing. The Metropolitan Planning Commission estimated that 246,545 nonwhites lived in Metropolitan area in 1962, and that "as is the case in most metropolitan centers, a large proportion of the nonwhite population lives in the Central City."

(1) Hearings Before the United States Commission On Civil Rights, Housing, Testimony of Robert C. Stuart, Metropolitan Planning Commission, Atlanta, Georgia, April 10, 1959, p. 480.

Mr. Stuart testified that "Negroes who comprise 32 percent of the population are compressed into 16 percent of the developed residential area."

The Metropolitan Planning Commission's growth-estimate and observation mean that the nonwhite population constantly faces an artificial shortage of land for residential use; a fact which requires that great care in planning and developing decent, safe, and sanitary housing for present and future citizens.

PART II

HOUSING

The confinement of the nonwhite citizens to limited land areas, coupled with the population increase of this minority, tends to affect adversely the housing and living conditions of nonwhites which, in turn, adversely affects the social and economic progress of the entire city. Thirty-four (34) percent or 19,679 of the total 57,879 dwelling units occupied by nonwhites had more than one person per room while only nine (9) percent of the white occupied dwelling units had more than one person per room in 1960. Not only is the nonwhite dwelling unit over-crowded than the white dwelling unit, but it is also true that the average nonwhite (about 4.1) family is larger.

The over-crowding of families in dwelling units, the limited access to decent housing and land in all geographic areas and low income of nonwhites are some contributing factors to substandard housing, family disorganization and slum neighborhoods. Over four out of every ten nonwhite dwelling units were sub-standard in 1960. The Table 3 shows the total number and percent of substandard structures for nonwhite occupants.

Table 3

Total and Number of Substandard Units Occupied
By Nonwhites In Atlanta, Georgia, 1960(1)

		Substandard	
Tenure	Total	Number	Percent
Total	57,879	23,580	40.7
Owner	18,117	4,892	27
Renter	39,762	18,688	47

(1) Housing and Home Finance Agency, Potential Housing Demands of Non-White Population In Selected Metropolitan Areas, (Office of the Administrator, Washington, 1962) Table C.

The median value of nonwhite owner occupied units was $8,500 as compared to $13,150 for whites in 1960. Sixty-three percent of the nonwhite owner units were valued below $10,000. The Table 4 shows the value of nonwhite owner occupied units.

Table 4

Number, Percent and Median Value of White and Nonwhite Owner Occupied Units In Metropolitan Atlanta, Georgia, 1960

Value	White		Nonwhite	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	154,045	100.0	18,117	100.0
Less Than $ 7,500	18,485	12	7,248.00	40
7,500 - 9,999	24,647	16	4,348.00	24
10,000 - 14,999	55,456	36	4,529.25	25
15,000 - 19,999	27,728	18	1,449.36	8
20,000 - 24,999	12,324	8	362.34	2
25,000 or More	15,405	10	181.17	1
Median	13,150	-	8,500.00	-

a - Amount of Rent

The average (median) gross rent paid by nonwhite renters in 1960 was $52.00 as compared to $23.72 paid in 1950. The Census showed that the greatest number of nonwhites (15,457) paid between $40 and $59.00 per month rent; the Modal Group. Please see Tables 5 and 6.

The average rent paid by nonwhite renters varied from $30.00 in Gwinnett County, $37.00 in Cobb, $39.00 in Clayton County to $53.00 in the City of Atlanta. Please see Table 5.

The nonwhite dwelling unit has an average of 3.7 room, but the nonwhite families of Clayton, Cobb, and Gwinnett Counties have 4.1 rooms per dwelling unit as indicated in Table 5.

Table 5

Tenure, Average Value, Rent and Number of Rooms of Non-white Occupied Units In Standard Metropolitan Atlanta, Ga., 1960

Tenure	Geographic Area						
					Fulton		
	Total	Clayton	Cobb	DeKalb	County	Atlanta	Gwinnett
Total	57,879	970	1,839	5,125	49,183	47,939	762
Owner	18,117	481	932	1,784	14,615	14,057	305
Renter	39,762	489	907	2,241	34,568	33,882	457
Average Value of Owner Units	$8,500	5,600	6,100	5,000	9,200	9,500	5,000
Average Rent(1)	52.00	39.00	37.00	51.00	53.00	53.00	30.00
Average No. Rooms	3.7	4.1	4.1	3.6	3.7	3.7	4.1

(1) "Gross Rent" - The computed rent termed "gross rent" is the contract rent plus the average monthly cost of utilities (water, electricity, gas) and fuels such as wood, coal, and oil if these items are paid for by the renter in addition to contract rent. Thus, gross rent eliminates rent differentials which result from varying practices with respect to the inclusion of heat and utilities as part of the rental payment. In rural territory, rent data exclude rent for farm units.

Table 6

Amount of Gross Rent Paid By Nonwhite Renters
In Standard Metropolitan Atlanta In 1960

Amount	Number	Percent
Less than $20.00	1,153	2.9
20 - 39	8,617	21.7
40 - 59	15,457	39.0
60 - 79	10,096	25.4
80 - 99	2,625	6.6
100 - or more	426	1.1
No Cash Rent	1,299	3.3
Total	39,673	100.0

(b) - Ability To Pay For Shelter

The ability to own or rent decent, safe and sanitary housing is dependent upon income. The Housing and Home Finance Agency reported in the bulletin the "Potential Housing Demands of Nonwhite Population In Selected Metropolitan Areas" that there have been substantial increases in the earnings of nonwhite Atlantans between 1950 and 1960 as shown in Tables 7 and 8.

The median income for all families was $5,758 and $4,901 for families and unrelated individuals. The average income for nonwhite families was $3,033 or 89.9 percent less than the average for all families. For nonwhite families and unrelated individuals, the average income of $2,503 was 95.8 percent less than the average of $4,901 for all Atlantans in this group. Please see Table 8.

Although the nonwhite family income is about half of the average for all citizens, the nonwhite family pays only $15.00 less than the $67.00 average rent paid by all citizens. The nonwhite family pays, in other words, pays proportionately more rent than does the white Atlantan; a fact that may be attributed to the inability of nonwhite Atlantans to have access to the total housing market but instead limited land areas.

Table 7

Income of Nonwhite Persons In Standard Metropolitan Atlanta, 1949 and 1959 and Family Income for 1959

Amount of Income	1959		1949		Family Income For 1959	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	110,363	100.0	78,415	100.0	50,020	100.0
Under $3,000	90,407	81.9	76,395	97.4	24,714	49.4
3,000 - 3,999	10,413	9.4	1,385	1.8	9,044	18.1
4,000 - 4,999	5,295	4.8	305	0.4	5,915	11.8
5,000 - 5,999	2,604	2.4	100	0.1	3,910	7.8
6,000+	1,644	1.5	230	0.3	-	-
6,000 - 6,999	-	-	-	-	2,213	4.4
7,000 - 7,999	-	-	-	-	1,494	3.0
8,000 - 8,999	-	-	-	-	965	1.9
9,000 - 9,999	-	-	-	-	642	1.3
10,000 & Over	-	-	-	-	1.123	2.3
Median	1,510	-	-	-	3,033	-

Table 7 shows also that there were 50,020 nonwhite families in the Standard Metropolitan Areas in 1959, and that 67.5 percent of these families had incomes of less than $4,000. The median nonwhite family income was $3,033.00.

Table 8

Median Income Of Total And Nonwhite Families In The Standard Metropolitan Area, Atlanta, Georgia, 1960

Family and Race	Geographic Area						
	Total	Clayton	Cobb	DeKalb	Fulton County	Fulton City of Atlanta	Gwinnett
All Families	$5,758	5,901	6,014	6,873	5,207	5,029	4,431
Nonwhite	3,033	2,889	3,095	2,823	3,076	3,108	2,464
All Families and Unrelated Individuals	4,901	5,714	5,702	6,198	4,132	3,938	4,182
Nonwhite	2,502	2,683	2,614	2,463	2,504	2,517	2,300

c. - Some Recently Constructed Dwelling Units

Table 9 lists 1,180, the relatively new apartment-units occupied by nonwhites. These units, in addition to those under construction throughout the city, rent from $62.50 for a one bedroom unit to $100.00 for a three bedroom unit per month. These units have conventional loans and the roster does not by any means account for all of the apartments that have been built for nonwhites in Metropolitan Atlanta.

With one or two exceptions, these dwelling units are duplicates of each other. For the most part, these units exhibit little or no imagination in design, and they have been crowded on relatively small tracts of land. Practically every bit of useable land has been devoted to the dwelling unit and parking. Unless the better housing code is enforced quickly and serious attention given to planning nonwhite neighborhoods in addition to the urban renewal programs - there will be created bigger and worse slums than those now being torn down.

For example, the apartments on the northside of Simpson Street near West Lake Avenue, would not have been built in quantity in the ravine if the new housing code had been in effect several years ago; this development represents a fancier slum.

d. - Rental Units Under Construction

There are three types of rental units - type in terms of method of financing under construction for nonwhite residents, and they are typed as conventional, F. H. A., and public housing.

(1) Conventional Financed Units

The exact number is not available at the present, but such units are being constructed on the westside of the city, along Simpson, Gordon, Delmar Roads and Anderson Avenue.

These units, eventhough compacted on relatively small plots of ground have all of the modern conveniences which will improve the over-all housing conditions of nonwhites. Many of these projects have hard-wood floors, kitchen cabinets, ceramic tile baths with full tub and showers and adequate off-street parking.

One developer of 84 units on Simpson Road advertises:

10-one bedroom units will rent for -------	$59.50 per month
10-three bedroom units will rent for------	82.50 per month
62-two bedroom units will rent for ------	69.50 per month

Only a few of the conventionally financed units provide stoves and refrigerators.

(2) F. H. A. Financed Units

The Church Homes Project (now Wheat Street Gardens and sponsored by Wheat Street Baptist Church) of 520 units is the only F. H. A. rental project being constructed in the city.

The first section of 280 units, with 156 apartments renting for $69.50 per month and 124 units renting for $75.50 per month, is financed under Section 221-d-3 (below market interest rate of 3 1/8 percent). The F. H. A., issued a commitment of $2,975,000 and established a low density of 24 apartments per acre for the entire 22 acre tract. The application for the second section of 240 apartments is in process of being prepared for submission to F. H. A., under Section 221-d-3, which now requires a 3 3/8 interest rate and the rents will be comparable to those of the first section. By the end of 1964, a majority of the first units of section one of Wheat Street Gardens will be ready for occupancy.

The Atlanta Urban League initiated the idea and served as the coordinator of the project. The Atlanta Life loaned $450,000 to the Church to buy the land, Citizens Trust Company handled the acquisition, the Trust Company of Georgia made the construction loan, and the firm of Wise, Simpson & Aiken drew the plans.

(3) Public Housing

The Atlanta Housing Authority has 850 public housing units under construction. Six hundred and fifty units, to be known as the J. W. E. Bowen Homes, is now ready for occupancy on Field Road - north of Bankhead Highway and west of Hightower Road and tenants are moving into the project. Two hundred and fifty units of public housing for the elderly are in process of being built adjacent to the Grady Homes on Decatur Street. Construction began on this project during the last of April.

A total of 8,144 public housing units have been built in Atlanta as of February 1964, and 1390 units are scheduled to be built by about 1966; at which time Atlanta will have a total of 9,534 publicly owned units for low income families.

The three accompanying tables show the racial occupancy of Atlanta's publicly owned units, the number of units in each project and the geographic location of the projects.

e. - Other Housing

(1) Used - Aside from and over and above the rental units now being developed, several significant developments are worth noting, and they are:

1. Peyton Road Area - This area, south of Gordon Road and between Willis Mill Road on the east and Lynhurst on the west - was formerly occupied by all white residents. It is estimated that abou 150 - 200 homes, ranging from $10,000 to $50,000 will be eventual ly sold to nonwhites; at the present, the area is mixed racially.
2. Grove Park - The area roughly between Chapel Road on the east, Simpson on the south, Hightower on the west and the Bankhead High way on the north, contains about 300-500 homes that have been gradually purchased by nonwhites. The estimated selling price range from $10,000 to $20,000.
3. North Bankhead - The white residents between Bankhead and Perry Boulevard have started to sell their homes to nonwhites. On a recent trip through the section, it was observed that nonwhite home owners have bought and are refurbishing the newly acquired houses. It is estimated that about 300 homes ranging from $9,000 to $20,000 will be bought by nonwhites over a period of two or three years.

Table 9

The Distribution of Public Housing Units Built and
Those To Be Built According To Racial Occupancy And Geographic Area
Atlanta, Georgia, 1964

Area and Project	Racial Occupancy	Number of Units		
		Built	To Be Built	Total
Total				
White	14 Projects	8144	1390	9534
	3 Projects	2539	0	2539
Nonwhite	11 Projects	5605	1390	6995
Northeast	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Northwest		3952	490	4442
Clark Howell)	White	1234	-0-	1234
Techwood)				
Eagan Homes	Nonwhite (WS)	548	-0-	548
Herndon Homes	Nonwhite (WS)	520	-0-	520
(Perry Homes	Nonwhite (WS)	1000	-0-	1000)
(" " (Add)	Nonwhite (WS)	-0-	140	140)
(" " "	Nonwhite (WS)	-0-	350	350)
Bowen Homes	Nonwhite (WS)	650	-0-	650
Southeast		1411	250	1661
Capitol Homes	White	795	-0-	795
(Grady Homes	Nonwhite	616	-0-	616)
(Graves (Add.)		-0-	250	250)
Southwest		2781	650	3431
Harris Homes	White (WS)	510	-0-	510
University-				
John Hope	Nonwhite (WS)	1281	-0-	1281
Carver	Nonwhite	990	-0-	990
McDaniel	Nonwhite	-0-	650	650

(WS) - Westside - bound by Perry Boulevard on the North, Spring Street on the East, the Expressway on the South, and the Chattachoochee River on the West.

Of the total 185,816 nonwhite residents within the City Limits in 1960, an estimated 88,883 representing 47.8 percent of the total live on the Westside. Please see Appendix Table 1.

Table 10

The Racial Occupancy Of Public Housing Units Built And Those To Be Built By Geographic Area, Atlanta, Georgia, 1964

Area and Racial Occupancy	Number of Units					
	Built		To Be Built		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	8144	100.0	1390	100.0	9534	100.0
White	2539	31.2	-0-	-0-	2539	26.6
Nonwhite	5605	68.8	1390	100.0	6995	73.4
Northeast	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
White Occupancy	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Nonwhite Occupancy	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Northwest	3952	100.0	490	100.0	4442	100.0
White Occupancy	1234	31.2	-0-	-0-	1234	27.8
Nonwhite Occupancy	2718	68.8	490	100.0	3208	72.2
Southeast	1411	100.0	250	100.0	1661	100.0
White Occupancy	795	56.3	-0-	-0-	795	47.9
Nonwhite Occupancy	616	43.7	250	100.0	866	52.1
Southwest	2718	100.0	650	100.0	3431	100.0
White Occupancy	510	18.3	-0-	-0-	510	14.9
Nonwhite Occupancy	2271	81.7	650	100.0	2921	85.1

Table 11

The Number Of Public Housing Units Built And
Those To Be Built On The Westside And Other Areas
According To Racial Occupancy, Atlanta, Georgia, 1964

Area and Race	Number Of Units					
	Built		To Be Built		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	8144	100.0	1390	100.0	9534	100.0
Westside(1)	4509	55.5	490	35.3	4999	52.4
Other Areas	3635	44.5	900	64.7	4535	47.6
Nonwhite	5605	100.0	1390	100.0	6995	100.0
Westside(1)	3999	71.3	490	35.3	4489	64.2
Other Areas	1606	28.7	900	64.7	2506	35.8
White	2539	100.0	-0-	100.0	2539	100.0
Westside(1)	510	20.1	-0-	-0-	510	20.1
Other Areas	2029	79.9	-0-	-0-	2029	79.9

(1) The Westside is bound by Perry Boulevard on the North, Spring Street on the East, the Expressway (Highway) on the South and the Chattahoochee River on West.

4. East Atlanta - Large numbers of homes in the Moreland Avenue Area have been sold to nonwhites. The estimated price range is between $10,000 and $15,000.

(2) New

1. The Area bound by Gordon Road on the north, the proposed Perimeter Road on the east, Cascade on the south and the Industrial Boulevard on the west, contains a small number of used housing and about 200 acres of vacant land, to be developed for new single family homes.

   The entire area is presently being studied by the Metropolitan Planning Commission, The Atlanta Urban League and the residents, with the idea of developing a community-plan for the orderly growth and development of the area. The plan, similar to the Collier Heights Plan, may provide for about three hundred (300) single family new homes, ranging from $10,000 to $40,000, and it should be available by July 1, 1964.

2. Willis Mill - Peyton Road Area - Plans for the development of about 300 acres of vacant land are being drawn by the City Planning Department at the instigation of Mayor Ivan Allen. The exact number of owner and rental units that will be built in the area has not been determined.

3. Urban Renewal Areas

   a. The Atlanta Urban League has two groups organized for the purpose of buying thirty acres of land in the University Urban Renewal project area and building a total of 580 units. It is hoped that all of these units will be rental units in the $60-$70 class with F. H. A. assistance.

b. Rockdale Park - After this depressed area will have been cleared by the Atlanta Housing Authority, the land will be sold to developers who will construct 168 single family units and 1,498 multi-family units. It is estimated that these units will be completed in 1966.

c. Thomasville - A total of 150 single family homes (221 units) have been built in this area. Some public housing units could be built in this area.

f. - Proposed Rental Units

1. Simpson Woods Apartments - The Piedmont Development Company proposes to build 336 apartments at 2125 Simpson Road, northwest. There will be 80 one-bedroom units to rent for $63.50 each, 192 two-bedroom units to rent for $74.50 monthly, and 64 three-bedroom apartments to rent for $87.50. The Life of Georgia advanced $1,500,000 of the total $2,150,000 to develop the project which is scheduled for completion in or about December, 1965.

2. The Bankhead Highway Project - The City Planning Department, recently recommended approval of 450 rental units to be built on 32 acres of land in the Maddox Park area. Details relative to monthly rent and size of apartments were not available to the Atlanta Urban League.

g. - The Atlanta Urban League and Urban Renewal

On June 3, 1955, the Atlanta Urban League issued a report entitled, "A Suggested Proposal for the Redevelopment of the Atlanta University Area" to the President's Council of the University Center. The report suggested that the area, now known as the University Urban Renewal Project, be considered by the Presidents of Atlanta University, Clark, Morehouse,

Table 12

Roster of Some New Apartments For Nonwhite Occupancy
Atlanta, Georgia, July, 1963

		Units	Size	Rent
I.	Group A			
	a. Carter & Griffin Sts.	12	2 B. R.	$90.00 Mo. A/C
		3	3 B. R.	100.00 Mo. A/C
	b. 341 Newport St., NW	4	2 B. R.	90.00 Mo. A/C
	c. 361 Ashby Street,NW	4	2 B. R.	85.00 Mo. A/C
II.	Group B.			
	a. 1301-1305 Mayson Turner Rd.,NW	6	2 B. R.	75.00 Mo.
	b. 471 English Ave.,NW	4	2 B. R.	75.00 Mo.
	c. 3006 Delmar Lane, NW	4	1 B. R.	63.50 Mo.
		88	2 B. R.	72.50 Mo.
		3	3 B. R.	82.50 Mo.
	d. 1893 Gordon Road	20	2 B. R.	75.00 Mo.
	e. 940 Bolton Road	200	2 B. R.	75.00 Mo.
	f. 2150-2190 Verbena	52	2 B. R.	68.50 Mo.
III.	Group C.			
	a. 2000 Perry Blvd.*	136		
		18	1 B. R.	62.50 Mo.
		100	2 B. R.	72.50 Mo.
		18	3 B. R.	82.50 Mo.
	b. 2980 Delmar Lane*	76		
		6	1 B. R.	62.50 Mo.
		64	2 B. R.	72.50 Mo.
		6	3 B. R.	82.50 Mo.
	c. 3040-3060 Delmar Lane	96	2 B. R.	67.50 Mo.
	d. 3787 Gordon Road	60	2 B. R. (Swimming Pool)	75.00 Mo. A/C
	e. 1065-1069 Seaboard Ave.	78	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.

* Stove, Refrigerator - Exhaust Fan furnished

Table 12, (continued)

		Units	Size	Rent
IV.	Group D.			
	294 Eugenia Street, SW	5	2 B. R. 3 B. R.	$65.00 Mo. 75.00 Mo.
	85 Selman Street, SE	1	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
V.	Group E.			
	961 Desota Street, NW	32	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
	360 Felton Drive, NE	3	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
	2159 Verbena Street, NW	4	2 B. R.	72.50 Mo.
	420 Rawson Street, SW	N. A.	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
	N. A. (Not Available)			
VI.	Group F.			
	973 DeSota Street, NW	32	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
	1068 Ollie Street, NW	6	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
	745 Proctor Street, NW	6	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
	493 Cooper Street	8	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
	980 Frank Street	4	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
	471 English Avenue	4	2 B. R.	70.00 Mo.
	220 Sunset Avenue	4	2 B. R.	70.00 Mo.
VII.	Group G.			
	656 Jett Street, NW	4	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
	1311 Mayson Turner, NW	4	2 B. R.	65.00 Mo.
	Total ---	1180		

Morris Brown and Spelman Colleges and the Interdenominational Theological Seminary in order to accomplish the following objectives:

1. Obtain additional land for the expansion of the campuses;
2. Curb the spread of blight and slums surrounding the institutions;
3. Provide space for decent housing for faculty and staff members; and
4. Affect a street pattern which would at least connect the campuses of Atlanta University, Morehouse, Spelman and Clark Colleges.

Acceptance of the Atlanta Urban League's proposal by the Presidents, who in turn submitted the proposal to the Aldermanic Board of Atlanta for approval, resulted in the City of Atlanta, through the Atlanta Housing Authority, acquiring 26.24 acres of land adjacent to the various campuses for expansion. The Atlanta Housing Authority acquired the twenty-six acres, as shown in Table 13 at a cost of $1,900,170 and re-sold the land to the colleges for $1,049,600 on a negotiated and agreed basis.

In short, the Atlanta Urban League's suggestion saved the local colleges $850,570, the difference between the acquisition cost and the negotiated sale price. In other words, the Atlanta Housing Authority purchased the land for $72,415 per acre and re-sold the land to the colleges for $40,000 per acre on a negotiated basis. The League's proposal saved the colleges $32,415 on each acre of land purchased from the City of Atlanta.

The Thomasville and Rockdale Park Urban Renewal Projects were also recommended to the City of Atlanta for acceptance and implementation.

The Atlanta Urban League is directly responsible for three of the five original urban renewal projects currently programmed in Atlanta.

Table 13

Acquisition Cost Of Land And Sale Price To
Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown and Spelman Colleges
By The Atlanta Housing Authority

Institution	Acres	Acquisition Cost Per Acre	Total	Sale Price to Colleges	Saving to Colleges
Total-	26.24	$291,000.00	$1,900,170.00	$1,049,600.00	$850,570.00
1. Morehouse College	9.43	$ 73,000.00	$ 688,390.00	$ 377,200.00	$311,190.00
2. Morris Brown College	7.54	62,000.00	467,480.00	301,600.00	165,880.00
3. Spelman College	5.52	90,000.00	498,800.00	220,800.00	276,000.00
4. Clark College	3.75	66,000.00	247,500.00	150,000.00	97,500.00

In addition to the on-going urban renewal projects, Atlanta proposes to have four more such projects, Ga. Tech, David T. Howard, Buttermilk Bottom, and the West End developments. It is estimated that these developments will displace 651 Negro families.

1.	Ga. Tech project will displace about ---------	200 families
2.	David T. Howard project will displace about---	86 families
3.	Auditorium Site will displace about ----------	140 families
4.	West End project will displace about ---------	25 families
	Sub-total ----------	451 families
5.	Stadium project will displace about ----------	100 families
6.	Nash Area project will displace about -------- (New High School)	100 families
	Grand Total ----------	651 families

The Buttermilk Bottom project, in Census Tract F-18, will contain the proposed new auditorium, and it contains some of the worse housing in Atlanta. The area had 3,357 dwelling units in 1960, 1252 were classed as "sound", 2,105 classified as "deteriorating-dilapidated," and the area contained 10,071 people. The clearance and rehabilitation of the housing in this area alone will demand that considerably more housing be made available to Negroes in Atlanta.

PART III

OUR SENIOR CITIZENS

The total number of elderly citizens sixty-five years of age and over increased from 27,426 in 1940 to 66,429 or 142.2 percent. It can be observed in Tables 14 and 15 that the greatest increase in the number of citizens sixty-five years of age and over occurred in DeKalb County. The location of homes for the aged in DeKalb County accounts for some of the great increase.

The nonwhite aged population amounted to 5,941 in 1940 and 13,016 in 1960. The greatest increase in the number of the nonwhite aged took place in Fulton County where the majority of the nonwhite citizens live, as was noted in Table 14.

Table 16 indicated that in 1940 the number of nonwhite females sixty-five years of age and over accounted for 55.7 percent or 3,309 of the total 5,491 nonwhite senior citizens. In 1960, the females accounted for 58.5 percent or 7,610 of the total 13,016 nonwhite senior citizens.

Over fifty percent of the nonwhite persons sixty-five years of age and over have incomes of less than $1,000 per year. Table 17 shows the distribution of the nonwhite persons 65 years of age and over according to income. It can also be observed that the median income for the nonwhite aged is about $741.00 per year, $901.00 for nonwhite males and $632.00 for females.

There are only two licensed homes for the nonwhite aged in Atlanta and they are: Happy Haven Home, with 150 patients and the Camilla Street Home with 28 patients. Happy Haven Home was recently awarded $500,000 by H. E. W. to build accommodations for 150 additional patients.

The Lena Hall Homes cares for 41 patients and the nursing home at 732 Crew Street, has about 20 patients.

It is believed that the majority of the patients in the forementioned facilities receive nursing care.

The Director of the Happy Haven Home estimates that approximately 1500 homes for senior citizens are needed in Metropolitan Atlanta.

Table 14

Total And Number Of Nonwhite Citizens 65 Years Of Age And Over In Metropolitan Atlanta, 1940, 1950 and 1960

Area	1960				1950				1940			
	Total	Nonwhite			Total	Nonwhite			Total	Nonwhite		
		Total	Male	Female		Total	Male	Female		Total	Male	Female
Total	66,429	13,016	5,406	7,610	43,937	9,007	3,768	5,239	27,426	5,941	2,632	3,309
Clayton	1,864	261	135	126	1,124	203	99	104	618	150	78	72
Cobb	5,536	499	209	290	3,482	390	180	210	2,231	360	188	172
DeKalb	14,282	1,102	451	651	7,785	797	345	452	4,324	593	293	300
Fulton	41,643	10,948	4,516	6,432	29,322	7,414	3,040	4,374	18,531	4,668	1,979	2,689
Gwinnett	3,104	206	95	111	2,224	203	104	99	1,722	170	94	76

Table 15

Percent Increase In The Distribution Of The Total And Nonwhite Citizens 65 Years Of Age And Over In Metropolitan Atlanta, 1940, 1950 and 1960

	1950 - 1960				1940 - 1950				1940 - 1960			
		Nonwhite				Nonwhite				Nonwhite		
Area	Total	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total	Male	Female
Total	51.2	44.5	43.5	45.1	60.2	51.6	43.2	58.3	142.2	119.1	105.4	129.7
Clayton	65.8	28.6	36.4	21.2	81.9	35.3	26.9	44.4	201.2	74.0	73.1	75.0
Cobb	59.0	27.9	16.1	38.1	56.1	8.3	-4.3	22.1	148.1	38.6	11.2	68.6
DeKalb	83.5	38.3	30.7	44.0	80.0	34.4	17.7	50.7	230.3	85.8	53.9	117.0
Fulton	42.0	47.7	48.6	47.1	58.2	58.8	53.6	62.7	124.7	134.5	128.2	139.2
Gwinnett	39.6	1.5	1.1	12.1	29.2	19.4	10.6	30.3	80.3	21.2	1.1	46.1

Table 16

Percent Distribution Of The Total And Nonwhite Citizens Sixty-Five Years Of Age And Over
In Metropolitan Atlanta, 1940, 1950 and 1960

Total and Area	1960				1950				1940			
		Nonwhite				Nonwhite				Nonwhite		
	Total	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total	Male	Female
Total	100.0	19.6	41.5	58.5	100.0	20.5	41.8	58.2	100.0	21.6	44.3	55.7
Clayton	100.0	14.0	51.7	48.3	100.0	18.1	48.8	51.2	100.0	24.3	52.0	48.0
Cobb	100.0	9.0	41.9	58.1	100.0	11.2	46.2	53.8	100.0	16.1	52.2	47.8
DeKalb	100.0	7.7	40.9	59.1	100.0	10.2	43.3	56.7	100.0	13.7	49.4	50.6
Fulton	100.0	26.3	41.2	58.8	100.0	25.3	41.0	59.0	100.0	25.2	42.4	57.6
Gwinnett	100.0	6.5	46.1	53.9	100.0	9.1	51.2	48.8	100.0	9.9	55.3	44.7

Table 17

Total Nonwhite And Number 65 Years Old And Over With Income, Metropolitan Atlanta, 1960

Total And Sex	Total (With And With-Out Income	Total	$1 to 999 or less	1,000 to 1,999	2,000 to 2,999	3,000 to 3,999	4,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 5,999	6,000 to 6,999	7,000 to 7,999	10,000 and Over	Median Income (Dol.
Total	13,362	11,671	8,174	2,221	711	273	106	99	23	36	28	741
Male	5,510	5,124	2,872	1,261	554	231	86	70	5	20	25	901
Female	7,852	6,547	5,302	960	157	42	20	29	18	16	3	632

PART IV

THREE SCORE AND TEN - 1970

By 1970, it is conservatively estimated that 7,250 new and used dwelling units will become available to nonwhite in the City of Atlanta. Of the estimated total 6,400 or 88.0 percent will be New and 850 or 12 percent will be Used housing; of the 1,868 owner occupied units, 1,018 will be New and 850 Used; and there will be 5,382 New rental units constructed primarily for nonwhite residents. See Table 18.

The New and Used housing that will become available to nonwhites will be in the City Limits of Atlanta. White home owners are selling their properties to nonwhites in the Grove Park and area north of Bankhead. Moreover, 4,192 rental units are planned for nonwhites in Urban Renewal Areas. These facts suggest that the percentage of nonwhites residing in the city will rise to about 45 percent by 1970; hence, the "white - noose" to paraphrase Mayor Dillworth of Philadelphia grows tighter around the neck of Atlanta.(1)

The 1,868 owner-occupied units will constitute 25.8 percent of the estimated 7,250 dwelling units. Over eight out of ten (86.6 percent or 1,618) will be on the westside of Atlanta in the Peyton Road, Grove Park, North Bankhead, Rockdale and Adamsville Areas. Please see Table 18.

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(1) It is believed that the 3,923 acres of farm land owned by nonwhites in Metropolitan Atlanta can afford suburban living for nonwhites in the years to come. Appendix Tables 2 and 3 show the amount of land farmed by nonwhites who may hold the "key" to breaking the ever growing "White noose" around Atlanta's neck. Peter Marris, a sociologist at the Institute of Community Studies in London, wrote in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners for August, 1962 that "if the suburbs continue to balk the entry of Negro households, there could grow up a farm of political and residential apartheid" in Atlanta.

Table 18

Estimated Number Of New and Used Dwelling Units Available To Negroes
In The City Of Atlanta, Within Five Years

Area	Total	Total		Owner		Renter	
	Total	New	Used	New	Used	New	Used
Total	7,250	6,400	850	1,018	850	5,382	0
Peyton Rd.,SW	650	500	150	200	150	300	0
Grove Park,NW	300	-0-	300	-0-	300	-0-	0
North Bankhead, NW	950	650	300	-0-	300	650	0
East Atlanta, NE	340	240	100	-0-	100	240	0
Adamsville, SW	700	700	-0-	500	-0-	200	0
Rockdale U. R., NW	1,666	1,666	-0-	168	-0-	1,498	0
Thmasville U. R.	1,050	1,050	-0-	150	-0-	900	0
University U. R., SW	834	834	-0-	-0-	-0-	834	0
Butler St. U. R., NE	760	760	-0-	-0-	-0-	760	0

On the other hand, the majority of the rental units, with the exception of the 650 units of public housing on Field Road and the 240 units in Southeast Atlanta, are being constructed in urban renewal project areas. The rental units will account for 74.2 percent of the total 7,250 units.

The estimated growth compares most favorably with the indicated need projected by the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The December 1962 report entitled, "Potential Housing Demands of Nonwhite Population in Selected Metropolitan Areas" indicated that 458 nonwhtie families, with incomes of $7,000-$10,000, could purchase homes valued at $15,000 or more. It is estimated that 700 such homes will be constructed in the Peyton Road and Adamsville Areas.

The forementioned report stated that:

1. There were 3,119 nonwhite families with incomes between $7,000-$10,000 in Atlanta;
2. That 42 percent of the nonwhite families were renters and 58 percent owners;
3. That 353 nonwhite families or 11 percent had homes valued at $15,000 or more; and
4. That 458 additional families (nonwhite) needed homes valued at $15,000 or more to reach the white percentage.

In the main, it is possible for Atlanta to meet and exceed the estimate of the Housing and Home Finance Agency by 242 units by 1970.

Atlanta has made great progress with its five urban renewal projects. Three of the five were suggested by the Atlanta Urban League, and they were the Rockdale, Thomasville and University Projects. Because of the interest of the Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta has not experienced too much delay in disposing of its proposed residential sites. The Urban League has already assisted the Atlanta Housing Authority in directly disposing of 22 acres for 520 apartments and 4.7 acres for commercial purposes in the Butler Street Urban Renewal area. Moreover, this social agency has preliminary plans drawn for 30 acres or 580 units in the University Urban Renewal area, and groups waiting to purchase and develop the land.

The Urban League's initiative in planning and developing better housing, has enabled the Atlanta Housing Authority and developers to develop land valued at $800,100. To date, the League, upon completion of Church Homes or Wheat Street Gardens and the commercial project, will have generated about 10 million dollars worth of new construction in urban renewal areas on an annual budget

of less than $40,000.00.

In addition to the League's interest in generating new construction, this agency has begun working in the Nash Area. The League works with the local neighborhood groups in developing a comprehensive plan for rehabilitating the area. The new approach of the League is to get the people themselves involved in planning and implementing their own ideas relative to rehabilitating property and people. Please see Exhibit A.

The Atlanta Urban League will continue to play its vital role in developing future urban renewal projects. The agency is presently insisting that the Buttermilk Bottom area be included among the second group of urban renewal projects. The redevelopment of this area will greatly tax Atlanta's leadership to provide more low cost housing for the nonwhite population who constitute ninety percent of the population in the Buttermilk Bottom Area. A portion of the Buttermilk Bottom area will be used for the new auditorium.

The growing concern of the Federal and State governments relative to providing medical care, and the rise in the incomes of nonwhites indicate that private enterprise should become interested in housing for the aged. The construction of such facilities on inexpensive land, outside of the City Limits of Atlanta, would tend to assure the economic success of the venture. The church leadership is being apprised of this situation by the Atlanta Urban League.

PART V

RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the foregoing appraisal of the housing situation of nonwhites and the growth and development of Atlanta, it is suggested and hoped that:

1. The Atlanta Urban League be allocated additional funds by the Community Chest to employ two additional staff members to work in rehabilitating the property and people who live in the area bound by Northside Drive, Ashby Street, Simpson and Hunter Streets (The Nash Area), and in other areas.

   a. An additional $10,000 allocation from the Community Chest would enable the Atlanta Urban League to play an even greater role in re-planning neighborhoods and providing more decent housing and neighborhoods for Atlantans.

2. The proposed Industrial site along McDaniel Street in the Rawson-Washington Street Urban Renewal area, particularly since the land has not been sold, be rezoned and developed for residential purposes by private enterprise in order to take care of relocatees.

3. The owners of privately owned multi-family units for nonwhites might seriously consider employing four or more "Management-Aides" who would be responsible for working with tenants in cutting down on maintenance costs and helping families who may have problems relative to education, employment, etc.

   Briefly, the "Management-Aides Plan" involves:

   a. The leading banks and mortgage investment companies convene the owners of large rental projects for an exploration of the proposal;

   b. That the owners agree to pay into the "Management-Aide Plan" one dollar per month per family for staff and office operation;

   c. The "Management-Aides" check each apartment at least twice per month, and talking with the tenants relative to maintenance and other problems confronting the tenants;

   d. The "Management-Aides" report all findings to the real estate broker for appropriate action.

4. Atlanta's nonwhite aged population has been considered because of the dearth of housing for this group of citizens. Both Happy Haven and Camilla Street Homes, with a total of 178 patients, are for the most part convalescing homes. The Fulton County Alms house is nothing more than a convalescing home that caters mostly to charity patients. Therefore, it appears that housing for the elderly is needed to accommodate a large number of the 13,016 nonwhite residents in Metropolitan Atlanta.

The Atlanta Housing Authority will build and complete 240 units for the elderly by the end of 1965, and these units will be adjacent to the Henry Grady Homes. These units, in addition to the units presently occupied by nonwhite families in existing public housing projects, may partially meet the housing situation of the aged.

5. Most cities are generating new slums faster than they can salvage and rebuild their old slums. This is bound to happen as long as our urban tax system subsidizes slums by under-taxation and discourages improvements by over-taxation. Over use of land is easy to stop by zoning, but in a free enterprise economy like ours the only way to stop under use is to put the profit motive to work and make it more profitable to improve a property than to let it decay.

   The power to tax need not be only the power to destroy. It can be a power to build, to create, to improve. If the real estate structure were changed, blight and deterioration could be penalized and property improvement rewarded. Our tax structure encourages the very thing citizens are trying to prevent - the deterioration of neighborhoods and the spread of blight.

   The Atlanta Journal's editorial of February 21, 1961, entitled, "Nailing Down Renewal" stated that:

   > "The current method of assessing taxes on slum property is all but an encouragement to slum owners to keep their property in as poor condition as possible. The worse the property, the lower the taxes, and therefore, the higher the profit."
   >
   > The forementioned editorial further stated that:
   >
   > "This system of rewarding deterioration could be replaced with a system of basing the tax assessment on the actual income of the property - its real value."

6. A Tax Abatement/to the State Constitution that would permit and encourage property owners and developers to improve residential property is needed. Tax Abatement is simply a law whereby property owners who improve their property are not immediately taxed on the improvements made to the property, but are given up to ten or more years before the increased tax assessment becomes effective.

   Tax Abatement, in conjunction with revising the current method of assessing taxes on slum property, would, as is the case in New York State, go far in eliminating slums in Atlanta.

7. The majority of the public housing units are located on the Westside of Atlanta. It is recommended that:

   a. No more public housing units should be built on the Westside of Atlanta.

   / amendment

b. Every possible effort be made to build some of the additional public housing units in the Northeast area of Atlanta;

c. The Atlanta Housing Authority's decision to build a high-rise building of 250 units for the aged adjacent to Grady Homes is a progressive step. Therefore, it is suggested that one or more high-rise apartments be built in the Buttermilk Bottom Urban Renewal Project area for low-income families;

d. Scattered sites and existing housing units which could be rehabilitated in accordance with Federal regulations should be considered as a part of the 1,000 unit request;

e. The Poole Creek area should also be considered for some public housing; and

f. The Thomasville Urban Renewal area be considered for some of the proposed public housing units, not entirely instead of but in addition to the McDaniel Street area which is in the Rawson-Washington Street Urban Renewal Project.

8. By all criteria, land - living space - is the hard core issue facing the nonwhite citizens in developing housing both inside and outside of urban renewal areas. It is now known that restrictions on living space and accommodations of nonwhites involves all Atlantans immediately and unequivocally in issues of civil rights which could doom the metropolitan area to increasing trouble.

First, voluntary acceptance and implementation of positive housing programs for eliminating restrictions should enable Atlanta to move forward. Secondly, the development of realistic disposal prices of land by our local public agency to cooperatives, non-profit institutions and limited dividend corporations at the same price land would sell for in other sections of the city would go a long way in enhancing the Urban Renewal Program.

APPENDIX

Table 1

Estimated Number Of White And Nonwhite Persons On The Westside Of Atlanta, April 1, 1962[1]

Census Tract	Total	White	Nonwhite	Nonwhite Percent	Median Income of Nonwhite Families-1960
Total	140,176	51,293	88,883[2]	63.4	
F - 7	2,758	1,566	1,192	43.2	N. A.[3]
F - 8	5,315	1,594	3,721	70.0	3,378
F - 22	5,260	0	5,260	100.0	2,690
F - 24	5,901	0	5,901	100.0	4,218
F - 25	7,699	0	7,699	100.0	2,871
F - 26	5,603	0	5,603	100.0	2,637
F - 36	2,819	0	2,819	100.0	2,481
F - 37	2,001	0	2,001	100.0	1,882
F - 38	5,800	10	5,790	99.8	3,170
F - 39	4,088	584	3,504	85.7	3,583
F - 40	4,324	823	3,501	81.0	4,842
F - 41	3,869	3,824	45	1.2	N. A.
F - 42	3,749	3,614	135	3.6	N. A.
F - 43	3,966	114	3,852	97.1	2,313
F - 59	1,408	1,291	117	8.3	N. A.
F - 60	4,177	4,173	4	0.1	N. A.
F - 61	5,222	4,528	694	13.3	N. A.
F - 66 1/3	1,733	1,624	109	6.3	N. A.
F - 78 2/3	5,458	2,414	3,044	55.8	N. A.
F - 79	3,971	3,952	19	0.5	N. A.
F - 80 2/3	4,368	4,240	128	2.9	N. A.
F - 81	5,263	2,245	3,018	57.3	3,954
F - 82	6,751	294	6,457	95.6	5,541
F - 83	9,797	1,063	8,734	89.1	4,218
F - 84	5,435	546	4,889	90.0	4,262
F - 85	5,825	5,820	5	0.1	N. A.
F - 86	7,103	6,568	535	7.5	N. A.
F - 87	10,513	406	10,107	96.1	2,704

(1) The "Westside" of Atlanta is bound by Southern Railway-Perry Boulevard, on the north, Northside Drive on the east, Cascade on the south, and the Chattahoochee River on the west.

(2) Of the total 185,816 Nonwhites in Atlanta, the 88,883 nonwhites represents 47.8 percent of all nonwhites in the City of Atlanta.

(3) N. A. - Not Available.

APPENDIX

Table 2

Number Of Acres In Farms In Metropolitan Atlanta, 1940 and 1960

Metropolitan Atlanta	Land In Farms (Acres)					
	Total		Nonwhite		Percent Nonwhite Of Total	
	1960	1940	1960	1940	1960	1940
Total	358,394	736,475	11,069	64,705	3.1	8.8
Clayton	25,418	64,436	1,742	11,342	6.8	17.6
Cobb	66,499	168,913	1,391	13,339	2.1	7.9
DeKalb	34,439	91,754	498	11,798	1.4	12.8
Fulton	113,343	189,844	4,380	16,445	3.9	8.7
Gwinnett	118,695	221,528	3,058	11,781	2.6	5.3

Table 3

Number Of Acres Of Land Farmed By Nonwhites In Metropolitan Atlanta, 1960

Metropolitan Atlanta	Tenancy				
	Total	Full Owners	Part Owners	Managers	Tenants
Total	11,069	3,923	3,116	260	3,770
Clayton	1,742	276	109	0	1,357
Cobb	1,391	1,182	144	0	65
DeKalb	498	304	0	0	194
Fulton	4,380	525	2,619	0	1,236
Gwinnett	3,058	1,636	244	260	918

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 96 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

Established June 16, 1868
Issued daily except New Year's, July 4, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas. Second-class postage paid at Atlanta, Georgia.
The Atlanta Constitution (morning), and The Atlanta Journal (evening), and The Atlanta Constitution and The Atlanta Journal (Sunday), published by Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., 10 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Georgia.

Home-delivered subscription rates: Morning and Sunday, or evening and Sunday, 1 week, 50c. Morning or evening daily only, 1 week, 30c. Morning, evening and Sunday (13 issues), 1 week, 80c. Subscription prices by mail on request. Single copies: Daily, 5c; Sunday, 20c, plus 3% sales tax on sales and deliveries made within the state of Georgia.

'We'd Rather Do It Ourselves, Thanks'

It is often said that local government is the most effective government, but rarely is it explained why.

One reason, of course, is that locally designed programs can more nearly fit local needs and conditions. Even more important, direct participation in planning and execution gives a program more meaning to those who take part. Education cannot be "given" to people; it must be seized and developed by the individual. Likewise with community improvement.

That is why it will be exciting to watch a grassroots improvement program now starting in Atlanta. The NASH (Northside-Ashby-Simpson-Hunter) Community, with the assistance of the Atlanta Urban League, has launched a broad-gauge self-help program involving improvement of housing, streets and sidewalks; tutoring services and other attacks on school drop-outs; night classes for adults; and counseling in health, employment and personal problems.

This program deserves the cooperation of all involved, and the admiration of the whole city. This is self-government at its best.

The Atlanta Journal
★ AND ★
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Jack Spalding, Editor
The Atlanta Journal

Jack Tarver, President
Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.

Eugene Patterson, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution

A Community Plans

NEIGHBORHOOD associations have become common in Atlanta, but the latest is unusual. It has been undertaken by Negro residents with plans more ambitious than any ever put forward by an Atlanta community.

The community is the one bounded by Northside Drive, Ashby Street, Simpson Street and Hunter Street. Using the first letters of each of these street names, it has organized the name of NASH Redevelopment Corporation.

NASH, encouraged and aided by the Atlanta Urban League, will work on the physical nature of the community. Its goals include elimination of bad housing, cleaner streets, better preservation of good housing and better application of zoning laws.

But the corporation also wants to go to the roots of some of the area's difficulties. It will stress education. There are plans for tutoring services for elementary and high school students, night classes for adults and attention to school dropouts.

Improved health services and better dispersal of employment also will be sought.

This neighborhood will work with a number of public agencies; and the solid experience of the Atlanta Urban League, under Executive Director Robert Thompson, will be at its disposal.

Other parts of the Negro community are interested in this undertaking, and if it succeeds it may be a model for several more.

This will not be just another of those achievements by the wealthier, more comfortable members of the Atlanta Negro community. This is grass-roots.

All of Atlanta should be glad that a community's concern and pride have resulted in such a worthwhile endeavor.

June 29, 1964

Mr. Clarence Coleman
Director, Southern Field Office
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Clarence:

Here 'tis. Good luck.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures
(Reproductions - News Clips)

Rec'd 1-12-66
File

January 10, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

A meeting was held on November 9th with representatives from various statenand local organizations and agencies. The puppose of this meeting was to discuss and consider plans for a cooperative effort to provide adequate health and welfare services for children in Georgia.

The representatives' responses to the proposed program were most enthusiastic, and agreement was shared for the necessity of this program, its purposes and its aims. The enclosed statement answers those questions raised at the meeting and outlines further details of the program.

In the statement you will notice that the program has evolved since it was originally conceived. Participation in all phases of the program--for the Advisory Committee, Sponsorship, and the Assembly--now focuses on citizens groups and local community involvement.

I have also enclosed a form which requests that you authorize a representative of SRC to be a member of the Advisory Committee, as described in the statement. A note will be sent later this week with information on the date and time of the Advisory Committee Meeting.

If you have any suggestions or questions, please do not hesitate calling me. I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Most sincerely,

Revelle

Revelle Pergament
Field Representative
Health and Welfare

RP:jd

P.S. This is simply for your information — i.e., what I've been up-to lately!

HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES FOR GEORGIA'S CHILDREN

The exploratory meeting on November 9th was attended by the following representatives and concerned individuals:

Georgia Conference on Social Welfare
(Mrs. Nita Stephens)

Georgia Council of Churches
(Rev. Edward M. Brown)

Georgia Association for Retarded Children
(Mr. John M. Stephens and Mrs. Annie Cloud Maxey, Maude Daniels Chapter)

Door of Hope
(Mr. Jesse O. Thomas)

National Association of Social Workers, North Georgia Chapter
(Mr. W. Bruce Herrin)

National Council of Jewish Women
(Mrs. Niels Jacobson)

Georgia Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
(Mrs. M. L. Dollar, Atlanta Chapter)

Mrs. Mae Frances Moody, Teacher

Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce
(Dr. C. Michael York)

Fulton County League of Women Voters
(Mrs. John Bredfeld)

Archdiocese Council of Catholic Women
(Mrs. Mary Fenton Doyle)

Mrs. Calvin W. Fenton,
WICS Volunteer

Community Council of Greater Atlanta, Inc.
(Mr. Jim Gaudin)

Children's Center of Metropolitan Atlanta
(Mr. Byron Ballard)

Mrs. Eva Driscoll, Convenor and Representative for the United Church Women of Georgia and the Y.W.C.A.

Miss Jeweldean Jones, Associate Director, Health and Welfare
National Urban League

Mr. Heman Sweatt, Assoc. Dir.
Southern Region, Nat'l Urban League

Miss Revelle Pergament, Field Rep.
Health and Welfare
Southern Regional Office

National Urban League

78 Marietta Street, N.W. SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE Atlanta, Georgia 30303

A PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE ON HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES FOR GEORGIA'S CHILDREN

Background Information

Responding to the War on Poverty's Economic Opportunity Act, the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League sponsored a series of Southern Workshops on Poverty during the Spring of 1965. Community leaders were provided with pertinent information and were encouraged to develop resources for expanding services to low-income families by participating in the anti-poverty programs. These Workshops were followed by consultative and advisorial servicing to individual communities and to Urban League Affiliates in the thirteen Southern States.

During the course of this activity, community leaders expressed extreme concern not only towards the job-training and skill development aspect of the economic opportunity programs, but also for the related area of health and welfare services to children--the economic potential of tomorrow.

We became aware of the severe hunger that community leaders have for information and technical and consultative help from social welfare and health agencies. However, besides the over-all need for referral services and information centers, specific problems were brought to the forefront of our attention in the areas of mental retardation, unwed parenthood, and day care services.

Realizing the serious extent of these problems, this office determined to initiate action to improve and provide adequate health and welfare services to children. First, it was decided to initiate such action in a pilot project in the State of Georgia and to manifest action and concern from our Atlanta-based office. Not only is Atlanta the regional headquarters for most of the national organizations and agencies concerned with child health and welfare; but also, Georgia, specifically, has been experiencing a growing awareness of the need to improve such services. This awareness has been reflected in the reorganization of the State Departments of Public Health and Family and Children's Services, and has been seen in the passage of legislation applying to higher standards of operation for agencies serving children.

Secondly, a number of exploratory meetings were sponsored to consider methods which would initiate action towards improving services to children. These meetings, on an individual and/or group basis, were with directors and representatives of national, state, and local organizations, whose programming are relevant to children's services--Division of the Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Divisions of Georgia State Departments of Public Health, Education, and Family and Children's Services; Office of Economic Opportunity

officials; the Child Welfare League of America; National and Georgia Chapt of the Association for Retarded Children; the National Council on Illegitimacy; Florence Crittenton Association; the National Association of Day Car Services; the Metropolitan Atlanta Citizens Committee on Day Care; State a local voters' leagues; the National and Georgia Council of Churches; the National Council of Christians and Jews; the Salvation Army; the American Friends Service Committee and other human relations agencies; and the Comm ity Council of Greater Atlanta, Inc.

The cumulative consensus of these meetings, which began last August at the National Urban League Annual Conference in Miami Beach, clarified and delineated the following aspects of program action and were presented to a group of potential advisors and co-sponsors in a meeting on November 9th:

A. Goals
B. Participation
C. Methods
D. Advisory Committee
   1. Action Assembly
      a. Purposes
      b. Sponsorship
      c. Budget
      d. Date and time
      e. Program
   2. Citizens Committee
E. Role of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League.

Goals

The goal of the Child Health and Welfare Program shall be to set in motion those forces which will work towards developing and providing adequate--quantitatively and qualitatively--specialized services for all children, and particularly those from low-income families, in the State of Georgia, with emphasis on the following interrelated areas:

1. State-wide maternal care and well- and sich-child clinics.

2. State-wide mental retardation testing, evaluation, and follow-up services, and publicly supported day care for retarded children.

3. State-wide licensed day care centers for children from low-income families.

Participants

Because a lack of adequate referral and information services is one of the greatest problems confronted by the public and those offering services in the above-mentioned areas, the focal point of attention shall be on reaching leading citizens from communities throughout the State of Georgia.

Hence, for the most effective fulfillment of the goals and purposes of this program, participation shall include not only responsive governmental agen-

cies (at all levels) and private agencies having interests and responsibilities in these fields of services, but emphatic emphasis will be placed on the participation of leading responsible citizenry--leadership from citizen groups such as PTA's, teachers' organizations, fraternal orders, women's auxiliaries, professional organizations, civic clubs, church leaders (such as ministers, priests, and rabbis and leadership from their congregations), voter's leagues, etc., and other leading citizens with interest and concern in health and welfare services.

Methods

As an effective method for setting appropriate forces, or machinery into motion, a State-wide Action Assembly shall be held and a State-wide Citizen Committee shall be developed.

Advisory Committee

Following the goals and purposes of the Action Assembly--providing adequate health and welfare services to children by bringing pertinent information and guidelines for community action to leaders throughout Georgia--the Advisory Committee shall be composed of representatives and/or volunteer workers (non-salaried positions) of agencies, organizations, and associations with interest in the noted areas of concern. These "citizen-representatives" might include chairmen, presidents, board members, heads of organizational committees, etc.; in any case, the representative should hold a position of responsibility and decision-making within his organization.

The future position and purpose of the Advisory Committee would be dependent upon the accumulative decision of the Committee and the establishing of a State-wide Citizens Committee.

ACTION ASSEMBLY ON SERVICES FOR CHILDREN

Purposes:

1. Inform about current and proposed health and welfare programs.
2. Spotlight and define problem areas and establish public concern.
3. Consider the role of agencies of the federal government in interpreting its services and responsibilities under the law and in delineating standards.
4. Propose the forming of a State-wide Citizens Committee to implement resolutions passed by the Assembly.

Sponsorship

Sponsorship of the Assembly will be a cooperative effort provided by responsible governmental and private agencies and organizations having interest and responsibilities in services for children. However, based on the aims of the Assembly, sponsorship should especially represent state, regional, and local agencies and organizations with interest in Georgia and are designated as citizens groups.

Budget

Financing of the Assembly will be kept at a minimum. Anticipated major it of expenditure will include printing costs, postage, public relations, records and reports, telephone calls, supplies, staff for Assembly, and staf expenses related to the Assembly. Sponsoring agencies, organizations, and associations might be expected to participate with contributions, staff ti and/or other services as their resources permit.

Proposed Location

It is proposed that the Assembly be held in Atlanta because of its relativ central location in the State; it is the headquarters of most of the invol ved groups; and it is favorable in keeping staff and expenses at a minimum

Proposed Time and Date

An exact length of time and the specific date will be decided upon by the consensus of the Advisory Committee. It has already been suggested that t Assembly take place towards the end of January, and, in terms of the propo ed program, that it last for a day and a half.

Proposed Program

The program should allot time for a public forum, or "town hall" meeting, which would include keynote speakers and panel members, and which would pr vide information on programs, problem areas, and governmental policies and responsibilities. Keynote speakers and panel members would represent national and state figures who are well-known in the areas of concern.

The second part of the program would consist of workshops moderated by sta and local agencies and organizations with responsibilities in the areas of concern. In these workshops, resolutions would be passed and plans propos for local action.

STATE-WIDE CITIZENS COMMITTEE

This Committee will coordinate the services of the associations and agenci towards reaching throughout the communities in Georgia, and it will function to implement the resolutions passed at the Assembly by developing programs at the State and/or local levels. Such programs may include the following:

1. Planning of local, or regional state health and welfare workshops--perhaps throughout the State.

2. Providing information acquired at the Assembly to members of communiti such as (1) women's groups and civic clubs establishing information centers in low-income communities, or distributing such information; (2) church leaders acting as referral and information sources for thei congregations and communities.

3. Requesting and encouraging public support for needed health and welfar programs in the State, county, and/or local community.

4. Investigating and monitoring health and welfare services.

5. Establishing needed day care centers for low-income families.

6. Encouraging legislative changes that may be necessary in obtaining adequate health and welfare services.

Role of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League.

The Southern Regional Office, as a professionally staffed social service agency, would be one of the sponsoring agencies. Having acquired an additional staff person to work specifically on developing this program in the State of Georgia and the finances to cover direct program promotion a the minimal expenses of the Assembly, the Southern Regional Office is already in a position to coordinate the Action Assembly.

Submitted by: Heman M. Sweatt,
Associate Director
Southern Region
National Urban League

Miss Revelle Pergament,
Field Representative
Health and Welfare

PW
Did you ever get a response to this?
JL

Yes

July 8, 1968

Mr. Whitney Young
Executive Director
The National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Young:

We would like to have a copy of your speech presented to CORE this past weekend. If possible, we would also like to have a copy forwarded to Mr. Jack Nelson, c/o the Los Angeles Times, 10 Forsyth Street, Atlanta 30303.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

HEALTH AND WELFARE QUESTIONNAIRE

General Information

1. Who do you go to for help on a health or welfare problem? _____

2. Is there a public health center in your community? Yes___ No___

   Don't know___

   How far do you have to travel to nearest center? _____

3. Who waited on you at the center? Negro ___ White ___

   Does the nurse ever come to your home? Yes___ No___

   Does she come inside? Yes___ No___

4. What days can you go to the center? _____

   Can you sit anywhere in the waiting room? Yes___ No___

5. Does the center have care for (a) pregnant women Yes___ No___

   (b) children (shots and eye and ear tests) Yes___ No___

6. If a young child (ages 3 to 6) does not seem to be growing (physically or mentally) like other children of the same age, where does someone in your community go for help?

   _____

7. Is there a day care center (a place for working parents to leave young children who are not in school) in your community or town where you or your neighbor can leave children? Yes___ No___

   Does it charge? Yes___ No___
   Is the price different if a parent makes more or less than other parents? Yes___ No___

   Do you know if the center has a license or permit? Yes___ No___ ?___

Welfare

1. Has your family or anyone you know ever applied for welfare? Yes___ No___

   (If you answered NO, do <u>not</u> answer the other questions in this section.)

2. Did anyone go with you, or person you know, to help fill out the form and to answer questions? Yes___ No___

3. How did they treat you? Good___ Bad___

4. Could you sit anywhere to wait? Yes___ No___

5. Did you receive welfare? Yes___ No___ Was it enough? Yes___ No___

   If you were refused welfare, what did you do? _____
   (If you need more room to write, use the back of this paper.)

If you were refused help, did you write to the State Department of Family and Children's Services to "appeal the case"? Yes___ No___

6. Do you know anyone who needed immediate welfare help? Yes___ No___
Did he or she get help? Yes___ No___
Do you know if it was from your county's "general assistance" money? Yes___ No___

7. Is there a Child Welfare Program in your county? Yes ___ No ___
(A Child Welfare Program has services for adoptions, foster care, and social worker(s) for children.)

In your community, where do children go when something happens to their parents?

_____

_____

8. Has your community ever needed special help, such as surplus food? Yes___ No____

Did anyone ask for this help? Yes___ No___
Who did they ask? _____

9. Do you know who is on your county welfare board? Yes___ No___

Do you know who is on your district health board? Yes___ No___

If you wish to file a complaint or to appeal a welfare case, write your name and address. You do not have to sign your name unless you want to.

Name _____

Address_____

_____

Prepared by: Southern Regional Office
National Urban League
78 Marietta St., NW
Room 417
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
RHODES BUILDING - SUITE 417
78 MARIETTA ST., N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Southern Regional Office
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FACT SHEET FOR CHILD SERVICE PROGRAMMING

I. General Information

As we are aware at this time, specialized services to children are insufficient and inadequate throughout the State of Georgia. Infant mortality is a reflection of the general health of a community and a measure of its education and social progress. Georgia is one of the five most backward states.

The infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births in 1960 in the U.S. was 26.0, in Georgia it was 33.0.

Georgia's death rate for non-white babies is double that for whites; 45.4 out of every 1,000 live births, as against 23.6 for whites.

In the early days of a baby's life, where natural health factors are most important, the death rate differences between white and non-white babies, although considerable, are relatively moderate. As babies grow older, the racial differences in death rates increase steadily and start from a 50% difference nationally and 25% racial difference in Georgia, and rise to a near tripling nationally and an almost quadrupling in Georgia.

Although many counties are lacking services because of their inability to finance special programs, the State Departments of Public Health, Education, and Family and Children's Services see several causes for this lack of coverage:

1. A lack of trained and professional manpower for special services, such as social workers.

2. Limiting legislation for providing adequate welfare coverage: Aid to Families with Dependent Children, maximum grant is $134; ~~and Aid to Dependent Children.~~

3. Legislation limiting State intervention in district and county programs, and distinguishing functions and responsibilities at each level.

4. Lack of referral and information services.

II. Child Welfare

15,000 children received child welfare benefits last year. But, there is an inadequate number of counties having Child Welfare Programs (57). At the end of 1964, there were 36 Child Welfare Unit Counties, counties with one or more full-time Child Welfare Workers. Budgetary provisions have been made for 12 Multi- County Units, 2 or more counties combining child welfare services and having worker's travel and salary paid by State.

The number of physicians per family decreases as population or salary scale decreases. 48% of Georgia children under 17 live in rural settings. 36% of Georgia families earn less than $3,000; 23% earn less than $2,000; 10%, less than $1,000. Georgia has one physician per 1400 people; U.S. rate is one per 700.

3. 48,000 children in families in Georgia derive total income from welfare.

4. Total number of recipients receiving welfare -- 187,602
% of Negroes receiving welfare -- 49.6%
& of Whites receiving welfare -- 50.4%

However, 40% of Georgia's 4,000,000 is non-white, with 67% falling within the poverty range.

5. The average number of children in poverty families is 2.9; 22% of these families have a female head.

III. Mental Retardation figures for 1965:

--9,300 preschool age retardates in Georgia
--3,450 children and adults with pre-school mental age and are trainable
-12,750 retardates ineliegible for assistance from public school special services.
--1800 retarded children are at Gracewood; 1700 await admission.

There are no publicly sponsored day care facilities for retarded children. Most of them receive some assistance from the State and/or United Fund. Altogether, there are 23 day care centers for retarded children of pre-school age.

IV. Maternal and Child Care

Local Health Centers in Georgia service only 16% of all mothers in the State; 22% of the child care.

There are only two maternity homes in Georgia. Last year they serviced approximately 197 applicants; 5 of these were Negro.

V. Day Care Services for Children of Working Mothers.

There will be almost 100,000 children born in Georgia this year. However, there are only 497 day care centers which have applied for a license; 25 of these have regular licenses. There are approximately 8 centers in Georgia that are specifically for children from low-income families, and that have applied for licenses. These centers are receiving EOA and/or United Appeal funds, but, in several instances, facilities are segregated. There are approximately 25 to 30 day care centers for Negroes.

LWDC
PA

January 15, 1965

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the
Improvement of Education, Inc.
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

This will acknowledge receipt of the proposal submitted by the NCIE, requesting a grant to enable NCIE to operate until funds are forthcoming from Washington.

You may expect to hear from us within a fortnight. The picture, however, is not very promising at this particular time, so we would not want you to be overly optimistic or dependent upon funds from the Southern Regional Council. We think that we have put just as much as we possibly can in the NCIE program.

Yet, we are thoroughly convinced of its value to the Norfolk Community. It has been one of the best projects to receive our support in the last year, and we would like very much to continue, and, it is on the point of continuance of funds to NCIE that you will hear from us.

We are pleased that you are seeking funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity. If we can be of any assistance with OEO, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

LWP
PA

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

December 19, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Attached please find an abbreviated copy of the report "Project Tutoring Centers" from the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education.

The new Tutoring Center program will be iniated January 8th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, 1965 in four junior high schools and one elementary school. One center at Madison Junior High School has been opened.

Moving on faith, we have engaged an administrator who will coordinate the entire program including recruitment and training of volunteer instructors, affiliation with teachers and principals where centers have been established, develop cultural programs in concert with volunteers and perform such other tasks as are necessary to insure the success of the program.

We have already applied for a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity but doubt that it will be acted upon before spring or possibly summer.

Nothing has really been done here to organize a Community Action Council or Committee. NCIE held a public meeting and forum on Saturday, December 4, at Norfolk Division of Virginia State College on the anti-poverty program. Three officers from OEO, Washington D. C. were the principal speakers. In addition to a capacity audience, five City Councilmen attended and announced that this was the first time they had heard the facts although Norfolk, with three other cities, joined in hiring a research firm to ascertain the prospects for a program possible in the Tidewater area. The report has not been publicized but I understand it will be available soon.

A second meeting was held with several other organizations on December 17. A resolution was passed to have a committee consult with the Mayor about the formation of a Community Action Committee. As you might know, there is some question about the concern for such a committee among persons in the "power structure."

NICE sent a project to OEO in May but as you know, all projects must come through the Community Action Council. Now we are trying to secure such a council.

In the meantime our work goes on—the tutoring, cultural information and public relations program.

We hope that the Southern Regional Council can give us a grant to enable the work to continue until funds come from Washington, although there are hurdles to overcome before that will occur.

Some sources in Norfolk are not so willing to assist this year because NCIE along with 40 other civic and welfare organizations are engaged in a serious contest with the Board of Education to prevent the expenditure of two million, two hundred thousand dollars ($2,200,000.00) to remodel a completely inadequate high school in a deteriorating section while a new high school near the edge of town is being built for more than that amount.

Our leading Negro and some white citizens are in this contest for an adequate high school. While the tension remains, it is not possible to reasonably solicit funds. Later in the spring or summer, the climate will be more favorable.

Attached also is the budget for 1964-1965. Your solicitous regard for our program has been a bulwark. Many, many thanks for all your support and help.

A happy Christmas and good New Year.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) W. T. Mason, Chairman

VCM:gb

Enclosures

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

PROJECT TUTORING CENTER

BUDGET 1964-1965

Expenses	Monthly	Yearly
Administrative Salaries		
1. Administrator	$300.00	$3600.00
2. Secretary	200.00	2400.00
3. Supplement to school custodian	125.00	1125.00 (9 months)
4. Public Relation	100.00	1200.00
Programs		
1. Transportation	40.00	400.00
2. Office Supplies	25.00	250.00
3. Printing Materials	30.00	300.00
4. Postage	15.00	150.00
5. Telephone	10.00	100.00
6. Rental of space for office	75.00	900.00
7. Expenses of Volunteers	40.00	480.00
8. Equipment	369.00	369.00
Maintenance		
1. Electricity	10.00	100.00
2. Janitorial Service	10.00	120.00
Totals	$1,349.00	$11,494.00

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

PROJECT - TUTORING CENTERS

Norfolk, Virginia

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mrs. W. T. Mason	Chairman
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NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

PROJECT - TUTORING CENTERS

Brief History

Published reports in 1959 by the Virginia State Board of Education compared intelligence, achievement and aptitude of white and Negro students by state-wide tests in rural and urban areas. The report indicated that Negro students fell below national norms and norms recorded for white students in all but a few categories. No explanations were offered despite the fact that the levels of achievement seemed incongruous and as such demanded exploratory analysis. Objections were made pointing up the patent ommissions which would explain to some extent reasons for discrepancies.

These objections were voiced in an article, "Some Interpretations and Implications of the Virginia Testing Program" by Dr. William F. Brazziel, Jr.:*

> "A cause of some concern in many quarters recently has been the summary of the results of the standarized testing program of the Virginia public schools which were released in late September. Of particular concern to Negro teachers, parents and communities is the relatively low positions achieved by the Negro children in practically all batteries in the program. And so the concerns involve the questions of what the test truly revealed, what they did not reveal and what underlying factors they reflected. It is also quite properly a matter of concern that the test performances of the children have rather grave implications for their continuing development as a member of the greater American society and it is perhaps further a matter of some urgency that Virginia parents, teachers and communities search diligently for ways and means to assure a fuller development of this one-fourth of its school population."

Inferior facilities, lack of libraries or inadequate ones, mediocre performance unrelieved by incentives; poverty stricken populations, segregated schools essentially inadequate, inflexible courses of study, lack of competent, trained counselors, indifferent vocational programs, overcrowded classes; combined in a conspiracy to render almost impossible the best efforts of many dedicated Negro educators to lift the quality of individual classroom scholarship.

*Director of General Education, Norfolk Division, Virginia State College

The threat of integration nudged reluctant school officials--the result, building of many new schools for Negroes. These buildings, often imposing, were paramount—equipment and quality teaching were byproducts not always regarded as imperative.

Meanwhile, no statement was offered by the State Department of Education to mitigate the bald condemnatory picture of the scholastic performance of Negro youth in Virginia. They were forthwith condemned by inference to permanent inferiority. *Dr. Brazziel states further:

> "The greatest single lack in the testing program was perhaps in the summary report of the results which were made available to the public. By failing to include variances in the report and stating only averages for the groups, the report fails to reveal to all concerned the great range in abilities and achievement found from school to school, from county to county, from city to city, and most importantly from social class to social class within the school. Such a lack of revelation could understandably contribute to the drawing of honest but erroneous conclusions by some persons and invidious conclusions by others concerning the abilities and achievements of these children."

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

Spurred by the danger of casual acceptance of the testing report, three persons interested in improving achievement and cultural levels of Negro youth, organized the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc. in January 1960. They were: Dr. William Brazziel - Professor and Coordinator of General Education; Dr. Marian Capps - Director of the Testing Bureau and Professor of Education-Psychology—both on the faculty of the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College and Vivian Mason - former National President of the National Council of Negro Women, Inc., a community and civic worker.

The Purpose

Purposes incorporated in the Charter were succinctly stated:

(1) "To inform and educate the public of the requirements necessary for excellence in public education....."
(2) "To establish, operate and conduct an educational Center"
(3) "To establish, build or purchase, operate and conduct one or more non-sectarian school or institutions of learning."
(4) "To receive gifts, legacies and donations from any sources whatsoever"
(5) "To make gifts and appropriations from any or all of its resources from time to time to carry out the objects and purposes of the corporation"
(6) "To exercise all such power and authority as may be necessary to carry out the objects and purposes above specified....."

Parents Drawn Into Lecture Series

Clinics were conducted by Dr. Capps to provide better understanding of commonly used terms as intelligence quotient, reading scores, achievement levels, grade levels, the significance of testing programs, parent responsibility for providing regularized study facilities and other matters relating to educational values. Films were freely used and ample time allowed for questions.

Helping the Community to Understand

A series of lectures by eminent persons in the field of education has been programmed each year. Included in the educational series were the following: Dan Schreiber, originator of the "Higher Horizon" project; Otis Finley, Vocational Secretary of the National Urban League; Mrs. Carla Eyster of Kensington, Maryland and a telephone hookup lecture and discussion by Superintendent of Schools of Washington, D. C., Carl F. Hansen.

Many other speakers were invited, projecting hard engrossing facts. Bernard Kaplan of the National Education Association of Washington, D. C.- Project "School Dropouts" brought a message of significance. The audience included members of the Norfolk School Board who noted with very evident interest, a cross-country review of the problems and the remedial measures advanced. His luminous description of the army of youthful school deserters, roaming the streets seeking employment or idling, a prologue to real trouble, inspired the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education to seek to do something about the Norfolk situation.

A number of other speakers brought challenging ideas to the citizens of this community.

East Ghent Project

During the summers of 1960 and 1962, a small project was carried out with children and adults in a blighted, uncohesive neighborhool known as East Ghent.

Most of the residents rented houses or converted apartments formerly occupied by white persons no longer desirous of living in the aura of slums. Deterioration had set in years before Negroes moved in the area. Unsavory dwellings, high percentage of indigents and hazardous street conditions were characteristics underwritten by the complete absence of social agency area programs.

Summer classes for children in academic subjects, art, music, and library practices were successfully conducted. In 1962, an experimental project with preschool age children whose achievement levels after six weeks schooling were considered excellent in comparison with readiness tests six weeks prior, confirmed the need for pre-kindergarten and pre-school institutions.

Results of East Ghent Project

A comprehensive report and recommendations based upon two years experiences in East Ghent was submitted to the Health, Recreation and Welfare

Council. An analysis of the programs promoted an interpretation of the complexity of problems and the dangerous consequences of continued neglect were set forth with complete candor.

The findings of the Welfare Council were detailed and agreement in practically every recommendation sustained. One statement is gratifying - "The Norfolk Committee has been largely responsible for arousing community concern over East Ghent. There is no doubt that this is an area in desperate need of concerted action. Clearly, physical rebuilding and property improvement represent an important aspect in the future of East Ghent, but human rehabilitation is also basic to the ultimate realization of improved living conditions in that area." (Exhibit 3-Report "Study on The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education by The Health, Recreation, and Welfare Council, 1963.)

Finances - East Ghent Project

Both projects were underwritten by the Norfolk Foundation, whose deep concern for the people and the area had been made manifest. Without their financial and moral support, the programs could not have been carried out.

Project - Tutoring Centers

In the fall of 1963, the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education decided the time was propituous to organize and to operate at least two tutoring Centers. Preparations went forth for two months; securing suitable centers, head teachers, volunteer staff, finances for expenses, supplies, development of policies inclusive of curricula, hours of schooling, requirements for instructors, supplementary cultural, learning programs and public relations.

Reasons for Tutoring Centers

All the reasons documented by the Federal Government, education officials, private groups across the nation could be applied to Norfolk; specifically:

1. This city had the highest number of dropouts in the state in Booker T. Washington High School and Ruffner Junior High School,
2. There were no known facilities for helping students other than the supplementary instructions teachers offered after school hours, or in study halls,
3. Young people were absent from school a great deal,
4. Hundreds attended school reluctantly and were not interested in the curricula or setup,
5. Many students wanted to quit school and work but age limitations barred them at least until they reached 17. Part-time employment or referral projects were not functioning adequately,
6. Many youthful marriages proceeded school desertion—a sure path to failure and probable family desertion by the husband when the situation became difficult,
7. Pregnancies among high and junior high school girls were mounting and regarded as commonplace,
8. Hundreds of students in high school were reading on fifth (5th) grade levels,
9. The Booker T. Washington High School—old, outmoded, wholly inadequate, dangerously overcrowded—was an effective deterrent to normal high school development,
10. Nothing was being done in the way of providing regularized tutoring services, and little in programmed incentive and motivation projects for those in extreme need of such services.

Curricula

The Curricula Committee devoted long hours to defining major objectives of the Tutoring Centers. Two eminent educators at the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, Dr. Thelma Curl, Head of the English Department and Mrs. Julia Morris, Head of the Reading Clinic served as co-consultants.

The Curricula Committee stressed exploratory trips, discussions, broad associations leading to emphasis in the language Arts. Reading was a particular focal point of weakness. Understanding and translating the English language was found to be a formidable barrier to acceptable achievement in other subjects. Since the ability to read fluently and with understanding is a primary requisite, pointed attention was directed to instructors to try and correct weaknesses in articulation and writing. Accent on verbal skills was stressed for serious gaps existed in communication skills.

Operation of Project Tutoring Centers

Instructions were given in English, Mathematics, French, Geometry, History and Reading. Many individual sessions were held for this was the bedrock of the whole idea of helping and stimulating the students to better performance. Students admitted they could do better but exerting the effort was difficult. As improvement in grades occured, students became very enthusiastic. Some carried the enthusiasm too high. Pressed for time, one ambitious student, not wishing to fall down on grades for the month, asked the instructor to help him out and write his composition. It is not sure whether chagrin or shame won the victory after a conversation with the instructor in question.

Cultural Activities

In conformity with recommendations of the Cultural Committee ten (10) programs were successfully projected. These were:

1. All day visit to Hampton Institute
2. Don Cossack Chorus Concert at Center Theatre
3. Piano Recital at Norfolk State College
4. Norfolk Museum Exhibit
5. Moving picture "Lilies of the Field"
6. Botannical Gardens and Luncheon at the Tea Room
7. Norfolk Naval Supply Center
8. Azalea Festival Concert
9. A Hootenany Concert
10. Closing Exercises

Variety with specific purposes seemed logical if the horizons of the mind and senses were to be accelerated and stimulated. Some students were enormously interested in one event and indifferent to others.

Making all of them equally attractive was not possible but the purpose was accomplished in that choice was offered. Those who preferred visits to the Art Museum in preference to a visit to the Botanical Gardens were encouraged to select the one they liked best if they couldn't manage both.

Visits to interesting places were not made simply for aesthetic appreciation or to provide new experiences but conscious emphasis was placed on future employment opportunities, career-wise information and most of all encouragement and the will to strive for whatever jobs tied in with the visit, that were found desirable and seemingly within the scope of their abilities.

An illustration is afforded in the visit to the Naval Supply Center. Prizes were offered by the Committee for the best essay describing the visit. The winning essay stressed the possibility of the author returning some day as an employee.

"....In our Business Class, we have previously talked about time clocks and cards. Many of us have heard about them and hadn't really seen one. We were given a chance to see time cards and clocks at the Naval Supply Center. I was actually shocked to see the many clerks, bookkeepers, secretaries, and etc., employed for the Federal Government at the Naval Supply Center. My ambition after I have finished my education is to become a secretary and I had only thought of secretaries working in a large office for a private firm. But

now my whole view point is changed because of my trip to the Naval Supply Center. I really envied those secretaries and it gave the idea that some day I may be sitting behind a desk working for the Federal Government. My tour also gave me an opportunity to see exactly what type of work my mother does. She is a packer at the Naval Supply Center.....One would think it is almost entirely impossible to spend an entire day enjoyably in one building, but it isn't.

A total of 134 students had in some measure been reached in areas they felt were important justification for the endeavors of the organization and its supporters in the community. A staff of some 30 persons worked at the Center despite inconveniences which could not be overcome.

Cooperation with School Officials in Norfolk

Close contact has been maintained with principals of junior and Booker T. Washington High School although only Madison Junior and Booker T. Washinton High School have been involved in the Tutoring Centers. Mrs. Hortense Wells, Coordinator of Elementary Education, contributed her services in an advisory capacity as did others in the school system.

Principals have loaned books for teachers, the School Board, through the Supervisor of Curricula, also loaned books as well as concerned citizens who donated magazines and other materials.

Community Interests

Friends in the community under the chairmanship of Mrs. Erma F. Hill, Committee on Transportation, provided care for all but the visit to the Naval Base. Bus service was arranged for the group although four (4) cars had to be pressed into service. Luncheon for half price at the Japanese Tea Room helped the flagging budget.

Parents, Board members and friends attended the lively closing exercises. The most gratifying question was, "When does the Center open for the summer?" Through the support and kindness of the Southern Regional Council it did, but that sequel is told in the supplementary report.

Student Evaluation of Project - Tutoring Centers

Students evaluated the program frankly. The total group asked for its continuance expressing by and large these sentiments:

"We learned a lot"
"My teacher was extremely interested in my progress"
"The program is very worthwhile"

In the section reserved for criticisms, they were equally frank:
"Children make too much noise coming in and going out"
"The Centers should be for learning and study, some children always want to play"
"There should always be a teacher to take the place of the absent one"

(Exhibit 8 - Student's Evaluation of Tutoring)

Instructors' Evaluation of Project - Tutoring Centers

Instructors were seriously concerned with helping to fullfill the purposes and hopes of the sponsoring agency.

Discussion of problems, needs and purposes was expressed at two instructors' meetings chaired by Dr. Marian Capps, Administrator of Curricula. Every teacher was a very busy person, time of the essence so that regular weekly meetings were not possible.

Mature, experienced teachers used personalized methods to reach students. They were free to innovate whatever techniques and devices seemed desirable.

In order to gauge the extent of situations encountered and experiences gained, instructors were asked to evaluate work of the Centers. The reactions were similar in many respects to the question:

Strong points of the program:

"Students are being given badly needed supplementary material"
"It gives help to some who need it"
"Broadens their knowledge"
"The individual assistance given to students which they are often unable to receive in school"
"The students are interested in obtaining a preview of their next course. This means they will be better prepared next year."

Weak points:

"My class was too large"
"Each class should be composed of students on the same achievement level"
"Greater sense of responsibility on the part of students needed"
"Better organization of classes"
"Full information needed concerning strengths and weaknesses of each student"
Greater control of absentees" (Exhibit 9 - Instructors' Evaluation of Tutoring Activities)

The problems indicated by students and instructors were recognized from the beginning and efforts made to correct them. The short time the project was in operation allowed for some remedial action, but the main result was useful experience for future projects.

Basic Problems

Criticisms by students and instructors were wrestled with all winter by the Committee and the Center supervisors to find sufficient instructors, make regular provisions for absent instructors, visit the homeroom teacher and the parents, provide new materials for reading geared to the interests of the students. For example, there is a dearth of reading materials geared to the interests of Negro youth in the early teens. The stories and books developed for that age group are concerned with activities, ideas, problems, amusements and life in general of middleclass, upper and lower of the majority group.

There is a crushing need for books, stories, articles of an inspirational nature, peopled with characters the Negro boy and girl recognize as real persons in his world.

In great many instances, there is absolutely no identification with the life and times of non-white adolescents. This is another reason why comprehensive cultural programs are a paramount necessity.

Absences

The attendance of students at times became a problem. Special activities at school mainly in athletics, duties at home, care of younger children, household responsibilities and illness accounted for periodic absences.

Instructors at times were unable to meet their classes—in such instances, doubling up or study sessions in classrooms assigned were not the best solutions but the best to be found at that particular time.

One member of the Committee had the responsibility of visiting homes to ascertain why some students attended irregularly; how parents felt about the Center and if they would like to support its aims by joining the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education. Of 40 such visits:

(1) Every parent was pleased at the idea of having their children helped with school work,
(2) Twenty-two parents knew nothing about the Center or Committee although they had supposedly signed consent on the registration forms,
(3) Ten parents had large families and wanted older children to take care of the smaller children, wash clothes, run errands and help cook. No regular time or place was provided for quiet study hours,
(4) Twenty-four (24) parents left it up to the children whether or not "they wanted to attend the Tutoring Center." No persuasion or visible encouragement was given although they insisted that they wanted their children to do better in their school work,
(5) The majority of parents had less than 9th grade education,
(6) The majority of parents had very dim concepts of the grade levels performance-wise their children maintained unless they had been summoned to school for a conference concerning school or some other problem of their offspring.

The visitor stressed the meaning of education today as the forerunner of better employment, greater economic security, fuller and more meaningful enjoyment of life.

Finances - Project Tutoring Center

Contributions were received from public spirited citizens and a national organization renown for its great work in building a climate of human worth where every man regardless of color, religion or any other label shares with other men the same opportunity for success.

Closing Program

The Centers held a joint closing exercise on Friday night, June 5, 1964 at Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church Educational Center. The auditorium was filled with students, parents, teachers, and members of the Board of Directors and interested friends.

Enthusiasm was plainly evident as students carried out volunteer program assignments. Certificates of Merit were presented to instructors, the students

and other outstanding participants.

There was a small note of sadness at the realization of closing. Faces brightened perceptibly when the Summer Pilot Program was announced.

The 134 students who had in some measure been reached were justification for the endeavors of the organization and its supporters in the community. (Exhibit 10 - Program for End of the Term Exercises)

Continuance of Project - Tutoring Centers

In August, 1964 a group of mothers asked to have a Tutoring Center established in Tidewater Park (a low cost housing project). Serious concerns were expressed by this group to the levels of achievement attained by their children.

To secure information on how widespread the anxieties of this group were in the project, a questionnaire was formulated and distributed by the mothers. They were able to discuss the problem of educational values very ably with other parents who questioned the purpose of the questionnaire. A recapitulation of the information is attached herewith.

In addition to tutoring help for children, many parents asked for instructions for themselves in reading, writing, modern arithmetic and other subjects. The desire for intensified cultural programs was expressed repeatedly by the Mothers Club.

The Board of Directors of the Committee for the Improvement of Education voted to continue the Project Tutoring Centers, to increase the number of centers in 1964-1965 and to conduct an experimental center for elementary grade students based upon the findings of the study conducted by the Mothers Club of Tidewater Park.

New Locations

Following several discussions, the idea was advanced that Project Tutoring Centers should be located in public schools. The advantages were numerous and obvious. The support of school officials and principals was to be solicited for the new program to be started in the fall after the report of the first semesters work.

Respectfully submitted,

Vivian C. Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason, Chairman

December 1, 1964
Norfolk, Virginia

LWD ✓
PA ✓
file

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia
January 21, 1965

Vernon - can't you do a little lobbying for them over the phone with Washington?

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Thank you for your letter of recent date and your kind words of encouragement as to the worth of Project-Tutoring Centers. We have opened the third Center, an experimental project for students in the 4th, 5th, and 6th grades. You will recall this Center came about through the concern and interest of mothers in the Tidewater Park housing project. Over a hundred students are registered. During the past few days junior and senior high school students have applied for admission, straining present capacities.

This is the only enterprise of its kind in the city and there is a very great desire to make this endeavor an outstanding success.

The other Centers are located in junior high schools; at least two more such Centers are contemplated opening in February if we can secure the necessary financial support. As mentioned in a previous letter, we have applied to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a grant. Undoubtedly it will not be acted upon for sometime due to the fact that we don't have a Community Action Committee in Norfolk.

In cooperation with Adult Services of Norfolk Division of Virginia State College and the Norfolk Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council, public meetings are being held to build up sufficient interest so that the city fathers will be moved to act quickly in establishing an Economic Opportunity Authority. This is necessary, as you know, in the establishment of a Community Action Program.

not necessary

The Board of Directors is gratefully aware of the support and concern manifested by the Southern Regional Council for the Tutoring Centers Project in Norfolk. Financial contributions are being sought from the community as was done last year. However, such contributions must be allotted to new Centers in the late planning stage.

Do you think the Taconic Foundation would be interested in this project? Perhaps you could suggest some other sources that might be interested.

We still hope that the Southern Regional Council will underwrite some part of the current expenses so that we can stay in business until such time as new money is found for this endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason/gb

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman

VCM:gb

by: Gloria Booth, Sec.

November 21, 1961

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Incorporated
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Fret no longer! My full name will be at the bottom of this letter. It does seem that our busy-ness here at SRC often tends to encourage the loss of our identity while we are in the process of getting some jobs done. It is nevertheless a fame well lost!

I think it would be wonderful if we can, within the financial resources of the Council, cooperate with the Greenville Council in an employment survey; but before we proceed further in this direction, why don't we await a reply from Father Krahe?

I would guess that you, as a member of our Board, have already received a copy of the Houston study; if not, a word from you will bring it in short order. Thank you for your comments about the Houston study release.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:mpb

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

November 20, 1961

Dr. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Moss:

I am sorry to have to address you without your full name, but you people at SRC are so anonymous and self-effacing that we are unable to locate your name on any of the materials that are close at hand!

As you will note from the enclosed letter, I have written to Father Krahe, president of the Greenville Council, to determine their interest in the research project we discussed at the Council meeting in Atlanta. I would appreciate your sending him information on the project, and including the report of the Houston survey when it has been completed.

It would certainly be a fine thing if such a survey could be conducted in South Carolina. It might be even more interesting due to the fact that I understand the labor organizations are concentrating regional efforts in this area.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

P.S. Saw the AP release of the Houston study — very good write-up!

November 20, 1961

Father Gordon Krahe, O.F.M.
Greenville Council on Human Relations
307 Gower Street
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Father Krahe:

At the Southern Regional Council meeting in Atlanta last week, it was mentioned that there are studies to be conducted in four southern cities concerning employment opportunities for Negroes. I understand the report on Houston should be finished soon. Three cities have already designated, but the fourth has not been finally decided. In speaking with Dr. Moss, Director of Research for the Southern Regional Council, I understand that there would be a possibility of the Greenville or Greenville-Spartanburg area being included. I understand that what is required is a citizens' group willing to undertake or assist this project.

I understand that the Greenville Council on Human Relations has had merit employment as a project, and I am wondering if they would be interested in this proposal. Probably the chances would be better of getting the project in case Furman University would indicate a willingness to cooperate.

At present, Penn Center and Claflin College, along with an advisory committee, are seeking funds for a state-wide research project. A survey in the Greenville area would contribute not only to the residents of that area, but to this state project as well.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Moss, with the request that he write you directly concerning the responsibility of the Greenville Council on Human Relations if this project were to be undertaken there. With that information in hand, you could then take it up with your group.

It was certainly good to see you at the SCCHR meeting in Columbia recently, and to know of your participation in the Greenville Council.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cc: Dr. Moss
Southern Regional Council

January 6, 1962

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

I appreciated your kind words about the Houston study and I'm glad you liked it.

I trust you have received the information you requested regarding the cost of printing, etc., by this time.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Dear James Moss —

I liked very much the brochure on Hanston & employment situation. I do hope also that the Greenville Council will try to undertake a study there.

I am wondering if you know the cost of printing the Hanston pamphlet. We are contemplating publishing such a pamphlet & would like to have an idea of its cost. I'm enclosing a card so you can jot it down.

Best wishes for the holiday season.

Courtney

JF ans
1/3/67

January 26, 1962

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

The copy of "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights" which you requested is being sent you under separate cover. Since Dr. Moss is out of the office this afternoon I am taking the liberty of answering your request for him.

I know he would want me to tell you that we will be happy to help you in any way we can with your prospective brochure for the Governor.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Dr. Moss

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

1/25/62

Dear James Moss —

Do you have an extra copy of the SRC brochure presented to Kennedy as to what could be done by executive authority, that was issued last year? Our state council of human relations may try something similar for the governor & would like to discuss it next week at our meeting. If you have an extra copy, I would appreciate having it very much.

Good to see you in Washington.

Courtney

March 6, 1962

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thank you very much for the article "Southern Exposure," from the Spring issue of the IUD Digest. I haven't yet had a chance to read it but am looking forward to getting to it this week. I am sorry we haven't been able to include South Carolina in our employment surveys.

In answer to your request for information in past files pertinent to Negroes in social work, the only reference we were able to find is in The Negro Yearbook, 11th edition, pp. 198 to 200. I wish we could be of more help.

Thank you for your kind words about the cover of the Chattanooga study. I, too, am sorry that we have not been able to include a textile community in the series.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Feb 27, '62

Dear James Moss —

Probably you've seen the the FUD Digest of Spring '62. Am enclosing the article, Southern Exposure, which seems to be relevant to your recent labor surveys. Did marked page 111 where it is noted about the IUD campaign in Greenville area. Am disappointed that there has not been a response from there concerning a survey in cooperation with SRC.

Best regards

Carlton

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

February 19, 1962

Dr. James Morse
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear James Morse:

I have been asked to speak at the Mather School, a Negro High School and Junior College, sponsored by the Baptist Church, on Social Work Career under their Career Day. The senior classes of the surrounding Negro high schools will be present as well.

I plan to write the director of Public Welfare in South Carolina to find out how many Negroes now work in this field, requirements and other pertinent material. However, I am wondering if in past files you have any information pertinent to Negroes in social work in the South?

Your bulletin on Chattanooga arrived this morning and I am very impressed with the cover. I assume the material is equal to it and will soon delve into it.

With best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/bbm

Dr. John
Dir of Research
Negro year Book
Mr Bennett
Library
AU

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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Linville Falls, N. C.
April 16, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for the excellent letter you wrote Courtney with reference to the proposal which Penn has for a statewide research project. I am quite hopeful that the door is not closed on that project and feel that your letter may help to widen the crack.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg
cc: Courtney Siceloff

April 17, 1962

Mrs. Alma H. Wade, Director
Advertising and Public Relations
N.C. Mutual Life Insurance Company
P.O. Box 201
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Wade:

Courtney Siceloff has asked that we send the enclosed photograph of and biographical information on Marion Wright to you.

Sincerely,

PA:bp
enc. (2)

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

April 16, 1962

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you so much for the supporting letter for the research project proposal. Yes, it should certainly help - if anything will! Thus I echo the frustration you voice, and I'm not sure I'm as good-natured about it as you are. We'll keep our fingers crossed anyway.

Now I'm afraid we have another request to make. Material is being collected for an article in the Whetstone, magazine of the N. C, Mutual Life Insurance Company, on Penn in connection with our centennial. Mrs. Wade, the editor and director of public relations, has requested a picture and biographical sketch of Marion Wright. We wrote him about this, and he telephoned in reply that we could get this material from you. We will appreciate your sending this directly to Mrs. Wade, at the following address:

Mrs. Alma H. Wade, Director
Advertising and Public Relations
N. C. Mutual Life Insurance Company
P. O. Box 201
Durham, North Carolina

Thanks, again.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cc: Mrs. Alma H. Wade

April 25, 1962

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Your suggestions - re Miles College - have been followed. Enclosed are the requested materials. Many thanks to you for your good help.

Thanks, too, for the clippings. Knew you couldn't stay out of the News & Courier forever.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Paul — either Pilling or Anthony
How about sending one of those
hot Anthony letters re Miles +
latest New South, marked
Miles to
Dr Paul Foreman
State College
State College Pa.
We've already sent him a letter,
Pilling has a copy of it.
Also send above to me likewise
(2 copies each) & I'll write
Haverford College.
Courtney

Usual propaganda enclosed!

Greenville study sent to McIver 5/4/62

May 4, 1962

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

You have a real problem with the audit, for which I have no ready answer.

Our accountant (Daniel E. Harrison, 868 York Street, S.W., Atlanta 10) does not have an office or association in Beaufort. I doubt that it would be a desirable arrangement though believe he would be willing to fly over to do the audit. His fee is $50 per day (plus any travel expenses).

Since our financial records are so varied we have developed a rather unique procedure. Our Secretary-Treasurer, Ruth Alexander, actually does most of the work for the audit. We do a six-month, and a full year, audit, separate audits in effect for general operations and special projects, will henceforth do an entirely separate audit for the Voter Education Project, and on occasion, such as the changing of directors, do special audits. All of these requirements, plus having to meet the various stipulations of foundations and others, are so far removed from the world of business and normal auditing procedures that it is virtually necessary that Ruth do the initial work. Our auditor then checks the work done, makes very certain that all income and expenditures are properly accounted for, and otherwise determines that the finished product conforms with normal and accepted auditing procedures.

It is in this last step that the difficulty usually arises. You may recall that Alice Spearman had similar difficulty with a firm in Columbia last year. Some auditors are so accustomed to the business world of profit and loss that they find it difficult to work with other types of accounts. Others, frankly, are somewhat concerned about the purposes and programs of some of our agencies and this concern may show in the highly conditioned product they produce.

For many years we used an auditor from the staff of Emory University. At his death a young man in his firm asked for and received his business. He is a Registered Public Accountant instead of a CPA but the head of the firm is a CPA and available as needed. We use him primarily though because he is very thorough and a stickler for detail (and sometimes maddeningly slow) but he is not afraid of the unorthodox stipulations of agency and foundation requirements so long as the final test of "acceptable audition procedures" can be met.

This you will have to find in any auditor you use. In seeking a new auditor it would be best to explore fully your needs beforehand - both as to accounting and the extent to which the auditor will certify the finished product. Frankly, within reason I think cost is secondary. For your program needs you need a workable audit that will reflect your operation as it is conducted. For the protection of you, your staff , and board, you need a firm certification that all is in complete and proper order. Anything less that this is not worth the paper it is written on. There are plenty of auditors who meet both requirements and I think you should look until you find one. And, personally, I think those who do not either are inexperienced in agency audit procedure - no matter how qualified and experienced otherwise - or show a serious discomfort at having any official and responsible connection with the agency and programs concerned.

Hope this quick response will be of some help. Will be happy to explore tha matter in more detail if needed.

The matter of the material to McIver will be treated separately.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

May 2, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul;

We have had difficulty finding an auditor to handle our books here. Previously there was a CPA in Beaufort who did the work for $300. However he left and his successor delayed so that we had to take up the books and at the last minute give them to the Arthur Andersen firm in Charlotte which makes monthly visits to Beaufort for various firms here.

The Arthur Andersen firm, I understand, is one of the largest and possibly the most expensive. The charge was $500. but rather than giving a certified audit they merely examined the books and so qualified their audit that the Penn Trustees felt that it was practically useless.

I have noticed that the SRC audit has cost between five and six hundred dollars and yet your operations are much more extensive than Penn's, to say the least. I would be interested in knowing what arrangements you have made, what type of audit you are paying for and (whether you know of any firm operating outside of Atlanta with business in Beaufort that would handle our audit on a similar basis.)* I gather, likewise, that your audit must be sufficient for satisfying many of the foundations. It is quite possible that should we not find a local auditor that we will again return the auditing to the Philadelphia area where it was done prior to five years ago.

Our finance Committee will be meeting next week in Philadelphia to consider the matter of the audit and I will be leaving before I have an opportunity to hear from you. I wonder if you wouldn't mind writing me, Care of Paul Brown, Jr., Philadelphia National Bank, Broad and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

On another matter the chairman of the Advisory Committee of South Carolina, Mr. Rick McIver, Box 255, Conway, S. C. indicated great interest in the Greenville Survey that was made. I know copies must be very scarce, but if you do have an extra, I know he would appreciate it very much.

With best regards and many thanks,

Sincerely,

cc Marion Wright

*If your firm does business in Bft, we would like to know; but please don't bother about finding if other firms have business here.

August 20, 1963

Mrs. Ada Rose Brown
Penn Community Service, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Brown:

In reply to your letter of yesterday, I understand that a list of executive secretaries in the state councils was mailed to Mr. Siceloff last week. As for the other data requested in your letter, I guess that you were unaware of the fact that the information in the typescript you forwarded came from this office. It was prepared at the request of Mr. Marion Wright, and it contains virtually all the information we have on the subject of state parks.

All in all, I guess this is just a case of the right hand not knowing what the left is doing. But if we can help you in other areas, please feel free to call on us.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Aug. 19, 1963

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

SB

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar :

I am a "temporary worker" at Penn Community, and have been asked by Mr. Siceloff to write to you concerning some information he needs, and which I believe he discussed with you by telephone on Aug. 14. It isn't easy to come into a situation as a newcomer and understand all the details, so I hope I am writing for the right things !

First, I believe he would like to have a list of Executive Secretaries in the Council of Human Relations as soon as possible. We need to write to them for some information on various state parks.

As you know, Judge Martin has ordered desegregation of all state parks (was it on July 10?) ; the question now is : will the parks be closed after the 60-day intervening period ? We are working up a paper that will show the experience of other state parks, and this is where we need some help.

Enclosed is a rough typescript of integration activities , both legal and voluntary, in some other states. Have you any data at your office that can be added to this ?

Of state parks in states other than South Carolina, have any of them closed after desegregation ? Entire system or otherwise ? Have any been challenged ?

Thank you very much for any help you can give us in this matter. We'll appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Ada Brown

Mrs . Ada Rose Brown

September 6, 1963

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Many thanks for sending the extra copies of The Federal Executive and Civil Rights; I am sure they will come in handy particularly with the legislature now pending before Congress.

I am returning the list of public facilities, your assistant inadvertently sent it to us. It has all of the information that we know about, except what is covered in our last Civil Rights Synopsis, a copy of which is also enclosed. We will, however, let you know if we come across any new examples of desegregated parks.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosures

October 2, 1963

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thank you for your letter of September 17, suggesting names and cities for distribution of the Morland pamphlet. We did not use several of the suggestions, especially the radio and TV stations. We did, however, take full advantage of the Legislators and the printed news media. In addition to the Morland pamphlet, we also included the Coles study.

Your initiative in helping us to effect distribution in South Carolina is most appreciative. Distribution being the problem for us that it is, we would be very grateful for any help or suggestions that you can give.

Under separate cover, we are returning the South Carolina Legislative Manual.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

September 17, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

This is in reply to your letter of about a month ago concerning the distribution of the Morland Study. I was glad to see the distribution you had already made in South Carolina.

For additional groups I have checked names in red on pages of the South Carolina Legislative Manual for 1963. This handbook is being sent separately to you. The checked names in the handbook can be found on the following pages:
36, 38, 131, 132, 133, 134, 194, 200, 202, 203, 260.

I am also enclosing a list of South Carolinian towns. It seems to me that a copy might be sent to the chairman of the school board in those communities of 10,000 and over and perhaps to the Chamberof Commerce in those towns likewise. I ~~don't~~ think you have sent copies to the presidents of the Chamber of Commerce, ~~but~~ this might already have been done.

I am also enclosing a list of newspaper and television stations that are the largest in the state and it would be helpful to send a copy to each of these. Perhaps to both newspapers and stations, it could be addressed to News Director and Station Director.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/bm

P.S. Do with this list as you see fit. If this is too much, please select from them the ones you would mail. ~~It too~~

PPS Would it be too much trouble to return the Legislative Manual when through?

CITIES IN SOUTH CAROLINA (1960 CENSUS)

5000 to 7500:	7500 to 10,000:	10,000 & over:
Abbeville	Cayce	Aiken
Beaufort	Clinton	Anderson
Belton	Conway	Charleston
Bennettsville	Easley	Columbia
Camden	Greer	Florence
Cheraw	Lancaster	Gaffney
Chester	Laurens	Georgetown
Darlington	Myrtle Beach	Greenville
Dillon	Newberry	Greenwood
Hartsville		North Augusta
Lake City		Orangeburg
Marion		Rock Hill
Mount Pleasant		Spartanburg
Mullins		Sumter
Seneca		Union
Shannontown		
Walterboro		
West Columbia		

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

November 12, 1963

Dear Vernon Jordan:

Do you have a pension and/or retirement program at SRC? We are to consider this matter at an Executive Committee meeting early next month. It would help to know a little about how SRC (as our Ultimate Authority) handles this sort of thing, if the information can be passed on without too much difficulty on your part.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

File

December 17, 1963

Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

NY State

Several years ago we were tapped by the Department of Social Welfare to file a financial report on fund-raising. This was required of agencies raising money in that state. They have just published a directory of organizations registered with the Department of Social Welfare in 1962 and I have not seen Southern Regional Council listed out of some 4500 agencies. While it is a considerable nuisance to work up such a report, yet I thought I would bring it to your attention and am inclosing instructions on preparing the annual report, so as to give you an idea of what is required. Incidently, we have also been asked by Washington, D. C. to file an annual report to them.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/bm

S.R.C.

Directory of organizations registered with State Dept of Social Welfare, 1962

4500 agencies

INSTRUCTIONS ON PREPARATION
ANNUAL REPORT FORM CR-131

This Report is required by law to be filed on or before June 30, but in the case of an organization which operates on a fiscal year different from the calendar year, and so indicated in its Registration Statement, it should file this Report within six months after the close of its fiscal year.

PAGE 1 OF FORM CR-131

Item A. Enter on a cash basis total gross contributions received in fiscal period. These must have been received in money or goods in kind and the figure must be the same as the total indicated in Schedule #1.

Item B. Enter here bank interest, stock dividends, bond interest, and other investment income.

Item C. Include only moneys received for services rendered, such as fees, hospital charges, etc. Membership dues are to be entered here if they are made in return for a private benefit. If the organization has campaigns or drives for memberships, new or renewal, and these are essentially made for the purpose of obtaining funds for the support of the purposes of the organization and not to give the member a right to use the facilities, a professional standing, an honor or other direct benefit; then such amounts are to be entered in Item A and also on Schedule #1, as a separate drive, on a cash basis.

Item D. Enter here the net amount as determined in Schedule #2.

Item E. Any special income should be entered here. For example, the net gain from the sale of an investment would be entered here, as would an allotment from a governmental agency. Explain in Schedule #3.

Item F. Enter here the salaries and wages plus all other expenses including the pay roll taxes and the cost of other fringe benefits not paid directly to the employee incurred in rendering the service and assistance which is in furtherance of the purposes of the organization. If personnel spend only a portion of their time in rendering such service and assistance, the salaries and benefits of such personnel must be prorated.

Item G. Show here total of all funds distributed to member agencies, recipient organizations, or state and national affiliates. This should be explained in Schedule #4.

Item H. Enter here all costs for overall direction, general record keeping, business management, budgeting, general Board activities and related purposes. If personnel spend only a portion of their time on these functions, prorate the expenses and salary.

Item I. Enter here the total cost of raising funds as shown in Schedules #1 and #5. The total fund-raising expenses reported in Schedules #1 and #5 must agree and must be reported in Item I.

Item J. Enter here purchases of buildings, equipment and additions thereto only. Explain in Schedule #6.

Item K. Enter here all other expenditures not properly includible in items F to J and explain in Schedule #7.

NOTE: Do not include "Depreciation" or "Transfer of moneys between internal funds" as a charge in any of the above items.

Balance- an explanation must be entered here to show what future use is intended for these funds and also note any that are restricted.

If other funds were used to cover a deficit, the source of funds for this purpose should be noted, i.e. loan, from prior surplus, etc. Deficit should be shown in ( ).

PAGE 2 OF FORM CR-131

Schedule #1 - For each separate fund-raising function during period covered by this report (bazaar, theatre party, mail drive, sales of articles, merchandise, etc.) complete the information requested in columns "a" to "h". General contributions not received in connection with any specific drive or campaign and those solicited during the entire year are to be entered on a separate line and column "d" marked "continuous."

Column a - Area covered by the drive.
b - Actual type of fund-raising device.
c - Purpose for which these particular funds are raised.
d - Actual dates of drive or campaign; or "continuous".
e - Actual gross cash received from drive.
f - Any unpaid pledges at the end of fiscal year pertaining to the specific drive should be noted here.
g - List total fund-raising expenses for each specific drive or campaign.
h - Answer "yes" or "no". If "yes", complete question 1 on Page 4.

Legacies and Bequests - if a drive for this type of contributions is carried on, complete columns "d" and "g" in addition to column "e".

Allotments from Community Chests, etc. - where fund-raising costs are incurred in obtaining these, column "g" should be completed in addition to column "e".

Grants from foundations for specific purposes - same as above.

Funds received from prior year's pledges - where such funds are received, column "e" is to be completed. If expenses are incurred in obtaining these funds, such expenses should be entered in column "g".

Donated Merchandise - this fund-raising activity should include only those drives for merchandise. The items received should be included at fair market value and any expense incurred in their collection and sale should be entered in column "g".

NOTE: Receipt of such items as securities, real estate, bonds, etc. should not be included in this item but placed in the drive which obtained them.

Example:

a	b	c	d		e	f	g	h
Geographic Coverage	Type of Drive	Purpose	Date of Drive From	To	Contributions Actually Received	Unpaid Pledges	Fund Raising Costs	Was Professional Fund Raiser Used
N.Y.C. & Long Island	Circus & Program Advertising	Scholarships	4/1	5/22/58	$4,602.65*	$ 692.50	$1,126.80	No
N.Y.C.	Mail	General	6/8	6/30/58	2,650.00	None	1,500.00	No
Queens Co.	Sale of Cosmetics	General	9/15	9/20/58	6,305.15	None	4,201.31	No
N.Y.C. & Long Island	Personal Solicitation	Building Fund	continuous		10,210.25	429.00	None	No
	Subtotals				$23,768.05	$1,121.50	$6,828.11	

(Chart continued on reverse page).

(Chart continued from previous page)

Other Contributions Received

	Purpose	Date of Drive From To	Contributions Actually Received	Unpaid Pledges	Fund Raising Costs	Was Professional Fund Raiser Used
Legacies & Bequests	Endowment	continuous	$ 5,000.00	xxx	None	No
Allotments from Community Chests, etc.	General	xxx	3,000.00	xxx	None	xxx
Grants from foundations for specific purposes	Research	xxx	12,000.00	xxx	1,000.00	No
Funds received from prior year's pledges	General	xxx	500.00	xxx	None	No
Donated Merchandise (at Market Value)	General	10/15 20/58	$ 4,500.00	xxx	1,200.00	No
Totals			$48,768.05	$1,121.50	$9,028.11	

*Figures shown were taken at random and do not reflect any opinions of this department.

Schedule #2 - Complete only for retail sales operation of your agency which is connected with a sheltered workshop or homebound program controlled by your agency. If your agency has such programs and in the normal course of operations exchange goods with similiar agencies report the cost of these goods received and sold and the sales income. Be sure to include the number of personnel involved in each step of the operation in the blank spaces provided.

Schedule #3 - See instruction for Item E on Page 1.

Schedule #4 - See instruction for Item G on Page 1.

PAGE 3 OF FORM CR-131

Schedule #5 -

Item 1 - Include all moneys paid to Professional Fund Raisers.
Item 2 - Enter the cost of any merchandise, goods, etc., sold or given in order to raise funds - (examples: cookies, theatre tickets, poppies, greeting cards, etc.).
Item 3 - Include in this item the actual cost of any entertainment, benefit, etc., sponsored by the organization in order to raise funds (example: cost of circus, dance, show, etc.). Do not include in this item moneys paid to a Professional Fund Raiser or Solicitor in connection with the raising of funds by this method.
Item 4 - This item should include that portion of the regular employee's salaries apportioned to a fund-raising function. Where employees engage full time in fund raising, their entire salaries should be included in this item. Where employees engage in fund raising or related endeavors only during a portion of their time, their salary payments should be apportioned on an equitable basis to indicate the amount assigned to fund raising. This amount is then included in this item.
Item 5 - This item should include all other expenses related to fund raising, such as insurance, bonding, general postage, rent, etc., which has not been placed in any of the above items.

Schedule #6 -

Detail the capital expenses of the agency in this schedule. Where a group of related items have been purchased, it can be shown as such, for example - office furniture, office machines and equipment, etc. If any one item's cost is over one-third of the group total, show it separately.

Schedule #7 -

See instruction for Item K on Page 1.

PAGE 4 OF FORM CR-131

General Information

Item 1 - If you have answered "yes" in Schedule #1, column h, complete this item.
Item 2 - If your organization, during the fiscal year of the report or since then, has sent out solicitation material containing any unordered merchandise of value, the "YES" box must be checked. Describe the merchandise sent and the solicitation material (you may furnish samples if you wish).
Item 3 - If the answer to this question is "yes", send a sample of appeal letter including seals or stamps.
Item 4 - If there have been any changes in the following information previously filed with this department, this item should be checked "YES" and a signed Form CR-105A submitted with the report:

(a) Name and address of the organization.
(b) Fiscal year.
(c) Engagement of a Professional Fund Raiser or Solicitor.
(d) Officers.
(e) Purposes for which organized.
(f) Purposes for which funds are raised.
(g) Dates of fund drives.
(h) Geographic coverage of fund drives.
(i) Tax status.
(j) Revocation, disapproval, etc., of any other governmental permit, license, registration, etc.
(k) Other pertinent items.

If you are presently employing or anticipate employing a Professional Fund Raiser within the next twelve months, a Form CR-105A must be completed to report this information.

STATEMENT OF SERVICES RENDERED - self-explanatory

CERTIFICATION - must be made by two individuals who are officers of the organization and who are listed as such in the original Registration Statement or amendments thereto.

Memo from **VERNON E. JORDON, JR.**

Les ✓

I see no particular advantage in our being listed in the directory.

Agree? vej

December 27, 1963

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thanks loads for bringing to our attention the directory of organizations registered with the New York Department of Social Welfare. I doubt that we will submit a report to them unless specifically asked to do so.

I enjoyed my visit to Frogmore earlier this month. Sorry that you had to leave and that I didn't get to see your place near the ocean. Maybe next time.

Best wishes for the holiday season.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive
Director

VEJ/rh

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

Rec'd 3/23/64

Frogmore, South Carolina
March 20, 1964
Dict. March 17

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

We are not only attempting to recruit additional members but also a chairman for the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights. Obviously, there are not many prospects in the state for membership, so we are seeking all those with whom we have contact to make suggestions.

In this connection, I talked with Colonel Muse by 'phone concerning his visits in the state. He indicated that in his reports to SRC, he had mentioned a number of persons that might be approached either for membership themselves or for suggestions as to who might serve. The reports he felt most pertinent were those of October 14, 1961, April 30, 1962 and Mississippi, January 1964.

It would be very helpful if I were to be able to see the reports. Would there be a possibility of thermofaxing them if they are not too long? Otherwise, if you prefer for them to remain in the office, I could perhaps stop by and look at them.

I am enclosing a thermofax of some of the publicity concerning the SCLC conference here. It was helpful talking with you. I did decide not to issue a statement or release a letter.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Courtney

Courtney Siceloff
Regional Consultant

cc: Col. Ben Muse

2WD ✓

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

File

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

Mayesville, South Carolina 29104
June 20, 1964

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Asst. to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Vernon:

In response to your letter of June 16, there are a half-dozen or so speeches enclosed. I have the originals of these, and it isn't absolutely necessary that I get them back. I wouldn't mind having them back, however, or mimeographs.

Under separate cover, I enclose a small book THE ROOTS, which contains two of my speeches. Since this book isn't copyrighted, you can use these if you wish. PLEASE RETURN the book at your convenience; this is my only copy.

You will find another recent speech of mine printed in Tuskegee's "Conference on Disadvantage.." You probably have a copy of the booklet in the office. It is, however, copyrighted. Doubtless Tuskegee would give you permission to reprint, if you wanted to. You have my permission.

There are some fifteen more from the last several years which I hesitate to send through the mail, as I have no copies. These include my last two: "####dRaid across the Ohio," where I went after George Wallace, and "The Commonwealth of Kentucky," which I delivered just a week ago today at Frankfort, for which I received proper payment AND a commission as a Kentucky Colonel, signed by the Governor. Unfortunately no bourbon came along with it. In the present market he'd better kept the commission and given me the bourbon, though I can hang the commission on the wall, and I couldn't do that to the bourbon. In fact, a gallon of Bourbon, which would be for Kentucky officialdom a normal gift, might hang me on the wall!

Maybe I can bring these speeches down to you when I come to Atlanta again.

~~Sincerely,~~

Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

July 10, 1964

Mr. Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr.
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Tom:

Believe it or not we do not have available the film "The Face of The South."

I believe you can get it however, from the Anti-Defamation League of 41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

My regards to Courtney and to your families.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

VJ

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

July 1, 1964

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

Southern Regional Council
Film Library
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would like to know the earliest possible date in July that the film THE FACE OF THE SOUTH will be available.

We would like to borrow it to be shown to a group here.

Thank you kindly.

Yours truly,

Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr.

Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr.

TCB:F

P. S. The film is by George Mitchell

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island

Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Dear Vernon —
I know you're glad to
see SRC make the columns of
News & Courier!
I expect to be on hand for
Thurs & Fri conferences called by
Anthony. While in the area, I
hoped can talk to you about
the pension fund, etc. Will try
to give some warning.

Pauline

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C.

Jan. 24, 1963

Dear Barbara:

Filing the last of the material used for the municipal report, I came across the enclosed, which must belong to SRC. So far as I know, this, along with the material returned a month or so ago, is all we had from SRC. But, if some stray piece turns up I'll return it promptly.

Once again, and somewhat belatedly, I want to thank you for your help. I know how time consuming it is to wade through file folders and then have to re-file it all again later.

The report is now out of our hands, I hope, and will be coming out the middle of next month.

Please tell Staige we send along our thanks to him, too, for his help.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Margaret Price

May 1, 1963

Mrs. Margaret Price
Potomac Institute
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Margaret:

Just as a start on providing you with some information about the economic cost, consequences, etc., of resistance to integration, I am enclosing a section from a forthcoming SRC publication on tokenism.

The author, Kenneth Morland, has pulled together some good stuff, I think, about the high cost the South is paying in its resistance to the law of the land. We will be sending you additional material in the weeks to come.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:bp
Enclosure: Eight pages,
Morland manuscript

May 17, 1963

Mrs. Margaret Price
Potomac Institute
1801 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

I am enclosing a selection of recent newpapaer articles (mostly from the Wall Street Journal, the Business Week piece mentioned in our phone chat today, and The High Cost of Conflict pamphlet. In case you've overlooked them, I am also enclosing a few recent L-Reports, which discuss the southern economic situation.

You will note that three of these clips do not discuss the economic costs of resistance directly. They are respectively: 1) the interview with Malcolm X, 2) the Jim Montgomery article on school drop-outs, and 3) the Journal story about aid for the impacted areas. The first reflects, to some extent, another aspect of the price of the South is paying -- and will pay even more -- for denying Negroes their rights -- the price of increasing racial hatred. I assume you saw the Newsweek ta takeout about the militant Negro mood in the May 6 issue (but a copy is enclosed in case you didn't). The second discusses a growing southern problem which is surely aggravated by our separate - but unequal school systems. The third points up how much the South stands to lose if Uncle Sugar cuts off Federal funds to impacted areas which refuse to desegregate.

I hope these materials will be useful to you. We will try to feed you more as we come across it. Sorry

Ltr, Margaret Price
May 17, 1962

for the delay, but life is just a bowl of chaos around this office right now.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosures

P.S. You might find an article in the March-April issue of the Harvard Business Review useful, the article: "Business - Next Target for Integration," by John Perry. We've written for extra copies, but they have not yet arrived.

SDB

June 3, 1963

Mrs. Margaret Price
Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Herewith are some more news clip items on the high cost of racial conflict. As you will note these items deal 1) with Birmingham (clips which I don't think will be available to you at the Potomac), and 2) with the cost maintaining James Meredith at Ole Miss.

We will try to keep you supplied with additional information as we come across it.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosures

Margaret Price

✓BP - fyi
NM - file

Dear Staige:

I've been waiting for the time to write you a proper thank-you for sending all the economic material recently. At the rate we've been going lately, however, we seem a little short of time. So, this quickie. But, I did want you to know we appreciate your efforts and the material you sent was most helpful--the Wall Street Journal articles, particularly, were invaluable.

You may have seen the result, which we hope went to several sources who could use it effectively. But, in case you missed it, I'm sending along a copy.

Again, thanks.

M.

June 11, 1963

June 27, 1963

Mrs. Margaret Price
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

If possible, we would like to get 25 additional copies of your recent report on the "Economic Impact of Racial Unrest." We have had several requests for the sort of information contained in the report and undoubtedly will receive more. If there is a charge for these copies, please bill us accordingly.

A good example of the economic impact of racial unrest was discussed in a piece by Neil Maxwell in yesterday's Wall Street Journal, i.e., its impact on summer tourism in the South. If you can't get a copy in D. C. and would like one, please let me know and I'll send you one.

As you know, we are hoping to do something similar to your report later this year, possibly in conjunction with ADL. I hope, if this project materializes, our report will be as informative as yours.

Incidentally, as a monetime "Black Knight of the Potomac," I enjoyed your husband's recent piece on the cold war warriors of CIA.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

Margaret Price

July 2, 1963

Dear Staige:

A slight delay in answering your letter, as I have been gone for a week's vacation.

I had 25 copies of the economic report mailed to you yesterday. No charge.

I would very much like to have a copy of the Wall Street Journal article you mentioned--the one by Neil Maxwell on summer tourism in the South. Could you send a copy? I would appreciate it. Once I dig out from this stack of copy that has accumulated, perhaps Potomac will subscribe to the paper; judging from all the good clips you have sent, it really does seem we should.

Thanks for the kind words about Bem's spy piece.

Best,

M.

SB - your file

July 2, 1963

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Art:

Enclosed herewith please find our check in the amount of $124.00, payable to Cushing - Malloy, Inc., for the additional copies of the MIS Report. We received 1000 copies.

Les is away on vacation so the response to your letter of June 27 falls on me, and I am happy to do so to say not only hello but that I am enjoying my work with the Council very much.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:Jr/nm
Enclosure
Ck -- $124.00

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 36, D.C. • 332-5566

June 27, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

We received the bill today for the additional copies of the MIS report, copy enclosed. I assume you received your 1,000.

I suggest you send me your check for $124.00, made out to Cushing-Malloy, Inc., and I'll put our check with it and forward to Michigan. In that way, the whole bill will be paid at one time - and this would be simplest for our own bookkeeping.

Hope all goes well with you all.

Bestest,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:EMA
Enc.

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, *President*
LLOYD K. GARRISON, *Treasurer*
JOHN G. SIMON, *Secretary*
PHILIP G. HAMMER, *Trustee*
ANDREW E. NORMAN, *Trustee*
HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Executive Vice-President*
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, *Staff Director*
MARGARET PRICE, *Research Associate*

July 17, 1963

Mrs. Margaret Price
Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Price:

At the request of Mr. Dunbar, I am enclosing one copy each of the Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Houston [redacted].

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Research Secretary

/nm
Enclosures

August 1, 1963

Mrs. Margaret Price
Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Enclosed is a copy of a pamphlet titled The Price is High. It was prepared by Randolph T. Blackwell of our Voter Education Project staff, for Andy Young of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. According to Blackwell, SCLC is planning a limited distribution of the pamphlet. This distribution, at the moment, will be limited to Gastonia, Alabama, and possibly Savannah.

I thought you might be interested in seeing the material he has assembled about the high cost of resistance. I might point out that much, if not most, of it came from our files and from the material assembled by Potomac, in its recent report on the same subject.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

August 20, 1963

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Art:

I am returning the copy of your first draft of a "housing memorandum," which you so kindly sent us for our consideration. Paul Anthony, Les, and Vernon Jordan have all read it over, as well as myself. And we have no criticisms or suggestions for change.

Speaking for myself, I'd just like to say that this memorandum would be a godsend to our research department since it covers clearly and comprehensively, an area about which we are getting an increasing number of requests for information. So I hope you can spare us some extra copies when the final draft is completed.

So far as distribution is concerned, I assume you are planning to circulate it among the interagency groups. I imagine, too, that you are planning some distribution to the press. It seems to me that the memorandum would be particularly useful to such periodicals as the Wall St. Journal, Fortune, Forbes, Barron's and Business Week. I also think it would be advisable to send copies to Architectural Forum and House & Home.

While a great deal is being said these days about equal housing opportunity, I can't see that much is actually being done about it, Metropolitan Life's recent action to the contrary not withstanding. Bob Baker's recent series in the D. C. Post certainly

Ltr., Mr. Arthur Levin
Washington, D. C.

shows how little is being done and how much must be done in the nation's capitol. The value of your memo, in my opinion is that it shows what can and should be done throughout the nation.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 36, D.C. • 332-5566

August 9, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

You will find enclosed a first draft of a "housing memorandum" intended for eventual use by people concerned with equal housing opportunity,

We are circulating this draft to a small group whose judgement we value, and your comments, criticisms, and suggestions for changes, deletions and additions would be much appreciated, including any suggestions you may have on uses for the memorandum in final form.

Thank you for your help, and I hope you are having a good summer. Best regards.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:hjh
enclosure

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, *President*
LLOYD K. GARRISON, *Treasurer*
JOHN G. SIMON, *Secretary*
PHILIP G. HAMMER, *Trustee*
ANDREW E. NORMAN, *Trustee*
HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Executive Vice-President*
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, *Staff Director*
MARGARET PRICE, *Research Associate*

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 36, D.C. • 332-5566

September 24, 1963

File

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Staige:

Please accept my grateful thanks for the comments and suggestions of yourself, Les Dunbar, Paul Anthony and Vernon Jordan concerning the draft memorandum on "The Federal Role In Equal Housing Opportunity".

I am now in the midst of revising the draft according to your comments, which were very helpful, and those of others whose judgements we value.

When the final product is ready for distribution I will send you a copy, and we will be happy to make additional copies available to you as you request.

Thank you very much and best regards.

Sincerely,

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:hjh

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, *President*
LLOYD K. GARRISON, *Treasurer*
JOHN G. SIMON, *Secretary*
PHILIP G. HAMMER, *Trustee*
ANDREW E. NORMAN, *Trustee*
HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Executive Vice-President*
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, *Staff Director*
MARGARET PRICE, *Research Associate*

TA
PW
VI
SB

Advance for release
MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1964

The Potomac Institute
1501 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

332 - 5566

Federal agencies now have the authority and responsibility to promote desegregation in all types of housing built with Federal assistance.

This is the theme of a Potomac Institute study, The Federal Role In Equal Housing Opportunity, released today. The Institute is a private, non-profit research and consulting agency in the field of race relations.

Under President Kennedy's executive order on housing, backed by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, Federal agencies can promote open occupancy by persuasion, regulation, and litigation wherever Federal funds are involved, the study says.

(The recent Supreme Court refusal to review a lower court decision that bars racial segregation in hospitals receiving Federal funds under the Hill-Burton Act supports the Potomac contention.)

The 1962 Executive Order outlaws discrimination in housing aided directly or indirectly by Federal loans, grants, guarantees, or insurance. It also established the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing.

The Potomac Institute study outlines methods -- and cites legal precedents -- for achieving open occupancy in both new and existing urban renewal programs, middle income metropolitan rental housing, and public housing projects.

However, builders of large, single-family developments can avoid non-discrimination requirements by seeking private financing and insurance. Only a broadened order reaching Federally regulated lending institutions can close this loophole. In the meantime, the study suggests that notice be served on builders that future Federal assistance will be refused to those who now continue to discriminate in their housing operations.

The Potomac study recommends positive steps by which Federal agencies can go beyond the prohibition of discrimination and assure that housing is actually open to Negroes and other minorities.

Among such steps are retraining of agency field staff for their new obligation to desegregate Federally-assisted housing, a reporting system to assess progress, and technical assistance to the housing industry to help it benefit from successful desegregation patterns.

Public opposition to desegregation, the study says, can be dealt with by studying successful examples of open occupancy and popularizing them so as to dispel unfounded fears and myths.

April 7, 1966

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Vice President
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I am going to be in Washington Wednesday and Thursday, the 13th and 14th, and would like to come by and chat, if it is convenient with you.

I don't have anything more worthwhile on my mind than trying to find out what is going on these days. I thought I would try and see Bob Baker, too.

I'll call you when I get there.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

April 21, 1966

File

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Just a note to say how sorry I was that we missed connections when you were here last week. I would welcome a chance to talk over with you the new New South and the state of things generally. If you get back up this way, do try me again. Meanwhile,

Best regards,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, President
LLOYD K. GARRISON, Treasurer
JOHN G. SIMON, Secretary
PHILIP G. HAMMER, Director
BURKE MARSHALL, Director
ANDREW E. NORMAN, Director
HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Vice President
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, Staff Director

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1801 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 9, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5600

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Here is a summary we assembled from published sources of the evidence of economic costs of racial unrest since the 1957 disorders in Little Rock. You may find this useful background for any story you prepare on current civil rights developments.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF RACIAL UNREST

There is now clear evidence that wherever racial unrest has occurred in the South the local economy has suffered.

The following resumé of evidence, with the source, available to the business community includes examples of cities and states which have suffered or prospered as the result of the way they have met the challenge of racial change. It includes the statements of some newspapers, businessmen, industrialists, and bankers of the South who have considered the evidence.

THE SOUTH

Martin R. Gainsbrough, Chief Economist, National Industrial Conference Board, said problems raised by public school integration issues in the South had a bad effect on new plant sites in the area. "I know this because I sit in on meetings of various companies where these matters are discussed. I have heard them eliminate from further consideration areas which have this school problem, because of the friction involved in them and the difficulty of getting top personnel to move to such places with their children." (Atlanta Constitution 2-27-59)

Malcolm Bryan, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, in a speech before the Rotary Club of Atlanta, Jan. 23, 1961, said, "In my judgment foreign nations or foreigners seeking plant locations or opportunities to invest their capital--and there is much off-shore capital invested in the South--or other Americans from outside our area seeking the same opportunities are not much concerned with our social opinions. But they are concerned with our ability to govern ourselves and to maintain law and order.... A failure in the South to maintain law and order can cost bitterly in the job opportunities and the wealth that we so much need to increase if our citizens are to be well served. If we behave like a banana republic we shall get and deserve the economic rewards characteristic of a banana republic." (Southern Regional Council Report L-24)

New York Times report on the sit-in pressures across the South in 1961: "Almost without exception desegregation of lunch counters has been accomplished peacefully and without any significant loss of white customers. This has led business leaders in some of the holdout areas to reconsider their position." (5-6-61)

The Wall Street Journal, in 1961: "Precision is impossible in any attempt to measure the pocketbook impact of racial problems. But several economic indicators show that the South, too busy building and booming to notice the recessions of 1953-54 and 1957-58, definitely felt the recent downturn--perhaps, in the view of some economists, even more than the rest of the nation. And many Southerners are inclined to attribute this situation at least partly

to racial unrest." One yardstick is new construction. The article cited figures from officials of the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank: "...in the first quarter, these contracts ran 11 percent below the level of the like quarter of 1960 in the six Southern states served by the Atlanta Federal Reserve while nationally there was an 0.2 percent rise. Similarly, non-residential construction contracts, which include new plants, fell 7.5 percent in the first quarter in the six-state area from the like period of 1960, as compared with a nationwide gain of 9.4 percent." (5-26-61)

Reed Sarratt, executive director of the Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville: "There's a direct relationship between an area's handling of its racial problems and its business success." (AP, 4-63)

ALABAMA

The racial tensions which have seethed in Birmingham for years and erupted in new violence this spring have had a corroding effect on the economic well-being of the city, as shown by a number of sources:

The population of metropolitan Birmingham increased about 14 percent between 1950 and 1960, while the population grew an average of 26.4 percent in other metropolitan areas of the United States. Birmingham's old rival, Atlanta (which long ago outstripped the Alabama city, judging by any number of economic yardsticks) grew about 40 percent and Memphis 30 percent. In the past five years, while jobs increased in the nation as a whole, the number of jobs available in Birmingham dropped 10 percent. Experts say that if Birmingham just holds its own it must create 8,000 to 12,000 new jobs a year. A typical example of how the city is losing new industries is the company which planned a new plant to make products out of steel. Birmingham was negotiating for the plant when the riot over Freedom Riders erupted in 1961. The company decided Birmingham was out of the question and eventually built its plant in Tennessee, although it has to ship its steel in from Birmingham. (Saturday Evening Post, 3-2-63)

In 1957, the Birmingham metropolitan area had its highest employment, 246,000. Today, the total is estimated at 228,000. Some leading citizens say that in recent years large numbers of the best educated young men and women have been deserting the city to find jobs elsewhere. (Wall Street Journal, 5-15-63)

Retail sales in Birmingham were reported off 30 percent or more this spring. One local businessman said several retailers had told him their books had shown a net loss for the first time in a generation. Another businessman of 35 years' experience said there were more stores for rent in Birmingham last fall than there had been during the Depression. Last month one downtown block had eight of its 20 stores empty, with "For Rent" signs in the windows. (New York Times, 5-10-63)

One newspaper account said that downtown stores privately report that business currently is off 40 to 50 percent, hit first by a Negro boycott and then by a tense atmosphere that keeps customers

at home or in suburban shops. A story in the back pages of the Birmingham newspapers in May noted that a chain store was closing its downtown branch in two weeks because of a lack of business. (Washington Post, 5-20-63)

The Federal Reserve Bank in Atlanta reported that in the four-week period ended May 18, 1963, department store sales in Birmingham were down 15 percent below the same period in 1962. Since Jan. 1, 1963, the city's department stores dropped five percent from 1962. During the same four and one half months, department store sales were up seven percent in Atlanta, up 10 percent in New Orleans and up 15 percent in Jacksonville, Fla.

A Birmingham restaurant owner commented recently, "We're hurt and hurt bad because our business community refused to exercise leadership when it could have saved the situation." The restaurant owner said his business had fallen 25 percent since the outbreak of racial violence in April, 1963. John Williamson, head of a sales consultant firm, stated, "We've become known as a city of reaction, rebellion and riot, and because of that we're not gaining industry as fast as we should." (Wall Street Journal, 5-16-63)

The University of Alabama Medical Center in Birmingham is the city's second biggest industry, ranking only behind Tennessee Coal and Iron, a subsidiary of U. S. Steel. The 15-block complex, which represents a $100 million investment has plans for an additional $30 million of construction in the next few years. Despite an outstanding, and growing reputation, Birmingham's adverse publicity sometimes has posed problems for the Center in attracting additional top-flight scientists. The Center has been able to solve the problems--so far--by inviting the scientists to visit for a week to look at the facilities of the Center. (Washington Post, 4-11-63)

Two leading Birmingham executives warned in 1957 that industry was by-passing the city and state in setting up branch plants, sales offices, and warehouses. William P. Engel, former chairman of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100, said industry was looking elsewhere because of the publicity resulting from racial troubles in Birmingham and Montgomery. He mentioned one major plant and several smaller installations which were being located outside the state, as a result. Cooper Green, vice president of the Alabama Power Company, said the publicity over their racial difficulties had hurt both Birmingham and Montgomery, because responsible industry simply does not want to move into a troubled area. He said he had personal knowledge of two major plants and two minor installations that shelved plans to move into the state. (Birmingham Post-Herald, 2-6-57)

Two years ago a top official of one of Birmingham's leading banks declared, "We've been hurt and hurt bad. In the last few days, I bet I've spent $50 in telephone calls trying to convince a big Ohio company that it should locate a pilot plant in Alabama. But I'm afraid we've lost it to New England and lost it strictly because of the unrest down here. The pilot plant in its first stage was scheduled to cost about $3 million and if it had worked out, the company was thinking in terms of a further investment of $40 million to $50 million. Well, we asked for it, and now we're getting it." (Wall Street Journal, 5-26-61)

Sidney W. Smyer, Sr., a lawyer, real estate dealer, and a regional vice president of the Council of State Governments, was chairman of the white committee that met this spring to hammer out a desegregation agreement with Birmingham Negroes. Smyer, who has seen the importance of Birmingham solving its racial problems in order to create a good atmosphere for business, has observed: "I'm still a segregationist, but I hope I'm not a damn fool." (AP, 5-17-63)

After racial violence in Birmingham and Montgomery in 1961, the Anniston (Ala.) Star said that "unless we can get more protection from our constituted officers of the law in our cities and counties, we might as well close up our Chambers of Commerce and similar institutions; for no thoughtful person wants to come to a place where both human and property rights are held in such low repute."

About the same time, the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser observed, "The most obvious injury is to the cause of those who seek to entice new industry to Alabama to create payrolls and provide the material blessings so long denied by the Civil War and its aftermath. The police dereliction in Birmingham probably shrank business in every firm in the city. There are a lot of fundamental reasons why a city and state cannot tolerate violence in any circumstance. But the most obvious reason is that riotous conditions blight profits and payrolls--and, politically, make the South's plight worse than before." (5-18-61)

Last year, the Washington Post suggested, "The day of reckoning is approaching in Alabama. Vast Federal installations there will be affected by the Federal Government's nondiscrimination policies." (6-17-62)

Last year, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced that local, segregated schools no longer would be considered suitable for children of military personnel. This spring, it was announced in Washington that on-base desegregated schools would be built for children of military personnel in three Alabama communities: Maxwell and Gunter Air Force bases in Montgomery; Fort Rucker, near Ozark, and Fort McClellan at Anniston. Montgomery alone will lose an estimated annual $104,345 in impacted-areas assistance, as a result.

ARKANSAS

In the two years before the school crisis erupted into violence in Little Rock in September, 1957, industrial investments totaled $248 million in Arkansas. During the period, Little Rock alone gained 10 new plants, worth $3.4 million, which added 1,072 jobs in the city. In the two years after the turbulence which brought Federal troops to the city, not a single company employing more than 15 workers moved into the Little Rock area. Industrial investments in the state dropped to $190 million. (Newsweek, 10-22-62)

Five years later, in the fall of 1962, an official in the Little Rock industrial development program commented, "We still don't like to talk about the school row. But everyone knows it knocked us in the head for four years and we're not out of it yet." (Wall Street Journal, 10-1-62)

The lingering effect of racial violence on the state's economic growth can be shown by yet other figures. Arkansas started an industrial development program in 1955. In its first full year of operation, 1956, 95 new plants with a total capital investment of $130.1 million were brought in. In 1961, 63 new plants, costing $44 million, opened in the state. (Wall Street Journal, 10-1-62)

After the school troubles, Everett Tucker, industrial director of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, commented, "Now, and for the predictable future, whenever a company is planning a new factory, it will immediately think of Little Rock as a 'hot-bed' of segregation--which is not true at all. This is going to set our industrial program back considerably." Leonard C. Yaseen, senior partner of the Fatus Factory Locating Service, said that a large metal products manufacturer who had been considering Little Rock for a new plant changed his mind after the school disturbances. Yaseen said several other clients also removed Little Rock from the list of possible sites, adding, "Mob action and civic irresponsibility place a community on industry's blacklist." (Accent on the South, Benjamin D. Segal, reprint from Labor's Daily.)

Dr. Charles H. Carpenter, Industrial Engineering Consultant to the Arkansas Development Commission, stated that Governor Orval Faubus' actions in the desegregation controversy had cost the state thousands of jobs. He said also there had been a "loss of large, substantial industries which might otherwise have come to Arkansas. (Arkansas Gazette, 10-3-57)

Dr. F. Douglas Lawrason, provost for medical affairs, University of Arkansas said, "The University Medical Center, being within the community of Little Rock, could not help but be affected by the public school problem there. I think it would be only fair to say that because of this complicating social change, the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community." (Arkansas Gazette 1-16-59)

In 1959, after two years of turmoil over the schools and a full year of closure of the public high schools, the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools, an organization of Little Rock citizens, made a study of the effects of the crisis on the business and professional life of the city. Among the findings: based on the first six months of the year, an estimated one-third fewer Arkansas families moved into the city than in 1957; there was an estimated 50 percent drop in newcomers from outside the state. The owner of one of the leading real estate companies in the city said the sale of homes dropped between 20 and 25 percent in 1959 from the previous year; vacancies in rental properties were up 20 percent. Elsewhere on the economic front: employment in the building industry was running 10 percent below the previous year; the value of building permits in the Little Rock area was down 12 percent from 1958. Effective buying income per household declined seven percent between 1956-58, a decline sharper than in all but one of 25 other Arkansas cities and sharper than in all but one of 26 leading midwest and southwest cities surveyed. While

department store sales were up four percent in Little Rock in 1958, compared to the previous year, they jumped 23 percent in Memphis. (Little Rock Report-The City, Its People, Its Business)

In a survey in January, 1959, the American Association of University Women surveyed Little Rock businessmen. A president of a real estate and insurance firm said the school situation "has very definitely hurt the real estate business--just about killed it, as a matter of fact." A salesman for another large real estate firm commented, "Real estate is slow now--roughest I have ever seen." A merchandise executive observed, "If any man does not recognize that the current situation has hurt local business, he has rocks in his head!" One citizen, however, indicated his business had improved after the school crisis--an executive of a long distance moving company, who said, "We are moving families away from Little Rock faster than ever before. Incoming moves are predominantly government personnel rather than large corporations." (The High Cost of Conflict, Anti-Defamation League.)

FLORIDA

When the South was in the midst of violent demonstrations over school desegregation one big midwestern firm decided to open a new plant in Florida because it considered Leroy Collins, then governor, a moderate on the race issue. In a wire to the governor the firm said it considered Collins' leadership would help provide "a type of industrial climate which is essential for business stability and confidence." (Accent on the South.)

However, racial and other factors are costing Miami millions of dollars a year in direct business from the Caribbean, the Miami Herald said in a 1957 article from Kingston, Jamaica. Jamaican Trade Minister Wills Isaacs said that "wealthy Jamaican Negro businessmen are steering away from Miami to do their business because of color barriers at hotels and restaurants. Without such barriers, Miami's business with Jamaica would increase 400 to 500 percent and that amounts to millions." The article quoted Miami Mayor Randall N. Christmas, who commented, "Miami is becoming more cosmopolitan and our area is the least discriminatory in all the South. I think you will find Miami lowering barriers which are detrimental to inter-American trade and goodwill."

In the past two or three years Miami, and Florida, have lowered a good many barriers, more often than not quietly. And last year, Florida claimed 715 new plants and expansions. The state is considering a multi-million-dollar program to build several new universities, most of them geared to engineering and space.

GEORGIA

At the time Georgia was facing its school segregation controversy in 1957, State Auditor B. E. Thrasher told of the damaging effect on the state's efforts to sell $12 million worth of bonds

for the state university system building program. Thrasher said investment officers of insurance companies are "afraid of controversial issues" and added that "investors have been scared by rumors that segregation troubles might force closing of buildings." The Atlanta Constitution reported that the University System Building Authority had withdrawn a $12 million bond offer after experts advised there might not be any bidders. (New South, Southern Regional Council, 7-8-57)

Georgia experienced the impact of public school desegregation in 1961, with the first Negroes scheduled to enter formerly all-white schools in Atlanta. Many citizens expressed their opinions in hopes that it would help the state avoid conflict and economic damage. Nearly 1,000 businessmen in Georgia signed a petition for enactment of whatever legislation might be necessary to continue uninterrupted operation of public schools.

H. McKinley Conway, Jr., publisher of "Industrial and Development Manufacturers Record," which helps select sites for new industry in the South, told why the whole state had a stake in Atlanta's reaction to a Federal order to desegregate schools: "As the center of the Southeastern market, Atlanta will attract a certain number of facilities which could not logically be situated elsewhere. But many plants which need only find a suitable site in a small community . . . can and will ignore the offers of small Georgia communities in preference for similar locations in other states where the school problem is being handled more smoothly." (Atlanta Journal, 1-17-61)

James V. Carmichael, President of Scripto, Inc., told the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce, March 16, 1961, "If it had not been for the courageous action of the governor and the legislature in clarifying the school situation (i.e., passage of 'open-school' legislation) Lockheed (Marietta, Ga., plant) would not have received the contract ($1 billion federal contract for construction of a military transport plane)." (Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 3-16-61)

General Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of the Board, Continental Can Company, Inc., speaking before the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce in Atlanta, May 22, 1961, observed: "Employees being transferred to Georgia worry about the school conditions for their children. Manufacturers worry about the conditions which could develop within their plants. Today, almost every major manufacturing company is engaged to some extent in contract operations for the government subject to the anti-discrimination laws. Most of us like to feel that we are a part of the community where we are located and that accordingly we must respect and accept local customs and traditions. None of us want to locate in areas where there is serious risk of conflict between local custom and Federal law. We need the good will of the community, and yet we must obey the law."

General Clay also said that, "so far, the desegregation issue has not affected our operations. We find much understanding of the problem in our plants and an enlightened approach to the problem

from our own employees. Nevertheless, we cannot dismiss it as non-existent. Whatever and whenever the solution, until it is solved, it does create some disquiet, some apprehension in the minds of those who otherwise look favorably on Georgia for industrial expansion."

After several months of intermittent demonstrations in 1960-61 in Atlanta, and a boycott sparked by student groups to remove racial barriers in lunch counters and department store restaurants, merchants agreed that the Negro boycott of the downtown area was almost 100 percent effective. Department store sales for a one week period in February, 1961, were down 12 percent from the previous year, the Federal Reserve bank reported. Receipts of some variety stores showed a far greater drop. During the demonstrations, early in 1961, one store executive said, "The most important thing that can be done is to convince the power structure that this situation can ruin the downtown area. The effect is not going to be confined to the retail stores. It will hit the banks, the office supply concerns, the insurance firms, the real estate interests and all the rest." (New York Times, 2-18-61)

In Savannah, Ga., a citizens' negotiating committee announced the end of lunch counter discrimination in downtown stores in July, 1961. The action followed a 15-month boycott of the stores by Negroes. Apparently the Negro refusal to buy hurt merchants. One store manager commented to a reporter, "There wouldn't have been an agreement to desegregate the lunch counters if it hadn't." (Washington Post 7-10-61)

In Macon, Ga., Mayor Edgar Wilson commented last year, "We've been watching these freedom rides and boycotts in other cities and we're getting the picture. Even Robert E. Lee finally had to surrender, didn't he?" At the time, Macon had taken down the segregation signs at the public golf course and the library; 19 lunch counters had been opened to Negroes and five Negro women, formerly employed as cleaning women in local department stores, had been upgraded to sales jobs. A white member of a secret Macon businessmen's committee which worked with a Negro group on desegregation solutions, observed: "Most of us didn't want any part of the trouble that cities around us have been experiencing. We contacted cities like Atlanta and Savannah which have had trouble in the past, and we found out quickly what it could mean. In Savannah we learned a Negro boycott cut retail sales as much as 50 percent in some places. Stores weren't the only ones hurt, either. Bankers, insurance men, small loan companies--all of them felt it." (Wall Street Journal, 1-16-62)

At present Macon has a new airport terminal, opened without any segregation. After a three week boycott and a court suit, the city bus line dropped segregation. Racial signs have been removed on restrooms and water fountains. At least 150 Negroes have been employed as clerks, cashiers or office help in stores of all types. Some merchants have reported unofficially that their new Negro clerks are selling more than any of the other clerks. City parks and playgrounds are now open to both races. (New South 4-63)

W. Cameron Mitchell of the Georgia Chamber of Commerce said this year, "Since Georgia has handled its racial problems in most instances on a very high plane, this matter seldom comes up in discussions with prospective industries." In the past four years, nearly 1,000 new plants or expansions have benefitted Georgia, increasing jobs by 36,000, payrolls by $122 million, and capital investments by $370 million. Georgia gained 101 new industries in 1962. (AP, 1963)

LOUISIANA

In 1960, after several days of street demonstrations following the first desegregation of New Orleans schools, two of the city's leading department stores reported a business drop-off of up to 30 percent. (Washington Post, 11-27-60)

In November, 1960, the Wall Street Journal found that in New Orleans: "Demonstrations and downtown street skirmishes have left many stores practically deserted." An official in the drapery section of one store reported his department's sales were running 50 percent under the $3,000 a day business usual at that time of year. Other findings: "At Maison Blanche, New Orleans' largest department store, merchandise manager E. Jones says: 'Our sales were running about 10 percent below a year ago until last Monday, but they dropped this week 20 percent to 30 percent.' . . Advertising outlays this coming weekend have been slashed 50 percent... plans for hiring extra sales personnel for the usual Christmas rush are being reconsidered.

"A partner in one advertising agency here reports: 'Many of my clients don't think it's wise to spend lots of money now. They're very pessimistic over sales prospects for the coming months . . .'

"'Business has stopped cold,' reports H. B. Lawrence, manager of Home Finance Service. 'This time last month we were lending $800 to $1,000 more each day than we were taking in, which is a good sign of better potential earnings for us. Yesterday the difference was down to $397. The day before that we took in $381 more than we loaned, which is really bad.'" (11-18-60)

Four years earlier, Opie L. Shelton, executive vice president of the Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce had warned: "Boycotts, economic reprisals, the possibility of abandoning our public schools, incidents of violence, irresponsible statements--these are new factors which will now be given consideration by industry and business when they consider a Southern location." (New South 5-56)

New Orleans Councilman Fred J. Cassibry said in a speech December 29, 1960, "Our abundance of natural resources should be like a beacon toward which all the great industrial concerns of the nation should pilot their ships. We won't attain this goal, however, by being listed with Little Rock, Ark., as the most bigoted and hate filled community in the nation. We can hardly expect the industrial giants of the nation to risk capital in a state which handles its problems (regardless of our personal feelings) as ineptly and inexpertly as we have handled the school problem.

"But there is yet time. No lasting damage has been done. No charge of communism or integrator should deter those political, business, civic and labor heads of our community from leading us through this trying crisis. Demagogues have been the spokesmen of our people. It is high time their destructive and irresponsible mouthings are replaced by voices of responsibility and decency." (Southern Regional Council-Report L24)

The Charlotte (N.C.) Observer commented in 1958 on another way in which a state which fights change can suffer: "Louisiana is getting ready to parade before the country the sorry spectacle of an inquisition inside a university. Its segregationist legislature is alarmed that 66 members of the faculty of Louisiana State University would dare to sign a petition opposing the closing of public schools ordered to admit Negroes. A committee of representatives and senators has come storming onto the scene like volunteer firemen, sending out questionnaires and talking darkly of 'Communist connections' and 'subversive tendencies'." It added that a university could not survive "with vigilantes roaming the campus" and then pointed out: "The president of Dartmouth College was heard to say recently that now, for the first time, the rich Northern schools can come South and hire almost any good professor they want. They could not formerly do this, their money notwithstanding. And the reason they can do it now is the police state atmosphere in much of the South, where academic freedom is drowned in the racial turmoil and where such things can occur as are now occurring in Baton Rouge. Louisiana can drive out its thinkers because they happen to be thinking unpopular thoughts. But other regions will be the richer, and the South much the poorer, for their going."

MISSISSIPPI

After the riots at the University of Mississippi last fall and the ensuing violence, threats and reprisals, William B. Selah, Jr., director of the Southwest Mississippi Area Development Commission, expressed what may well have been the reaction of a good number of the state's businessmen: "Violence hurts."

To improve its lagging economy, Mississippi has been trying for 25 years to entice industries to the state, and with some good results. However, after the University riots over the admission of one Negro student, one state industrial salesman heard from eight Northern industrialists who had been considering opening new plants in the state--four of them had dropped their plans. One Midwest furniture manufacturer said frankly, "It looks like you people are being led by the wrong element." Not long after the violence at Oxford, a Jackson banker commented, "I don't think we're going to have much industry running our way for a while." The Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board had to cancel a long-planned luncheon in Chicago, where Governor Barnett was to address several hundred industrialists. Several manufacturers had written they wouldn't be interested, and one state official indicated it was feared the governor would get a cold reception. (Newsweek, 10-22-62)

One result of the University crisis: the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools put "Ole Miss" and six other state-supported universities on "extraordinary status". This move, which in effect placed the schools on probation, found the governor guilty of political interference. It accepted the governor's and the board of trustees' assurances there was present interference but warned that the university system was under observation and warned that any additional submission to political interference, any legislative punitive action or riots could bring quick loss of accreditation. (UPI 11-28-62)

By May, 1963, Chancellor J. D. Williams said 16 professors had resigned from the University of Mississippi faculty, four more than the average year-end turnover, Williams added. The University has a professional force--those above the rank of instructor--of about 100. However, an Associated Press survey indicated that 35 professors either had quit or had their resignations pending. One professor told the AP that of the 35, he thought 21 were leaving because of the integration problems, although undoubtedly some would have left in a year or two anyhow for better paying jobs. Three of the resignations officially acknowledged came from department chairmen; all had joined the Mississippi faculty in 1946. (AP 5-17-63)

The executive committee of the Association of American Law Schools recommended unanimously in December, 1962, that the University of Mississippi Law School be suspended from membership if "a suitable educational atmosphere is not quickly created." The recommendation was presented to the full association but did not require any action.

NORTH CAROLINA

In the fall of 1962, businessmen in Charlotte, N.C., hit by drives for desegregation, estimated their business was cut by 20 to 40 percent. (Newsweek 10-22-62)

In the state as a whole, North Carolina, which began compliance with the Supreme Court school decisions with less social upheaval than its sister Southern states, had new plant investments in 1958 of $253 million, while Virginia stood still. (Harvard Business Review, July-August 1960)

TENNESSEE

In Memphis, Bry's Department Store went out of business after a boycott and sit-in. (Newsweek 10-22-62)

In Nashville, where Negro students led a boycott of all downtown stores in 1960, business leaders felt a definite slump. It was not until businessmen agreed to carry out a quiet desegregation program that the customers who had been supporting the boycott began returning. (Newsweek, 10-22-62)

Nashville's boycott was maintained for approximately seven weeks at what has been estimated at about 98 percent efficiency,

a figure downtown merchants generally agreed on. Negroes in Nashville spend an estimated $7 million annually downtown and their absence had varying results. In one department store, Harvey's, they represented 12 to 15 percent of the business, in another department store, Cain-Sloan, five percent. The transit company found its revenues dwindling seriously; the two newspapers found advertising lineage figures falling.

In addition to the boycott supporters, other shoppers stayed away from the downtown area--those who live in a 75-mile shopping radius of Nashville. While conditions remained unsettled downtown as a result of sit-ins, they could either stay home or shop in suburban areas. This, too, hurt business in the central city, for these out-of-towners represent 20 percent of the shopping totals. Another factor, unseasonably cold weather, added to the merchants' troubles.

Variety stores were hit particularly hard. With their lunch counters a sit-in target, even those who did venture downtown avoided the food counters, which sometimes account for as much as 50 percent of the gross profit. Even businesses not involved in the sit-ins and which had reputations of good service to Negroes found business dropping. (Settling a Sit-in, Wallace Westfeld; a report prepared for the Nashville Community Relations Conference.)

Nashville did, however, work for a solution, with some give and take on both sides, although many Negroes considered there was only a "token" integration settlement in 1960. Subsequently, department store restaurants and downtown theaters were opened to Negroes. Hotels, motels and most restaurants remained segregated. Public swimming pools were closed. This spring, after no new gains were being made, Negro students once again demonstrated, this time against two segregated downtown restaurants. The mayor has announced the formation of a permanent Human Relations Committee of distinguished whites and Negroes to work out full desegregation plans for the city. (New York Times, 5-17-63)

One assessment of how a state which initially refuses to come to terms with realities of impending change came from George L. Benedict, Jr., a member of the Tennessee Industrial and Agricultural Development Commission. Benedict told the Chattanooga Times in 1958, "This violence hurts us more than the people here realize. You try to sell a man on moving an industrial plant to Tennessee. But he knows about these acts of violence, and he doesn't want to move into that kind of thing."

State Budget Director E. J. Boling said violence in Tennessee threatened the state's credit ratings: "We go up to New York to talk to investment bankers . . . They start off talking about such things as these dynamitings. Sometimes that's all they talk about . . . they only want to know about all the acts of violence." State Comptroller William Snodgrass concurred. Violence of the threat of violence can add a small fraction to interest rates and it adds up to millions eventually. (The Atlanta Journal-Constitution 3-30-58)

George Benedict, now executive aide to Governor Frank Clement of Tennessee, told this year of a prospective industry which was being wooed by two other Southern States. At a dinner in one of the states, industrialists were told, "You don't have to worry about any damn Niggers here." Benedict said that state lost out and Tennessee gained the new industry. (AP, 1963)

TEXAS

Leading citizens of Dallas were determined their city should not become another Little Rock or New Orleans. By the time they faced desegregation of their schools in 1961, white and Negro civic leaders had been working for 16 months to smooth the way. Confronted with the Little Rock picture early in 1960, the Dallas Citizens Council, an unofficial body of the chief executives of 250 of the largest businesses, appointed a seven-man committee to collaborate with a counterpart committee of Negroes. The white committee was headed by C. A. Tatum, president of the Dallas Power and Light Company. The Negro committee represented 125 Negro organizations and was under the chairmanship of C. Maceo Smith, regional intergroup relations director for the Federal Housing Administration. Both groups hammered at the theme of law and order and disseminated their message--that a good citizen obeys the law--through civic clubs, religious bodies, labor unions, medical, and bar associations. Personal contacts, printed and film material were used. By the time the first school desegregation went into effect, Dallas already had opened 40 restaurants to Negroes, manuals had been distributed to store clerks to aid them in handling complaints about desegregation, the State Fair Grounds amusement park had been opened to all, Negro policemen had been shifted from plain clothes to uniform, various forms of transportation segregation were ended, employers had been asked to reappraise their classification policies and this had resulted in some upgrading of Negroes. The result of all the preparation: Dallas, which had been the largest city in the nation maintaining segregation, admitted its first Negroes to white schools in the fall of 1961 without incident. (New York Times, 7-30-61, AP 9-6-61)

VIRGINIA

A State Conference on economic and industrial development was scheduled to be held in Richmond, Va., in mid-1959. Benjamin Muse, in a column in the Washington Post, commented, "It is high time" and then detailed how Virginia had failed to attract industry during its period of "massive resistance." He compared his state of Virginia with North Carolina: "While Governor Almond was setting about the liquidation of this state's public school system, Governor Luther H. Hodges of North Carolina threw himself into a tireless and imaginative campaign of industrial promotion. A quarter of a billion dollars in new industrial investments was attracted to his state in one year." He called the report of the Virginia Division of Industrial Development on "Manufacturing Plants in Virginia Established Since 1950" a "pitiful thing."

Muse said that the report claimed 62 new manufacturing plants were established in Virginia during 1958. Muse wondered where the line was drawn between a "manufacturing plant" and "a couple of fellows engaged in a do-it-yourself enterprise." He said that 11 of the aforementioned plants had five employees each; five had less than five employees. The "approximate" number of employees in all the 62 plants was 1,663. However, 20 plants which opened in Virginia from 1950-57 closed in 1958 and one of them alone, the American Viscose Co. at Roanoke, employed 1,750 persons--more than the total employees of the 62 new plants.

The St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times outlined Virginia's plight, after the state decided to close schools ordered to desegregate, in this way:

"In 1951-52-53, the first three years of the decade, before massive resistance and school closing had been thought of, Virginia had increased the average number employed in manufacturing by 31,400.

"In 1957-58-59, the last three years of the decade, during which massive resistance was legally formulated and tried, Virginia increased the average by a net of 5,100, or roughly one-sixth as well as it had done in the earlier three years.

"This list of 11 such plants ('put up by bluechip national concerns') employing up to 1,650 today, shows none obtained for 1958 and 1959, one for 1957, one for 1956 and all the remainder in the first half of the decade . . .

"In fact, the concern of the Virginia business community that it might face a mortal blow if massive resistance wasn't abandoned is perhaps the best evidence of all of the serious impact the school situation was having on the state's economy." (7-24-60)

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Address by REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
President, Southern Christian Leadership
Conference, at Freedom Fund Report Dinner,
NAACP 53rd Annual Convention, Atlanta, Ga.,
Morehouse College Gymnasium, Thursday,
July 5, 1962 - 7:00 p.m.

Standing ovation

Presiding Officer, Mr. Wilkins, delegates to the 53rd Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I sincerely welcome the opportunity to be with you on this auspicious occasion. I bring warm greetings to you from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. We reaffirm our appreciation to you for all of the significant work that you have done across the years. As a result of the work of the NAACP, America is a better nation, and we as Negroes are heirs of a legacy of courage and dignity. One day all of America will be proud of your achievements.

As a citizen of Atlanta I would like to say how much I regret that shortsightedness, moral laxity and downright prejudice on the part of some made it impossible for the hotels to be opened for this convention. I know that this has been an insult to your dignity and an affront to your person. You are to be commended for protesting this grave injustice. Your picket lines have eloquently laid the issue before the conscience of the community. This whole episode reveals that Atlanta is far from where it ought to be in human relations. It should challenge every Negro and white person of good will in this city to move courageously and forthrightly to make democracy a reality.

As we assemble here this evening, it may be well for us to assess the progress that has been made in the civil rights struggle, and determine from that the challenges and responsibilities which lie ahead.

On the one hand, we can affirm with almost inexpressible joy that we have made some significant strides in our long trek up Freedom's road. In the words of Prime Minister McMillan, the wind of change is blowing, and with almost hurricane force, it is sweeping away an old and unjust order. Probably the most overt expression of this change is the gradual breakdown of the system of segregation. We all know the legal history of this system. It had its beginning in 1896 when the Supreme Court rendered the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision establishing the doctrine of separate but equal as

the law of the land. Of course, we know what happened as a result of the Plessy decision: there was always a strict enforcement of the separate, without the slightest intention to abide the equal, and so the Negro ended up being plunged into the abyss of exploitation where he experienced the bleakness of nagging injustice. But the minute the Plessy decision was rendered, there were those who saw its injustice. Justice Harlan, the lone dissenter in this decision, saw it as a failure to realize that the Constitution was color blind. About twelve years later the NAACP came into being, and then followed its brilliant, diligent, and courageous work on behalf of justice and Negro rights. It was mainly the work of this great organization which led to the decision of May 17, 1954. In this decision the Supreme Court examined the legal body of segregation and pronounced it constitutionally dead. It said in substance that the old Plessy doctrine must go, that separate facilities are inherently unequal, and that to segregate a child on the basis of his race is to deny that child equal protection of the law. This decision came as a refreshing oasis in a desert swelling with the heat of injustice. When this Brown decision was rendered, seventeen states and the District of Columbia practiced absolute segregation in the public schools. Today all but three of these states have made some move -- most of them token -- toward integrating their schools.

Segregation has broken down in other areas. When the Montgomery bus boycott started in 1955, most communities in the South had segregated bus systems. Today segregation is almost totally eliminated on city buses in the major urban areas of the South. Since the sit-in movement started in 1960, more than one hundred and fifty cities of the South have integrated their lunch counters. Since the Freedom Rides began in 1961, segregation in interstate travel has all but been eliminated. So in a real sense, the system of segregation is on its death bed, and the only thing uncertain now is how costly the South will make the funeral.

Now this would be a wonderful place for me to end my speech. It would mean that the problem is about solved now, and that we can sit comfortable by the wayside and wait on the coming of the inevitable. But if I stop at this point I will simply be stating a fact

and not telling the truth. You see, a fact is merely the absence of contradiction; truth is the presence of coherence. Truth is the relatedness of facts. It is a fact that we have come a long, long way in race relations, but in order to give the whole truth, we must add the fact that we have a long, long way to go. So if I stop now, I will leave you the victims of a dangerous optimism. If I stop at this point, I will leave you the victims of an illusion wrapped in superficiality. So I must move on to say that we are far from the promised land in civil rights.

We need not look very far to see this. There are still legislative halls in the South ringing loud with such words as interposition and nullification. The Negro still confronts numerous problems in seeking to register and vote in many sections of the South. Economic injustice is still an ugly reality where the Negro is involved. We often react with great satisfaction when we discover that the annual income of the Negro is twenty-seven billion dollars -- which is more than all the exports of the United States and the national budget of Canada. But before rejoicing about this, let me give you the other side. Statistics revealed a few years ago that 42% of the Negro families of America made less than $2,000 a year, while just 17% of the white families made less than $2,000 a year; 21% of the Negro families made less than $1,000 a year, while just 6% of the white families made less than $1,000 a year; 88% of the Negro families earned less than $5,000 a year, while just 58% of the white families earned less than $5,000 a year. The Negro is still the last hired and the first fired. Even the federal government is a day to day partner in this tragic evil. There are still industries receiving billions of dollars in government contracts, and yet practicing notorious discrimination against Negroes. In the ranks of labor there are still a few unions that bar Negroes from membership, and deny them apprenticeship training. Yes, the Negro is still at the bottom of the economic totem pole, and there is a great deal to do before this problem is solved.

Above all, we must not overlook the fact that segregation is still with us. It still exists in the South in its overt and glaring forms. It still exists in the North in its hidden and subtle forms. It is true, as I just said, that the system of segregation is on its

death bed, but history has proven that social systems have a great last minute breathing power, and the guardians of the status quo are always on hand with their oxygen tents to keep the old order alive. (applause) So we must be forever vigilant. Racial discrimination in housing is still a tragic reality, North and South. This housing discrimination has made for de facto segregation in the public schools in almost every major northern city.

I mentioned earlier that fourteen states and the District of Columbia had made some move to comply with the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court. But before shouting for joy, notice the fact that only 7.6% of the Negro students of the South have been placed in integrated schools. This is hardly 1% progress a year. Far from moving with all deliberate speed, this is hardly an all deliberate crawl. Yes, segregation is still alive.

But we know, as we assemble here for this convention, that segregation is a cancer in the body politic which must be removed before our democratic health can be realized. In fact, if democracy is to live, segregation must die. (appl)

America does not have long to solve this problem. I know that there are those -- some well intentioned -- who are telling us to slow up and cool off for a while. They urge us to adopt a policy of moderation. Well, if moderation means moving on toward the goal of justice with wise restraint and calm reasonableness, then moderation is a great virtue which all men of good will must seek to achieve during this tense period of transition. But if moderation means slowing up in our move for justice and capitulating to the undemocratic practices of the guardians of the evil system of segregation, then moderation is a tragic vice that all men of good will must condemn. We can't afford to slow up. We have our self-respect to maintain. But even more, we can't afford to slow up because of our love for America and the democratic way of life. The jet like pace of modern world events does not afford America the luxury of ox cart movement in civil rights. There are approximately 2,800,000,000 in the world. The vast majority of these people live in Asia and Africa. For years they were dominated politically, exploited economically, segregated and humiliated by some foreign power. But the wind of change began to blow, and what a jostling wind it is. Just fifteen

years ago the British empire had under its political domination more than 650,000,000 people in Asia and Africa. Today that number has been reduced to less than fifty million. Twenty-five years ago there were only three independent countries in the whole of Africa. With the birth of three new nations in the last two weeks, including Algeria, there are now thirty-two independent nations in Africa. (cancel) As these former colonial subjects gain their independence, they are saying in no uncertain terms that racism and colonialism must go, and they are making it clear that they will not respect any nation that will subject a segment of its citizenry on the basis of race or color. So the hour is late; the hands of the clock of destiny are fastly moving toward midnight. We must act now, because our nation has a rendezvous with destiny.

Now I must hasten to say that America must not seek to solve this problem merely to meet the Communist challenge or appeal to Asia and African peoples. T. S. Elliot has said that the greatest treason is to do the right thing for the wrong reason. Racial discrimination must be uprooted from American society because it is morally wrong. Segregation must be ended because it stands against all of the noble precepts of our Judeo-Christian tradition. In the final analysis, segregation must go not merely because it is diplomatically expedient, but because it is morally compelling.

If we are to bring a final end to the system of segregation and discrimination we must continue to explode and refute several time-worn myths. As you know, the danger of a myth is found in its deceptive qualities. It is not an outright lie. It is the false dressed in the garments of the true. It possesses just enough truth to convince the unanalytical of its validity.

The first myth is the idea that time will solve all problems. It lingers around in many quarters. It is expressed in many familiar phrases: "It takes time you know," "This thing can't be done overnight," or "Just be patient and the problem will work itself out in a few generations." You can easily see the element of truth in the myth. It is true that the problem cannot be solved over-

night. But does this mean that one sits around waiting for the problem to work itself out. The proponents of this myth fail to see that time is neutral. It can be used either constructively or destructively. Human progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and the persistent work of dedicated individuals. Without this hard work time itself becomes the ally of the primitive forces of social stagnation. We must always be up and doing, and realize that the time is always right to do right.

The second myth affirms that only education can solve problems of racial conflict. The devotees of this cherished myth contend that legislation, court orders and executive decrees are ineffective because they cannot change the heart. They also go on to argue that you can't legislate morals. Well it may be true that morality cannot be legislated, but behavior can be regulated. The law may not make a man love me, but it may keep him from lynching me. In short, the law may not change the heart, but can restrain the heartless. It will take education and religion to change bad internal attitudes, but legislation and court orders can control the external effects of bad internal attitudes. So we are challenged to work diligently for meaningful legislation. There is need for civil rights legislation now. It is appalling and tragic that in this enlightened year of 1962, the United States has a do-nothing Congress in civil rights.

The third myth that must be exploded is the idea that the South had peaceful race relations until NAACP'ers, Sit-in'ers, Freedom Riders and the Supreme Court began their vigorous action. The proponents of this myth argue that we are going backwards instead of forward in race relations. They constantly talk about tension being created and hostilities being aroused. They have the strange illusion that there can be a tensionless social transition. But they must be reminded that there is a kind of creative tension which is necessary for growth. They must be reminded that we do not now and we never have had true peace in race relations in the South. We may have had a sort of negative peace in which the Negro too often accepted his state of subordination, but this is not true peace. True peace is not merely the absence of tension; it is the presence of justice. The tension which we see in the South today is the necessary tension

that comes when the oppressed rise up and start to move forward toward a permanent, positive peace.

Another myth that must be refuted is the idea that the Negro vote can do very little to alter conditions in the nation in general and the South in particular. Strangely enough, the supporters of this myth are not the whites, but the Negroes. The white ruling class in the South has always recognized the power of the Negro vote. This is why they have fought so long and hard to deprive the Negro of this right. There are still all too many Negroes devoid of motivation, caught in the clutches of apathy, and expressing the attitude that "my vote does not count." We have the job of going out into the hedges and highways to arouse the motivation of our people and lift them from their apathetic slumbers. I am still convinced that one of the most significant steps that the Negro can take at this hour is that short walk to the voting booth. I commend you for making this issue the theme of your convention. I would like to urge everyone here to take this matter seriously. Let us go back into our communities and develop intensive voter registration campaigns. This job cannot be done through eloquent speeches and emotion-packed mass meetings, although both may be useful means of arousing interest and enthusiasm. But after the interest is aroused it must be followed through with block-to-block, door-to-door organization. We must go to the grassroots level and mobilize every segment of the community for this massive drive. Fortunately, some exciting things are already happening in this area. It is significant indeed that the major civil rights organizations -- NAACP, SCLC, CORE, SNCC and Urban League -- have come together to develop the most thorough and effectively coordinated campaigns ever seen in voter registration. Already we are getting results. In Georgia alone we were able to register more than 30,000 Negroes in less than ninety days. Take a community like Macon, Georgia. The leaders of that community came together a few months ago and organized a massive registration campaign. Little did we know in SCLC when we invested staff and money in that campaign that in sixty days, 6,000 new persons would be registered, thereby doubling the number of Negro registration in that community. Just a few days ago SCLC and NAACP began a joint drive in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Mr. Patton of

the NAACP and Mr. John Calhoun and the Rev. Fred Bennette of SCLC, began working with the community. In slightly less than thirty days some 2,800 persons have been registered. This, I believe, is the answer. If we can do this all over the South things will change. With the ballot we will be able to liberalize the total political climate of the South. With the ballot we will be able to elect Negro congressmen right here in the South. If our drive is successful it is not too optimistic to predict that we will be able to elect at least five Negroes to Congress in the next few years. With the ballot we will be able to transform the salient misdeeds of bloodthirsty mobs into the blessed good deed of orderly citizens. With the ballot we will be able to end police brutality and bring a halt to the dastardly acts of hooded perpetrators of violence. With the ballot we will house our courts with judges who will do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God, and we will be able to send to the sacred halls of Congress men who will not sign a southern manifesto because of their commitment to the manifesto of justice and love. APPL

A fifty myth expresses the idea that the civil rights movement is a confused admixture of organizations seething with disunity. Disunity in the civil rights movement is becoming a favorite topic for a certain number of newspapers and magazines. Recently TIME magazine offered opinions of observers whom it styled "spokesmen" but whose identities are not revealed, evidently to encourage them to make sensational charges about other civil rights leaders. Frankly, I believe we are being victimized. We are enticed into self-serving statements and borderline slander about others to furnish gossip and colorful copy. Certainly, we all know that none of us is immune to error. We frequently have different views on some questions. Thankfully, we are creative and intellectually bold enough to reach in new directions. We can and should criticize each other in fair and free exchange. But, we must be watchful of a growing tendency to encourage and stimulate rancor within us by forces outside. The civil rights movement necessarily has weaknesses and the people who lead it have faults. But in the past decade, particularly, this movement has meant more to America than even its civil rights objectives. It is singularly a mass movement vibrant with idealism, with good will, with honest zeal which has inspired tens of millions. Its wholesome qualities have refreshed

the spirit of mature adults, young people and children. Amidst seas of corruption, reported in detail in the press, this movement has been an island of purity of purpose. This generation has had little to hold onto against storms of cynicism other than the spiritual grandeur of our struggle.

We should not devour each other to the delight of onlookers who would have us corrupt and sully the noble quality of our crusade. We should not do it because it is a distortion of the truth. Our differences are relatively minor -- our criticisms of each other are not deep or intense. Yet when they are sensationally presented they have the illusion of importance and if repeated often enough a new image of our movement will emerge; that of leaders and followers snarling at each other over trivialities and proving by this conduct how unworthy they are of freedom's responsibilities. When I say trivialities, etc., let me be very clear. It is not the disclosure that there are criticisms which disturb me. In any movement, absence of criticism means limited depth, or bureaucratic dictation. But, when our differences of opinion are exploited to disfigure our appearance, we must send petty gossipmongers on their way empty handed but educated in the strength of our dignity.

Now I would like to directly deal with the alleged issue of disunity. The dictionary defines disunity as alienation, as the severing of parts. By this definition we do not have disunity at all -- we have instead differences of opinion, of emphasis but not disunity. Indeed, I think few movements of broad scope have had some of the features of unity which characterize ours. In looking over my schedule I find that I, President of the SCLC, have addressed NAACP chapters in more than 20 states and appeared at its National Convention three years out of the past five. The Chairmen of several SCLC affiliates are Presidents of the NAACP chapters and in Atlanta officers of NAACP and SCLC are almost interchangeable. NAACP has given significant legal assistance to CORE and SNCC. SCLC has contributed cash and personnel to SNCC. Beyond this intimacy organizationally, I believe a flexible unity and diversity of views characterizes our work.

(cont'd Pg. 10)

And so, let us stay together, remembering that we are all moving down the same road. It may be a three-lane road with some emphasizing the way of litigation and mobilizing forces for meaningful legislation, and others emphasizing the way of non-violent direct action, and still others moving through research and education and building up forces to prepare the Negro for the challenges of a highly urbanized society. But we are all moving down the same road toward the same beautiful city of freedom and first-class citizenship. The demands of today are too great and the issues are too serious for any of us to be involved in ego-battles and trivial organizational conflicts.

Another myth that is alive today is the idea that non-violent direct action is a weak and ineffective method that lulls people to sleep. How this idea ever emerged is strange indeed. Can one honestly refer to the 50,000 Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, the thousands of sit-inners, and the hundreds of freedom riders as weak and asleep? Of course not. This method is for the strong and well-disciplined.

It does not overlook the need for court action. Only the misinformed and shortsighted would seek to minimize the importance of litigation. Many of the current breakthroughs have come because of groundwork laid by the diligent work through the courts. So non-violent direct action does not minimize work through the courts. But it recognizes that legislation and court orders can only declare rights; they can never thoroughly deliver them. Only when the people themselves begin to act are rights on paper given life blood. A catalyst is needed to breathe life experience into a judicial decision by the persistent exercise of the rights until they become usual and ordinary in human conduct.

The method of non-violent direct action also has a way of disarming the opponent, it exposes his moral defenses, it weakens his morale and at the same time works on his conscience.

This method also makes it possible for the individual to struggle to secure moral ends through moral means. It breaks with any philosophy or system which argues that the end justifies the means. It recognizes that the end is pre-existent in the means. The means represent the ideal in the making and the end in process. So in the long run destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends;

immoral methods cannot achieve moral goals.

Non-violent resistance also provides a creative force through which men can channelize their discontent. It does not require that they abandon their discontent. This discontent is sound and healthy. Nonviolence saves this discontent from degenerating into morbid bitterness and hatred. Hate is always tragic. It is as harmful to the hater as it is to the hated. It distorts the personality and scars the soul. Psychiatrists are telling us now that many of the inner conflicts and personality distortions are rooted in hate. So they are now saying, "love or perish." This is the beauty of non-violence. It says you can struggle without hating; you can fight war without violence.

At the center of non-violent resistance stands the idea that non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. This is the whole idea of civil disobedience. This is probably the most misunderstood aspect of the non-violent movement. It is easy to see why this is misunderstood. On the one hand we urge people to obey the law, such as the Supreme Court's decision of 1954; on the other hand we urge people to disobey the law, such as the certain laws that exist on the statute books of the South. How explain this apparent inconsistency? How explain this apparent disrespect for law?

One must understand that there are two types of laws. There are just laws and unjust laws. I would be the first to say obey just laws. But no moral man can patiently obey unjust laws. Now the question comes into being, what is the difference between a just and an unjust law?

From a purely moral point of view, an unjust law is one that is out of harmony with the moral law of the universe. More concretely, an unjust law is one in which the minority is compelled to observe a code that is not binding on the majority. An unjust law is one in which people are required to obey a code that they had no part in making -- they were denied the right to vote. So the legislative bodies that made these laws were not democratically elected.

In disobeying an unjust law, the non-violent resisters do it peacefully, openly and non-violently. Most important, they willingly accept the penalty, whatever it is, for in this way the public comes

to re-examine the law in question and will thus decide whether it uplifts or degrades man.

This distinguishes our position on civil disobedience from "the uncivil disobedience" of the segregationist. In the face of laws they consider unjust, the racist seeks to defy, evade or circumvent the law, and they are unwilling to accept the penalty. The end result of their defiance is anarchy and disrespect for the law. The non-violent resister believes that he who openly disobeys a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and then willingly accepts the penalty, gives evidence thereby that he so respects the law that he belongs in jail until it is changed. applause

This method is not without successful precedent. It was used in a magnificent manner by Gandhi to free his people from the long night of colonialism. It has been used in a marvelous manner by hundreds of thousands of students. In this movement they have taken our whole nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. One day historians will record this movement as one of the most significant epics of our heritage.

We are challenged today more than ever before. May we not let up in our determination. We must make it palpably clear that three simple words describe the meaning of our struggle. They are the words all, here, and now. We do not want some of our rights. We shall not be content with a few token handouts here and there. We must be ever mindful of a dangerous trend that is developing in the South. It is a trend toward planned and institutionalized tokenism. Token integration as a good faith start may have some merit. But it is too often a bad faith evasive scheme. It is the old resistance dressed in more sophisticated garments. But we will not settle for token integration. We want all of our rights. applause We do not plan to run to some distant land to get our rights. We will join neither a back to Africa movement nor a White Citizens Council Freedom Ride North movement. applause We want our fredom here in America, here in the black belt of Mississippi, here behind the cotton curtain of Alabama, here on the red clay of Georgia. applause We want all of our rights, and we want them here. And we are not willing to wait a hundred years for our rights. We have lived with gradualism, and we know that it is nothing

but do-nothingism and escapism which ends up in standstillism. No, we are not willing to wait any longer. We want freedom now. We want all of our rights, we want them here and we want them now.

Honesty impells me to admit that as we continue our struggle in the days ahead, the journey will not always be easy. Before we reach the promised land we will confront gigantic mountains of resistance and prodigious hilltops of opposition. Some will have to get scarred up a bit. Some more will have to go to jail. But we must continue with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive, and that truth crushed to earth will rise again. With this faith we will overcome all the obstacles ahead, and we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. This is our profound challenge and our exciting opportunity.

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Chanting now to a few responses
Extemporaneous, preter, unplan
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They chant w
roar to feet
applause

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Birmingham City Jail
April 16, 1963

Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter
Bishop Joseph A. Durick
Rabbi Milton L. Grafman
Bishop Nolan B. Harmon
The Rev. George H. Murray
The Rev. Edward V. Ramage
The Rev. Earl Stallings

My dear Fellow Clergymen,

While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all of the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would be engaged in little else in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine goodwill and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every Southern state with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliate organizations all across the south—one being the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Whenever necessary and possible we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented and when the hour came we lived up to our promises. So I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited

here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here.

Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the eighth century prophets left their little villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home towns; and just as the Apostle Paul left his little village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to practically every hamlet and city of the Greaco-Roman world, I too am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my particular home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am congnizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an ineseapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere in this country.

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of you would want to go beyond the superficial social analyst who looks merely at effects, and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: (1) Collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive. (2) Negotiation. (3) Self-purification and (4) Direct Action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial in-

justice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal and unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants - such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises Rev. Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. Like so many experiences of the past we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through a process of self-purification. We started having workshops on nonviolence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?" We decided to set our direct action program around the Easter season, realizing that with the exception of Christmas, this was the largest shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action,

we felt that this was the best time to bring pressure on the merchants for the needed changes. Then it occurred to us that the March election was ahead and so we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that Mr. Connor was in the run-off, we decided again to postpone action so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. At this time we agreed to begin our nonviolent witness the day after the run-off.

This reveals that we did not move irresponsibly into direct action. We too wanted to see Mr. Connor defeated; so we went through postponement after postponement to aid in this community need. After this we felt that direct action could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask, "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the nonviolent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word tension. I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men to rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. So

the purpose of the direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. We, therefore, concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged in the tragic attempt to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that our acts are untimely. Some have asked, "Why didn't you give the new administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this inquiry is that the new administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one before it acts. We will be sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Mr. Boutwell will bring the millenium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is much more articulate and gentle than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists, dedicated to the task of maintaining the status quo. The hope I see in Mr. Boutwell is that he will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from the devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the words "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long

delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging facts of segregation to say,"Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an air tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year old son asking in agonizing pathos: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored;" when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs.;" when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance

never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness;" then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleekness of corroding despair. I hope, Sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, "how can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are <u>just</u> and there are <u>unjust</u> laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statues are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority, and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship, and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound,

but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn't segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness. So I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong.

Let us turn to a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is difference made legal. On the other hand a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal.

Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout the state of Alabama all types of conniving methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured?

These are just a few examples of unjust and just laws. There are some instances when a law is just on its facr and unjust in its application. For instance, I was arrested Friday on charge of parading without a permit. Now there is nothing wrong with an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade, but when the ordinance is used to preserve segregation and to deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest, then it becomes unjust.

I hope you can see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do.

This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it openly, lovingly, (not hatefully as the white mothers did in New Orleans when they were seen on television screaming "nigger, nigger, nigger") and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law.

Of course, there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was seen sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar because a higher moral law was involved. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks, before submitting to certain unjust laws of the Roman empire. To a degree academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience.

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that if I had lived in Germany during that time I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Council-er or the Klu Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who peefers a negative

peace which is the absence of tension to a postive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action;" who paternalistically feels that he can set the time-table for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of goodwill is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and that when they fail to do this they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is merely a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, where the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substance-filled positive peace, where all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured as long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must likewise be exposed, with all of the tension its exposing creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured.

In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But can this assertion be logically made? Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like

condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical delvings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because His unique God-Consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to His will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see, as federal courts have consistently affirmed, that it is immoral to urge an individual to withdraw his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest precipitates violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth of time. I received a letter this morning from a white brother in Texas which said: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but it is possible that you are in too great of a religious hurry. It has taken Christianity almost 2000 years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." All that is said here grows out of a tragic misconception of time. It is the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually time is neutral. It can be used either distructively or constructively. I am coming to feel that the people of ill-will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation. We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy,

and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of the extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and, of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness, and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil." I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the "do-nothingism" of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is a more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of nonviolence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged, I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who are working through the channels of

nonviolent direct action and refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes, out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom; something without has reminded him that he can gain it. Consciously and unconsciously, he has been swept in by what the Germans call the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothe of Africa, and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America and the Caribbean, he is moving with a sense of cosmic urgency toward the promise land of racial justice. Recognizing this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand public demonstrations. The Negro has many pent up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people "get rid of your discontent." But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channelized through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. Now this approach is being dismis as extremist. I must admit that I was initially disappointed in being so categorized .

But as I continue to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love- "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice - "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Was not Paul

an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ - "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist - "here I stand; I can do none other so help me God." Was not John Bunyan an extremist - "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist - "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist - We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal." So the question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice - or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill, three men were crucified. We must not forget that all three were crucified for the same crime. The crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thusly fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremist

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this. Maybe I was too optimisti Maybe I expected too much. I quess I should have realized that few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those that have been oppressed and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed them selves to it. They are still all too small in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some like Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden and James Dabbs have written about our struggle in eloquent, prophetic and understanding terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the South. They have languished in filthy roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of angry policemen who

see them as "dirty nigger lovers." They, unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

Let me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white church and its leadership. Of course, there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Rev. Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a non-segregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Springhill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the church. I say it as a minister of the gospel, who loves the church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

I had the strange feeling when I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery several years ago that we would have the support of the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests and rabbis of the South would be some of our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained-glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause, and with deep moral concern, serve as the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that

each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say, "follow this decree because integration is morally right and the Negro is your brother." In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely mouth pious irrelevances and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "those are social issues with which the gospel has no real concern", and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely other-worldly religion which made a strange distinction between body and soul, the sacred and the secular.

So here we are moving toward the exit of the twentieth century with a religious community largely adjusted to the status quo, standing as a tail-light behind other community agencies rather than a headlight leading men to higher levels of justice.

I have travelled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at her beautiful churches with their lofty spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over again I have found myself asking: "What kind of people worship here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave the clarion call for defi ance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when tired, bruised and weary Negro men

and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?"

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment, I have wept over the laxity of the church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. There can be no deep disappointment where there is not deep love. Yes, I love the church; I love her sacred walls. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson and the great-grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and fear of being nonconformists.

There was a time when the Church was very powerful. It was during that period when the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the Church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Wherever the early Christians entered a town the power structure got disturbed and immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But they went on with the conviction that they were "a colony of heaven", and had to obey God rather than man. They were small in number but big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "astronomically intimidated." They brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contest.

Things are different now. The contemporary church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church,

the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgement of God is upon the church as never before. If the church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I am meeting young people every day whose disappointment with the church has risen to outright disgust.

Maybe again, I have been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to status-quo to save our nation and the world? Maybe I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true ecclesia and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone through the highways of the South on tortuous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been kicked out of their churches, and lost support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have gone with the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the Gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in

Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. For more than two centuries our fore-parents labored here without wages; they made cotton king; and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation--and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred herigage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

I must close now. But before closing I am impelled to mention one other point in your statement that troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I don't believe you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its angry violent dogs literally biting six unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I don't believe you would so quickly commend the policemen if you would observe their ugly and inhuman treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you would watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you would see them slap and kick old Negro men and young boys; if you will observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I'm sorry that I can't join you in your praise for the police department.

It is true that they have been rather disciplined in their public handling of the demonstrators. In this sense they have been rather publicly "nonviolent." But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the last few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. So I have tried to make it clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But not I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or even more so to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Maybe Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather publicly nonviolent, as Chief Pritchett was in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of flagrant racial injustice. T. S. Eliot has said that there is no greater treason than to do the right deed for the wrong reason.

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingha for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of the most inhuman provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two year old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and respond to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity; "my feet is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be the young high school and college students, young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders courageously and nonviolently sitting-in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscienc

August 20, 1963

Mr. Henry J. Toombs
Toombs, Amisano & Wells
Architects & Engineers
70 Fairlee Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Toombs:

This letter comes in response to your August 13 correspondence to Rev. Wyatt T. Walker in regard to a procedure for payment for construction of the churches at Sasser and Leesburg, Georgia

As indicated on the attached correspondence to Miss Bullard, the Council has two grants for the burned churches. One grant of $317.35 is available upon request. The other grant $5,000 is subject to certain conditions. Point No. 2 in your letter to Mr. Walker is not consistent with the conditions imposed by the grantors of the $5,000. The Council is bound and will be guided by these conditions.

We thought that we should qualify for the benefit of all concerned the terms of the grants made to SRC in view of Point No. 2 of your letter of August 13.

If we may be of further service, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

cc: Rev. Wyatt T. Walker

VI

TOOMBS, AMISANO & WELLS

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August 13, 1963

Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rev. Walker:

In working out a procedure for payment for construction of the churches at Sasser and Leesburg, Georgia, I believe the following procedure will be the most satisfactory:

1. It is arranged that Contractor B. B. Blaylock's monthly statements are first checked by your supervisory architect William Cox of Albany and thence forwarded to us for checking and final approval and then from us to you for payment.

2. You in turn will pay the bills from your own funds, or you will send the bills to the other three funds that are available. (Atlanta Constitution, Southern Regional Council, Georgia Council of Churches) and these groups will send their checks to the contractor.

The only request we have had as to how funds are to be spent is that the Atlanta Constitution stipulated that their fundbe used for the "basics" in the two churches at Sasser. In reference to this stipulation I would consider that any bills from now on would constitute "basics".

The contractor would like to have the name of the person in your office to whom you are delegating the expediting of payment of bills.

Attached are two color photographs of Mount Olive Church taken on July 31 by Rev. Ed Driscoll.

We are all looking forward to the time when the churches will be in use.

Cordially,

Henry J. Toombs

HJT:mh
enc.
cc: Mr. Eugene Patterson, Atlanta Constitution
Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Dr. Ed Driscoll

70 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, Telephone 524-2801

SCLC
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SCLC Newsletter

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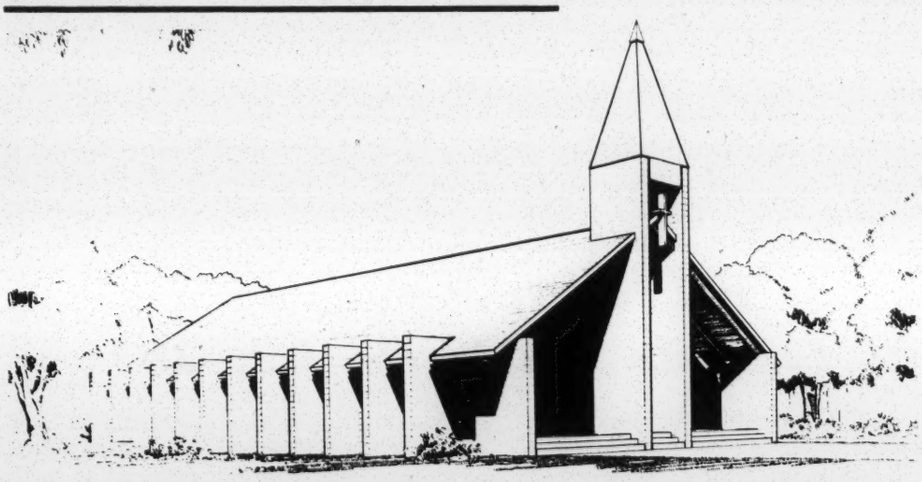
Churches To Rise From Ruins



Artist's sketch (above) of new churches being erected on site of ruins of bombed and burned out churches in Southwest Georgia is imposing structure. Below, Jackie Robinson (foreground) and Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker examine ruins of Mt. Olive Baptist Church in Terrell County, Georgia.

Begin Rebuilding Bombed Churches

Rebuilding of three Negro churches which were destroyed by bombings and fire nearly a year ago in Southwest Ga. areas entered construction stages last month as building materials were hauled to the site of the leveled churches by the Blaylock McKinnon Construction firm of Albany, Ga. and Jacksonville, Fla.

The three churches — the Shady Grove Baptist Church in Lee County, Ga., and the Mount Olive and Mount Mary Baptist Churches in Terrell County, Ga. were the targets of racists' bombs and arson after their facilities were used as voter registration headquarters in mid-summer, 1962.

In contrast to the hate-inspired destruction of the religious sanctuaries, their restoration is a tribute to the hand-in-hand working of Americans, both white and black, who were determined that the will of a free society would overcome race hatred and utter disregard for God's Houses Of Worship.

Spearheading the drive to re-build the churches was one-time Brooklyn Dodger base-

(Continued on Page 6)

Birmingham Moves To End Segregation As Voter Drive Mounts

The last vestiges of segregation began crumbling in Birmingham, Ala., on July 30 as lunch counters in the downtown shopping area and outlying suburban communities began desegregating their facilities and serving Negroes without incident. The move was part of a four-point settlement plan agreed to on May 10 following a crucial five weeks of non-violent demonstrations, mass jailings and the use of fire hoses and vicious K-9 corps police dogs.

The integration of Birmingham's lunch counters in 14 stores within a two-day period followed closely earlier "good faith" efforts on the part of Birmingham authorities to live up to the agreement. Within a few days after the settlement was reached, the following were accomplished:

1.) Fitting rooms were desegregated (within three days).

2.) White-Negro signs were removed from drinking fountains and public rest rooms (within 30 days).

3.) Public golf courses, closed by the city following a court order last year that they be desegregated, were re-opened voluntarily with four of the city's seven links thrown open on an integrated basis.

Moved Swiftly

While the city had 90 days within which to

(Continued on Page 3)

File Biggest Vote Suit

Washington, D. C.—The Justice Dept. filed its largest voting registration suit to date on July 31, urging a Federal court to order the immediate registration of more than 2,000 Birmingham, Ala., Negroes.

Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said the suit, filed in U. S. District Court in Birmingham, demanded that local registration officials be ordered to stop discriminating against Negro applicants. Birmingham is the largest city in which the department has sought through court action to obtain equal voting rights for Negroes.

The Birmingham suit was the 43rd such voting suit filed and the eighth in Alabama.

Discrepancies in Birmingham Negro-white registration totals show only 14,000 Negroes on the voter rolls out of 116,000 eligible, while about 120,000 whites are registered out of 256,300 eligible.

Record 125,000 Walk In Detroit

What very well could have been a dress rehearsal for the upcoming planned March on Washington on August 28 took place in downtown Detroit on June 23 when a teeming, but orderly, mass of some estimated 125,000 persons joined together in a mighty "Freedom Walk" which ended at Cobo Hall where a jam-packed audience gathered to hear Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. speak.

It was the biggest demonstration in the "Motor City" since 1936 when a rally was held for the late U. S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The record-shattering turnout, which broke all previous marks in terms of crowd size, was sponsored by the Detroit Council For Human Relations, which had as its chairman Rev. C. L. Franklin.

Banner Headlines

So impressive was the great swarm of humanity that the Detroit daily newspapers were moved to devote bold, banner headlines and pages of pictures and stories on the historical "walk," which was led by SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr., and had in its front lines such dignitaries as UAW President Walter Reuther, Mayor Jerome P. Cavanaugh and former Governor John B. Swainson of Michigan.

At Convention Hall where the super-mammoth parade ended, Dr. King addressed a standing-room-only audience that spilled out into adjacent, smaller halls, while many in the multitude listened to his message over loudspeakers installed outside the rally hall.

The gigantic assembly was staged without incident, and police later commented that it was "the most orderly, peaceful crowd" that Detroit had ever experienced.

DETROIT REPORTS CASH—Making the first financial report following Detroit's huge fund-raising civil rights rally on June 23 in Convention Hall, Rev. William Carleton Ardrey (left), a representative of the sponsoring group, turns over checks amounting to $27,604.45 to officials of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President (center) and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Treasurer (right). Amount reported was first of several to be made by the rally sponsors.

Mighty mass of humanity spills all over downtown Woodward Ave., in Detroit as thousands joined parade, singing hymns and spirituals.

Expect 100,000 To Participate In March On Washington Aug. 28

Machinery was set in motion early this month for what will probably be the largest gathering of human beings ever assembled in history in the nation's Capital in a demonstrative demand for an end to discrimination and segregation as it affects minority groups.

The expected gathering of more than 100,000, scheduled for August 28 in Washington, D. C., is being jointly sponsored by The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Martin Luther King, Jr., president; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary; The National Urban League, Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director; the Negro American Labor Council, A. Phillip Randolph, president; the Congress of Racial Equality, James Farmer, national director; and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, John Lewis, chairman.

Purpose Given

The purpose of the march, officially titled, "March On Washington for Jobs and Freedom," and called for on July 12 by the above mentioned national leaders is all-inclusive in its aims. It intends to show by a massive, peaceful and democratic demonstration in the nation's Capital that there is evidence of the need for the Federal Government to take effective and immediate action to deal with the national crisis of jobs and civil rights that Negroes as well as whites are presently facing.

In the area of civil rights, Negro leaders have agreed that these demands be met:

1.) Passage by Congress of effective and meaningful civil rights legislation in the present session, without filibuster.

2.) An end to police brutality directed against citizens using their constitutional right of peaceful demonstration.

Make Job Demands

Where jobs are concerned, the group of Negro leaders are asking for the following:

1.) A massive Federal Public Works Program to provide jobs for all the unemployed, and Federal legislation to promote an expanding economy.

2.) A Federal Fair Employment Practices Act to bar job discrimination by Federal, State and Municipal Governments, and by private employers, contractors, employment agencies and trade unions.

3.) Broadening of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act to include the uncovered areas of employment where Negroes and other minorities work at slave wages; and the establishment of a national minimum wage of not less than $2.00 per hour.

President Backs March

While there have been some members of Congress who have spoken against the March, President Kennedy has expressed the view that it should take place and that he feels certain that it will be an orderly and peaceful demonstration. This feeling was also shared by Police Chief Robert V. Murray of Washington, D. C. who has offered the full cooperation of the District force with Negro leaders and participants.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of SCLC summed it up succinctly by stating that this "is not a march to intimidate congressmen considering President Kennedy's civil right's bill."

"This will be," he said, "a dignified, disciplined march followed by creative lobbying, and it will have a positive effect on civil rights."

Miss. Negroes Denied Vote Protest On Election Day

By Annell Ponder

Thousands of Negroes who have been denied the right to vote throughout the Mississippi Delta area staged a mass protest in spotted sections over the state on August 6, the state's Primary Election day. Their protests were made under a Mississippi law which provides that any person who feels he has been illegally denied the right to register to vote may present an affidavit indicating that belief to the manager of elections on election day and seek permission to vote.

Concentrated Protests

Concentrated mass protests over vote denial were scheduled to take place particularly in Jackson, Greenwood and Clarksdale, Mississippi. Grievances of the protestors included shootings, beatings, jailings and economic reprisals such as job loss, withholding of welfare checks and surplus commodities and eviction from homes. Other flagrant acts of discrimination pointed directly to local registrars, who are accused of disqualifying some 1300 Negroes in Leflore County who have attempted to register since March of this year.

SCLC Operates 36 Schools

The protest demonstrations were planned by Delta citizens and voter registration workers from SCLC, NAACP, CORE and SNCC through the Council of Federated Organizations, a state-wide voter registration operation.

Since the beginning of 1963 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has operated 36 Citizenship Training Schools in the Delta area, which stretches roughly over the Northwestern part of the state between Jackson and Memphis, Tennessee.

BIRMINGHAM

(Continued from Page 1)

act to put an end to its most flagrant practices of discrimination, authorities moved swiftly to comply with terms of the agreement which had been effected by Southern Christian Leadership Conference through its president, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Alabama Christian Movement, headed by Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth.

Discriminatory practices in job-upgrading and hiring are being ended, Dr. King reported, and inter-racial steering committees are being formed to deal with race relations in Birmingham.

Registration Sets New Record

Meanwhile, voter registration efforts set new records in the Steel City as a student force of some 75 from among the 2,000 who were jailed last May carried Negroes by the thousands to registration offices. The result was that more than 3,650 new names were added to the voter rolls within a two-month period, setting an all-time high and bringing the number of registered Negroes to 14,000 out of an eligible 116,000.

By contrast, previous attempts to get Birmingham Negroes on the voter rolls only produced 2,000 additional registrants over the five-month period from Oct. 1, 1962, to March 1, 1963.

The present drive, under advisorship by SCLC and coordinated by Rev. Charles Billups of the Alabama Christian Movement, will continue full scale until Birmingham schools reopen this fall.

TEACHING TEACHERS—Demonstrating at the blackboard the elementary techniques that teachers should know in carrying back the Citizenship Education program to their communities, Mrs. Eliza Seymore of South Carolina shows a fellow teacher the proper art of writing during class at Dorchester Center in McIntosh, Georgia. School will conduct five-day workshop beginning Aug. 18 (see story below).

'Citizenship School' Schedules Five-Day Workshop Aug. 18 At Dorchester Center

Volunteer teachers from seven southern states will converge on McIntosh, Georgia, for a five-day comprehensive training course beginning August 18 at Dorchester Center, the SCLC-sponsored school for citizenship education which is helping to eliminate illiteracy throughout the South.

The school, supported by a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation, has been in existence for more than two years and has trained more than 600 teachers in the special task of returning to their communities to teach reading and writing to aid Negroes in passing literacy tests as a requirement for voting. SCLC staff members, who have helped guide this educational program are: Rev. Andrew Young, administrator; Mrs. Dorothy F. Cotton, educational consultant; and Mrs. Septima P. Clark, supervisor of the teacher training program.

10 Million Illiterates

The great accomplishment of the Dorchester school has been its successful program of preparing adults, many of whom have not been professionally trained as teachers, for the tremendous job of helping to bring education and enlightenment to some of the nearly 10 million functional illiterates in the U. S. today. Their task has been to return to their communities, many of them in rural areas, recruit adults who need this type of special educational attention, and organize classes. The classes then meet for three months, two nights each week for two-hour periods. The result: a new addition to America's citizenship population, now in possession of fundamental reading and writing skills, and an intelligent participant in local and national government.

Prospective teachers interested in participating in the program need have only an interest in helping others, the ability to read aloud well, and be able to write legibly on a blackboard. Further information can be obtained by writing The Citizenship School, 334 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Mrs. Cotton

Wire Protest Of Bias In America's Oldest City

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference sent a wire of protest to Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson over the planned Quadri-Centennial celebration in St. Augustine, Fla., America's oldest city, which has stubbornly refused to desegregate its facilities for the celebration.

The wire, sent over the signature of SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr., directed attention to the fact that Federal Funds are being used to prepare the city for its 400th birthday observance, but that it was making no effort to desegregate its facilities so that all persons might join in the commemoration without fear of embarrassment. The immediate effect of the telegram was that some $350,000 in government funds were temporarily withheld, pending an investigation by the Federal government.

Seven Youths Jailed

St. Augustine, founded in 1565, has a total population of 14,734 *(1960 census)*, with 10,465 listed as white and 3,404 non-white.

Meanwhile, Dr. Robert Hayling, advisor to the Youth Council of the NAACP in St. Augustine, reported that seven youths between the ages of 14 and 16 were jailed on trespassing charges when they sought to desegregate a downtown drugstore in the resort city. When the youngsters came up for hearing before Judge J. Charles Mathis, Hayling said the judge had a prepared statement for the parents to sign to the effect that they would not allow the children to participate "in any forms of racial demonstrations until they were at least 21 years of age."

The parents refused to sign and the children were returned to custody — the boys to a reformatory and the girls to a detention home.

A Reminder . . .

SCLC's 7th Annual CONVENTION

Where? Richmond, Va.

When? Sept. 23—27

SCLC *Newsletter*

Publisher, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

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EDWARD T. CLAYTON, *Editor*

AIMS AND PURPOSES OF SCLC

1. **To achieve full citizenship rights, and total integration of the Negro in American life.**
2. **To stimulate non-violent direct mass action to remove the barriers of segregation and discrimination.**
3. **To disseminate the creative philosophy and techniques of non-violence through local and area workshops.**
4. **To secure the right and unhampered use of the ballot for every citizen.**
5. **To reduce the cultural lag through the Citizenship Training Program.**

Editorial

About The March

There have been many views expressed, both pro and con, concerning the March on Washington scheduled for August 28. Some critics have stated that it could serve Negroes no good end, that the demonstrations which have been conducted, and are still being conducted, in many sections of the U. S. have proved the Negro's point and that there is now a willingness to grant him the freedom he is demanding.

This may very well be true. But the March has an even more significant meaning.

To those who contend that there can be no guarantee against violence erupting, a recent refutation of this was made impressively manifest in the June 23 "Freedom Walk" in Detroit, Michigan, in which more than 125,000 persons joined in a peaceful, non-violent March in the city's downtown area. And this in a major Northern metropolis that has known race riots in its near-recent past.

The March on Washington is expected to be conducted in the same peaceful, orderly, non-violent fashion.

It is not designed to be anti-climactic to other demonstrations which have dramatized the Negro's circumstance in city after city. Nor will it be a demonstration to end all demonstrations. What it will be, and what its real meaning will convey, will be a dramatic showing of a strength of numbers so familiar, and so eagerly sought by the politicians who have been sent to Washington to represent *all* the people.

The March will contain only numbers.

But these are the numbers that perhaps will tug at the consciences of the law-makers in that august body in the nation's Capital.

Quote & Unquote

Dr. Kenneth Clark, psychologist and professor at New York University: *"The Negro is asking not to change society but to be included in it."*

* * *

Sid Moody, Associated Press writer, in an article on the racial crisis: *"For years the nation has said racial solution would take time, lots of it. But somehow, swiftly, the sands ran out. The time is now."*

* * *

James Farmer, national director of CORE, comparing integrated neighborhoods in the South and North: *"In the North they say, 'go high but don't get too close.' In the South they say, 'get close, but don't go too high.'"*

* * *

Ernest Vandiver, former governor of Georgia, in a television interview: *"We're in a social revolution. Problems that we kept under the rug for a good many years are coming out."*

* * *

Rodney Scott, nine-year-old Chicago youngster, who can barely print his own name and lives in a rundown tenement with six other children and a father who doesn't work: *"Segregation? Is it like a parade?"*

* * *

Ike Hall, a Detroit crane operator, quoted in a Newsweek article on Negroes in America: *"We have always faced danger. Being a Negro is dangerous to start with. We have been beat and lynched and killed anyway."*

* * *

Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, SCLC financial Secretary, in a speech discussing the high rate of Negro unemployment: *"The system of bookkeeping on the Negro is painfully and shamefully inconsistent. He is on the minus side of the ledger when it comes to employment; on the plus side of the books when it comes to crime rates; deeper in the red when he seeks job upgrading; and hopelessly ignored when a trial balance is struck for a supervisory position over whites."*

Rev. Abernathy

Letters To SCLC

Concerning The March

Dear Martin:

I pray that you and those associated with you will not let anyone persuade you to call off the March on Washington.

Now that you have the ball rolling you must demonstrate more than ever before.

I want to tell you of a similar situation. It was the time we were trying to get the President (Roosevelt) to set up the FEPC. He was hesitating for fear it would slow down war production. Hillman was against it. Will Alexander was against it and the War Production Board were against it. Walter White and A. Phillip Randolph sent out word to organize a March on Washington. They talked of 100,000.

The President sent me to New York to persuade White and Randolph to call off the March . . . White and Randolph said they would not call off the March unless the President issued an order making it mandatory that firms with Government orders hire Negroes on a basis of equality.

La Guardia (then New York Mayor) called the President. F.D.R. fumed and pleaded that "such a March would turn the people against the Negro," and that "it would be a dis-service to the nation in time of war." White and Randolph stood firm.

. . . The President (at a White House meeting) waved us all out, saying to the Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, who favored the issuance of the order, "have Fiorella, Aubrey, Anna (Rosenberg) and Bob Jackson draw up the order." This we did, clearing it with White and Randolph.

But it was weeks before the President would sign it . . . Finally, one day Anna Rosenberg put the order down on his desk in front of him and literally screamed, "Mr. President, sign it or the Negroes will march on Washington within the next ten days."

The President then signed it. Remember, you get nothing for free.

AUBREY WILLIAMS

Washington, D. C.

Detroit's "Freedom Walk"

Dear Rev. King:

A more accurate estimation of the number of people that marched and watched the demonstration in Detroit on Sunday, June 23, 1963, is over 200,000. I am convinced that I personally saw enough people to fill the University of Michigan football stadium twice full and have many left over. That stadium holds approximately 100,000 people.

This demonstration of your leadership and influence, made me realize that probably you and your organization are the Messiah who will lead the Negro in America to true 1st class citizenship. (Group integrity and self-sufficiency) . . . .

As long as we are segregated and discriminated against; as long as the vote is denied us and as long as we do not have adequate Negro law enforcement officers in our communities on the local, county and state level, we must continue our present struggle,

but you have enough influence and power to wage war on two fronts:

1. Elimination of all segregation and discrimination
2. Work toward group, economic, self-sufficiency . . . .

LAWRENCE S. LACKEY, M.D.

Ecorse, Michigan

Birmingham Jail

Dear Mr. King:

For years I've been concerned that we white people have sat so complacently, knowing full well full citizenship was long over-due for many of our Brothers. I have tried to express my convictions whenever and wherever possible. But this shows no results. It's nothing when 50 "good Christian people" agree "something should be done."

None of us live near minority groups so we have few opportunities to express good will in real actions. Yet this is the main topic of conversation wherever we go.

I prayed for guidance as to what action I could take. Then your letter written to the Ministers while in Birmingham Jail and published in *Presbyterian Life* came to me from a woman who feels as I do, lent to her, by a woman who also feels concern.

Like a light, it flashed into my mind. "I've written my Congressmen (only yesterday, and often) urging them to work for legislation regarding Nuclear Testing, Foreign Aid, and other matters — but never have I written about Civil Rights legislation. I am ashamed. I'm writing you so you will know I'm ashamed. Please tell other people that I'm not alone in my shame, but I'm starting today to write at least one letter a day, and today it will be 10 to Congressmen, President, Ministers, friends, relatives, and anyone the Lord inspires me to write to . . . .

MRS. A. REES

Fairview, Oregon

Want To Help

Dear Dr. King:

In a Sunday School class yesterday we were discussing the struggle against racial discrimination. One of the big problems is housing. What can we as individuals do to help the cause of fair housing?

LILLIAN LARSON

Norristown, Pa.

Dear Sir:

I am writing on behalf of my American Government class. We are very interested in the progress the Negroes have made in recent years. We would like to express our sympathy for you and your movement.

We would like to know what we as high school seniors in California can do to help you in your fight for civil rights?

MARGIE SHEPPARD

Modesto, California

Reprinted by permission from Negro Digest

"I'm sorry, Reverend—but I guess I just ran out of cheeks to turn."

DIS 'N DATA

Did You Know . . . that some **Mississippi** churches have such an abhorrence for the word **black** that certain passages in the Bible have been changed to delete it completely. For example: the familiar verse in which Solomon says "I am *black*, but comely," has been altered to read, "I am *suntanned*, but comely." . . . Civil war history books in that state have also suffered similar re-arrangements. Instead of white pupils being taught out of books correctly titled *The Civil War* or *The War Between The States* etc., Mississippi's history books carry such titles as, *The War of Northern Aggression.*

• • •

Have you read . . . the two articles written by **Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker**, SCLC's executive assistant to **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,** which hit the news stands almost simultaneously in July. One was in *Negro Digest*, entitled **Freedom's Song**, which traces the development of the Negro spiritual and its influence on today's nonviolent movement. The other appeared in the July issue of the *New South* under the title, **Achievement In Albany.**

• • •

Have You Heard . . . the new recording **Birmingham Jailhouse**, written by **Redd Evans**? The tune, inspired by the mass jailings in Birmingham last May, has received a letter of commendation from TV's well known personality **Edward R. Murrow**, and may very well catch on as a hit for veteran composer Redd, who has shared credits in the past on such hits as *There I've Said It Again, This Is The Night* and *No Moon At All.*

• • •

Have You Seen . . . copies of the July 29 issue of **Newsweek** which carried a 20-page article entitled, **The Negro In America**, which was the result of a national survey based on 1,250 interviews, a 252-question interview sheet and 3,000 man hours of labor. One of its conclusions was that SCLC president, **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, was rated by Negro leaders and the rank and file of Negro masses as the No. 1 leader in America today.

PROFILE OF THE MONTH

Since going to jail has become a badge of dignity and honor for the Negro in his quest for full citizenship rights, the most often-asked question today is not *"have you been to jail—yet?"* but *"how many times?"*

Hosea Williams

SCLC board member Hosea Williams can qualify on both of the above counts, and possibly can add still a third from among his own experiences as a witness who has served one of the longest terms. By the end of July he had served a total of 23 days in the Savannah, Georgia jail on 12 separate "peace" warrants, sworn to by whites in Savannah. His bond reached a staggering total of $30,000 — or $2,500 on each count. It was later halved to $15,000, but Williams was still behind bars, awaiting disposition of his case.

Family Goes To Jail

Thirty-seven-year-old Hosea Williams is one among the numberless thousands who have been willing to make sacrifices for the cause of "Freedom Now," and his dedication to that cause has virtually embraced his entire family. Besides Williams himself, who has been jailed three times this year as result of demonstrations, his wife, the former Juanita Terry of Atlanta, has been in jail once and two of his five children, Elizabeth LaCenia, 11, and Hosea II, 8, also have been arrested for protesting discrimination. Elizabeth has been jailed four times. and Hosea II had to spend a night and two days in an Orphan's Home after he insisted on being served an ice cream cone in a restaurant.

Home to Hosea Williams has been Savannah, Georgia for the past 10 years, where he has been employed as a research chemist with the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture in the Stored Products Division. His birthplace, however, is Attapulgus, Georgia, a small town at the southern end of Georgia near the Florida state line. Both of his parents have been deceased since his early childhood, and Hosea was reared by an aunt, Mrs. Azzie Hines, a school-teacher librarian in Attapulgus.

Is Purple Heart Veteran

At age 15, teen-age wanderlust lured Hosea to Orlando, Florida where he began to support himself by working in a dry-cleaning plant. Three years later he went into the army, rose to the rank of staff sergeant, and was honorably discharged with a purple heart — the result of injuries he received in combat in Germany during World War II.

Like many GIs, Hosea took advantage of the armed forces' educational benefits for veterans. He returned home, finished high school, then went to Morris Brown College in Atlanta, Georgia, where, he was graduated in 1951. That same year he married Juanita Terry whom he met in Atlanta. He is now the father of five children, whose ages range from two to 15, including (besides the two previously mentioned) Andre Jerome, 6; Yolanda Felicia, 2; and Barbara Jean, 15, the latter by a previous marriage.

Installed as new president of Los Angeles chapter of Western Christian Leadership Conference, Dr. A. A. Peters (right) posed with fellow officers and visitors. Others, from left, Rev. Joe Hardwick, treasurer, Rev. Edward Gardner of Birmingham, Ala., and Rev. Richard Bass, vice-president.

WCLC Establishes Los Angeles Chapter

The Western Christian Leadership Conference, an affiliate of SCLC, covering seven Western states and Alaska and Hawaii, established its first chapter in Los Angeles on July 12 and installed Dr. A. A. Peters, pastor of Victory Baptist Church, as president of the new branch.

Installation ceremonies for the new Los Angeles chapter were presided over by Dr. Edward Gardner, pastor of Mt. Olive Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala. Besides Dr. Peters, other officers elected to serve the branch organization were: Rev. Richard Bass, pastor Lewis Metropolitan CME Church, vice-president; Rev. Joe Hardwick, Praisers of Zion Baptist Church, treasurer; and Rev. J. B. Reece, pastor St. John CME Church, recording secretary.

More To Follow

The Los Angeles chapter, the first of several to be established by the Western Christian Leadership Conference, has among its aims the abolishment of prejudice and discrimination in Los Angeles in the areas of housing, employment and education. Other chapters to be established later will include branches in Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico and Utah.

The parent organization, WCLC, was founded in 1961 and has as its president Marvin T. Robinson of Pasadena, Calif.

Miss Kenyatta Visits

Miss Margaret Kenyatta, daughter of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, East Africa, was a guest August 6 in the Atlanta home of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Boyte while on a six-week tour of the U. S. as guest of the State Dept. Mr. Boyte is a recent addition to the SCLC staff as Special Assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Miss Kenyatta, a leader of women's organizations in Nairobi, Kenya, served as chairman for 1962-63 of the African Women's Seminar in Nairobi.

Mrs. Boyte became acquainted with Prime Minister Kenyatta during her student days at the London School of Economics in 1938, at which time the Prime Minister was attending some graduate seminars.

BEGIN REBUILDING

(*Continued from Page 1*)

ball star Jackie Robinson, in conjunction with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Coordinating the fund-raising campaign was Dr. King's executive assistant, Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker.

This is how it began:

On Sept. 9, 1962, the day of the second church destruction incident, two churches, Mount Olive and Mount Mary, were burned to the ground shortly before daybreak. That same afternoon, Jackie Robinson arrived in Albany, Ga., for a city-wide registration rally. After conferring with Rev. Walker about the incident, he agreed to serve as National Chairman of the SCLC Church Re-building Fund, following a long distance phone call to Dr. King and Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who were on the West Coast.

Gov. Rockefeller Donates $10,000

Jackie's first donation was a gift of $5,000 from his employer, William Black, president of New York's restaurant chain, Chock Full 'O Nuts. This was followed by a $10,000 donation from New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

Then the fund began to grow with other organizations and business firms either making financial contributions or offering their services on a gratis basis. Among the latter, the Georgia chapter of the American Institute of Architects, led by Joseph Amisano of Toombs, Amisano and Wells, assumed all responsibility for preparing sketches, drawings and blueprints free of charge. The Trappists Monks at Conyers, Georgia, volunteered to provide the stained glass windows for the three sanctuaries.

Others, including the Atlanta Constitution and the Mennonite Central Committee conducted their own fund-raising campaigns, with the net result that some $75,000 was made available for the church re-building program.

Will Seat 200

On Feb. 3, this year, Dr. King broke ground for the three churches, and construction is expected to be completed in October.

The churches will cost about $30,000 each to re-construct and will have a seating capacity of 200.

Lena Horne Appears In Benefit Aug. 20

Glamorous singing star Lena Horne, whose show business career has embraced all phases of stardom, from radio to television, and motion pictures to supper clubs and concerts, will appear in Atlanta, Georgia, August 20 at the City Auditorium for the first time in the more than 20 years of her fabulous career. Her concert debut here will be a benefit performance for SCLC.

The beautiful song stylist, who launched her career in 1940 as a singer with Charlie Barnett's orchestra, will be the first artist to appear in what will be a series of "Stars For Freedom" to benefit the present civil rights movement. Appearing with her on the same bill will be the Billy Taylor Trio, whose pianist-leader is recognized as one of the most brilliant composers and arrangers among today's keyboard artists.

23-Piece Orchestra

Also sharing the spotlight with Miss Horne will be the talented and much-publicized trio of Lambert, Hendricks & Bavan, who first gained fame for their unique imitations of musical instruments and scat singing with Count Basie's orchestra several years ago. Accompanying Miss Horne will be a 23-piece orchestra under the direction of Mercer Ellington, son of the famous composer-bandleader Duke Ellington.

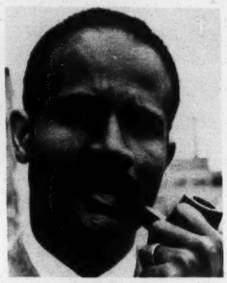
First appearance for Lena Horne

The SCLC *Bookshelf*

With an increasing number of books being written by and about Negroes at one of the most accelerated paces since perhaps the Negro "literary rennaisance" of the mid-depression years of the Thirties, the nation's book stalls are rapidly becoming replete with a wealth of information about America's heretofore lightly regarded minority — the Negro. The following is a minutely partial list of what is current and upcoming.

Due In The Fall

» *Black Man In Red Russia* by Homer Smith. Another in the Johnson Publishing Company's line of hardbacks, this is scheduled for Oct. 10 publication date. Smith, a former war correspondent for the Afro-American newspaper, Associated Negro Press and Associated Press, spent 14 years in Russia and writes lucidly of his experiences there.



Lerone Bennett

» *The Negro Mood and Other Essays.* This, also by Johnson Publishing Co., is a collection of essays by and about Negroes, has as its lead contributor, Lerone Bennett, who authored the current best-selling history of the Negro in America under the title *Before The Mayflower.*

» *White On Black* by the editors of Ebony Magazine. Due in the late Fall, this will be an anthology from the pens of noted writers who have written about Negroes for Ebony magazine. Some of the names to be included will be the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Ralph McGill, columnist and titular publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, and William Faulkner, the noted author famous for *Sanctuary* and *Sound Of Fury.*

» *The Negro Politician: His Success And Failure* by Edward T. Clayton. Also due for late Fall publication by Johnson Publishing Company's Book Division, this non-fiction work traces the development of the Negro politician from before the Civil War through the elections of the present day.

In The Hopper

» *Why We Can't Wait* by Martin Luther King, Jr. The third book to come from the pen of the internationally acclaimed Negro leader, this will be an embellishment of his now-famous essay, *Letter from Birmingham Jail.* Publication date has not been set, but the publishers will be Harper & Row.

Available At SCLC

» *Strength To Love* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Row. Price: $3.50.

» *Stride Toward Freedom* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Brothers Co. Price: $2.95

» *Crusader Without Violence* by L. D. Reddick. Publishers: Harper & Brothers. Price: $3.95

» *Echo In My Soul* by Septima Poinsette Clark. Publishers: E. P. Dutton & Co. Price: $4.50

» *The Desegregated Heart* by Sarah Patton Boyle. Publishers: William Morrow & Co. Price: $5.00

Review Of The Month

Strength To Love
by Martin Luther King, Jr.
(Harper & Rowe $3.50)

By Carole F. Hoover

If you have never quite understood Martin Luther King, Jr. the Man, the Pastor, the Leader, you can get an understanding through his latest book, *Strength To Love.* It is a real testimonial to the man, the leader and to his work toward achieving full integration for Negroes in all aspects of American Life.

The book expounds religious philosophy that has led America to an embarkation upon one of the greatest social revolutions in history.

Martin Luther King repeatedly stresses that Love is both the imperative and ultimate factor in the Negro struggle for human dignity and first-class citizenship. It is upon this premise that he has been successful in leading millions of Negroes in this country and has won respect of people all over the world.

He Minimizes Oppression

He does not make frequent reference to the use of high-powered water hoses on children, the many unsolved bombings in the south, the arrests of thousands of school children and adults, the use of police dogs on humans of all ages and many other vivid occurrences that have taken place recently in our struggle. Instead, he speaks of God's unquestionable love for all human beings. He speaks of man's love for his brother. He speaks particularly of the Negro's love for his oppressor which has enabled him to withstand his suffering and love those who inflict suffering upon him. The title of the book is outstanding in every paragraph of every chapter through a multiplicity of well chosen words. It is a beautiful, benevolent, humane and a Christian love that he speaks of which certainly gives all of us *real Strength To Love.*

Atlanta Aiming For 65,000 Negro Voters Next Year

One of the largest voter registration drives ever to be staged in Atlanta and Fulton County is currently being conducted under the leadership of SCLC Field Secretary Rev. Fred C. Bennette.

Bennette, working with the All-Citizens' Registration Committee, has already added some 6,000 new voters to the registrar's list. Jesse Hill, Jr., co-chairman of the All-Citizens' Registration Committee, disclosed that there are about 46,000 Negroes registered now and that, "we intend to have 65,000 voters registered by 1964 for the presidential election."

Working with Rev. Bennette are nine persons trained by SCLC in Voter Education at the Dorchester Citizenship School in McIntosh, Georgia. These persons were specially trained to return to their respective communities and train others in citizenship, education, registration and voting.

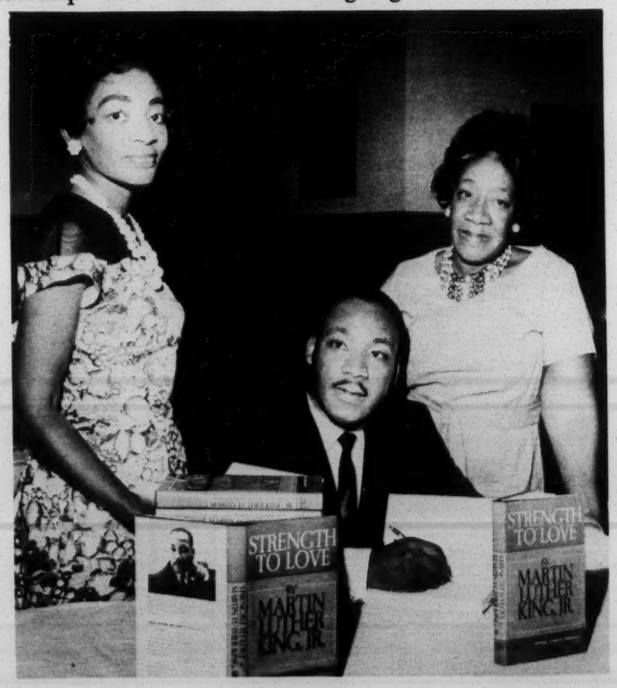
A recent survey indicates there are approximately 120,000 Negroes in Atlanta of voting age.

Missionaries Give $3,263

The Furloughed Missionary Conference of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, donated their entire Sunday Communion offering to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference recently, following an address there by Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The sum amounted to $3,263.94.

The Missionary Conference, composed of modestly-salaried missionaries, raised the amount from among an audience of about 350 persons who heard Rev. Walker speak in the campus church at De Paul University in Green Castle. The missionaries, on furlough from their duties, return to the U. S. every five years from their assignments in the field.

A check for the amount was sent to the Atlanta office of SCLC with this notation from Ashton A. Almand, treasurer: ". . . I trust that this will not only assist your program in a material way, but that it will graphically express to you and your fellow workers the concern on the part of our people in the work of your organization."



A FAMILY AFFAIR — Martin Luther King, Jr., obliges his sister, Mrs. Christine Farris (left), and his mother, Mrs. Alberta King, with an autographed copy of his latest book, *Strength To Love,* during a special autographing session at Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church where Dr. King is co-pastor. The new book, published by Harper & Row, is dedicated to his mother and father, Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., also co-pastor of the church. The event was the first such autographing occasion in connection with the current book, his second.

With the Affiliates . . .

50 Fined; Settlement Reached In Savannah

Climaxing nearly two months of protest demonstrations, jailings, Wall Street picket lines and attempted negotiations, Savannah, Georgia's rigid segregation barriers finally toppled as the city agreed to discard its discriminatory practices. The move came almost simultaneously on Aug. 7 with the sentencing and subsequent release from jail of some 50 Negroes accused of trespassing and other charges, among them **Hosea Williams,** president of the Chatham County Crusade For Voters, who had been held under $15,000 bond. Williams was ordered to pay a $100 fine or spend six months in jail. SCLC staff members, **Andrew Young, James Bevel** and **John Gibson,** who were with the Savannah crusade at all its junctures, provided counsel and guidance for local leadership in helping to bring about an end to the ugly patterns of segregation.

DANVILLE, VA.

Danville, Virginia has been the scene of the most brutal police action in the entire South. The **Danville Christian Progressive Association** began their direct action protest against public accommodations and job discrimination in this South Side Virginia textile center. The protest began on May 31st and continued peacefully without incident until the night of June 10th. Danvillians refer to that night infamously as **"the night of the massacre."** **L. G. Campbell,** DCPA Executive Secretary, describes it as the worst night he remembers in his life. Nearly 100 demonstrators had marched to the City Hall. While they were praying, **Mayor Albert Stinson** ordered **Chief of police McCain** to "Give 'em everything you've got." Water hoses with as much as 100 pounds of pressure split the group almost in two. The larger segment was driven into an areaway between the jail and the City Hall. City police, augmented by deputized garbage collectors set upon them with billy clubs nearly three feet in length. Men and Women, boys and girls were clubbed, kicked and savagely beaten *without a single arrest* (no charges of resisting arrests could be entered.) The president of SCLC's Danville affiliate, the **Rev. L. W. Chase,** was hauled from his home at 4 a.m. in nothing but his bathrobe to answer charges that he encouraged his children to demonstrate.

WILLIAMSTON, N. C.

An uneasy truce was reached in Williamston, North Carolina, on August 4 following **five weeks** of sustained demonstrations by Negroes making repeated thrusts at segregation and discrimination barriers in this small town of some 40,000 persons. The demonstrations began on June 30 when more than **200 protestors** marched from Williamston's **Bible Way Church** to the steps of City Hall in a Prayer Pilgrimage that lasted 10 minutes. Every evening thereafter the marching demonstrators continued their direct action protests, choosing as various targets the city's segregated **Washington Theatre,** drug store lunch counters, and the **Shamrock Motel & Restaurant.** SCLC Regional Representative **F. L. LeGarde** and Field Secretary **Golden A. Frinks,** have guided the demonstrators, whose ranks have swelled to as many as 700 at times. So far, although scores have been arrested on trespassing charges, incidents have been at a minimum. At month's end, as about 430 Negroes were preparing to demonstrate, the city agreed to meet three of the six demands made by the protestors. They were: 1) that all **charges be dropped** against arrested demonstrators; 2) that public facilities be desegregated and **Negro-White signs** be removed from public accommodations; and 3) that Negroes be **hired in all departments** of the municipal government.

GADSDEN, ALA.

Police arrested more than 600 demonstrators from among 1,000 marchers who paraded through the **Agricola shopping center** in downtown Gadsden, Ala. on August 3, protesting discrimination and segregation in that city. It was the second such mass jailing in Gadsden since Nov., 1962, when **direct action protests** were first made. SCLC Field Secretary **Bernard Lee,** who has been in the forefront of helping to break down racial barriers in Gadsden reports that the city's **buses have been desegregated** since the middle of July. No other moves to end segregation and discrimination, however, have been made.

CONTRIBUTIONS

I wish to contribute to the work of SCLC and the social struggle in the South.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....
(street)

.....
(city & state)

Amount of Contribution .....

Send to: SCLC
334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SCLC *Newsletter*

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

RETURN REQUESTED

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

I would like very much for us to be officially represented either by a staff member or, preferably, by a Board member from Virginia. Will you please see that we are.

September 4, 1963

Dear Friend:

The Seventh Annual Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will meet September 24-27 in Richmond, Virginia. Our theme this year is "Freedom Now!" We expect this to be our greatest convention ever particularly since it is in the immediate wake of Birmingham.

Your agency is one that has been involved as a partner with us in the civil rights struggle. It would please us greatly if you would name some special representatives to attend our sessions and serve as a fraternal delegate.

The accelerated thrust of civil rights since Birmingham makes it more and more necessary for us to utilize a broad perspective in solving the human relations dilemma that exists in our nation today.

We are enclosing some pertinent data surrounding the convention which you might find useful in making your arrangements to be with us.

Sincerely yours,

W. Tee Walker

wyatt tee walker
Executive Assistant to
Martin Luther King, Jr.

w/g

September 5, 1963

Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker
Executive Assistant
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Walker:

In response to your letter of August 27, please be advised that the monies held by the Southern Regional Council for the churches at Sasser and Leesburg, Georgia, are available upon request, under the conditions of the grants.

Our letter to Mr. Toombs was merely an explanation of conditions imposed by the grantors of the monies allocated.

Be assured that upon request, said monies will be made available to the proper parties.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJJr:nm

LWA - please advise

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

August 27, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordon, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Churches at Sasser
and Leesburg, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordon:

It is my understanding that the grant for $5,000 is subject to conditions that it be used if enough money was not raised. As of the present writing it will be necessary to raise approximately $22,000 in addition to the $5,000 in order to complete the churches. It seemed to me that under the circumstances the grant from the Southern Regional Council, Inc., would be made available to the churches.

Sincerely,

Wyatt Tee Walker

wyatt tee walker
executive assistant to
Martin Luther King, Jr.

WTW:wm

cc: Miss Helen Bullard

September 13, 1963

B. B. Blaylock & A. Kinnon
812 Lincoln Avenue
Albany, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find three checks totaling $15,317.35. As you know the monies that have been raised for the construction of the churches is in several different accounts. I've contacted the Rev. William Boyd and asked him to arrange for a financial draft of $3,252.57 which will total $18,569.92 the exact amount for the second payment on the churches.

I am sure that by now that you are aware that there were some discrepancies in the figures that you forwarded to Toombs Amisano & Wells, this accounts for what seems to be an undue delay in forwarding these monies to you.

Warm personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Wyatt Tee Walker
Coordinator

WTW:mm

Enc:

cc: Helen Bullard
Ray Stainback
Edward Driskill
Roy McClain
Jackie Robinson

September 18, 1962

Mrs. Edwinna Smith
Administrative Secretary
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Edwinna:

As per your request, enclosed herewith, please find ten copies of the Henderson pamphlet. I am sure the SCLC Field Secretaries will find this study interesting and useful.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

LWD ✓
PAL
VJ ✓

HENRY J. TOOMBS, F.A.I.A., A.I.P.
JOSEPH AMISANO, A.I.A., A.I.P.
JAMES EDWIN WELLS, A.I.A.
L. DALE ZENT,
ASSOCIATES
J. STARKE HAMILTON, JR., R.A.
GEORGE E. A. VOGT, A.I.A.
HELEN BULLARD, CONSULTANT

TOOMBS, AMISANO & WELLS

ARCHITECTS & ENGINEERS

September 23, 1963

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

If there is anything that gladdens my wizened heart it is somebody who approaches a problem by saying "let's see how easy we can do this" instead of "let's see how difficult we can make it" (I suppose the word should be easily but I'm sure you get my meaning), which is an involved way of saying thank you so much for handling the church grant with such efficiency and with such cheerfulness!

It occurred to me that the two group donors might like to have a sketch of what the building will look like at its completion, together with some photographs that were made last week showing the progress of the church, and I am attaching these.

Again, my thanks to you and with every good wish, I am

Cordially,

Helen Bullard

Helen Bullard

Enclosures

70 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, Telephone 524-2801

September 30, 1963

Reverend Donald W. Strickler
Executive Secretary
New York City Congregational Church
Association
297 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Strickler:

Enclosed please find a photograph showing the progress of reconstruction on the burned churches in Southwest Georgia, to which your organization so generously contributed. Also enclosed is an architectural sketch of the structure as it will be upon completion.

We pass these on to you to indicate the progress being made at the present time.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

September 30, 1963

Mr. Wesley A. Hotchkiss
AMA College Centennials
287 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Hotchkiss:

Enclosed please find a photograph showing the progress of reconstruction on the burned churches in Southwest Georgia, to which your organization so generously contributed. Also enclosed is an architectural sketch of the structure as it will be upon completion.

We pass these on to you to indicate the progress being made at the present time.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

287 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y., GR 5-2121

LD
PA
VJ

AMA College Centennials

DILLARD UNIVERSITY • FISK UNIVERSITY • HUSTON-TILLOTSON COLLEGE
LeMOYNE COLLEGE • TALLADEGA COLLEGE • TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

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Mr. Albert B. Tucker
The Rev. Alfred Grant Walton
The Hon. Donald W. Webber
Mrs. Richard L. White
Dr. Leon E. Wright
Dr. Stephen J. Wright
(in formation)

September 24, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I am pleased to note by the copy of your letter to the Rev. Wyatt T. Walker that our gift of $5,000 has been used in the rebuilding of the burned churches on southwest Georgia.

We appreciate very much your role in the forwarding of this gift.

Cordially yours,

Wesley A. Hotchkiss

WAH/m

Wesley A. Hotchkiss

"*Resolved.*—That the triumph of the ideas and principles of the Fathers in the late civil contest, emancipating and enfranchising four millions of blacks, and giving nearly equally important disenthrallment to eight millions of whites, imposes a vast responsibility, and offers a grand opportunity for the dissemination of the religion of the Pilgrims; and we pledge ourselves to renewed effort to preach the gospel and plant its institutions in the South."—*Passed at the Pilgrim Memorial Congregational Convention, Chicago, Ill., April* 28, 1870.

ERE YOU DURING THE REV

"Justice, as defined in the Institutes of Justinian, nearly 2000 years ago, and as it is felt and understood by all who understand human rights is the constant and perpetual will to secure to everyone his own right."

—*John Quincy Adams, pleading for the Amistad Africans before the Supreme Court,* 1841.

Social revolution has always mobilized the spirit and the resources of The American Missionary Association into more concentrated effort to reach its goal—the attainment of full equality for all men under God and in accord with the historic public documents of the United States. The fearless dedication which has typified the Association throughout its history is being summoned today, in the current crisis, by the insistent demand of the Negro for "Freedom, NOW!" The persistence of the demand has placed the Association in the position, almost, of the leader who must run to keep up with his followers. How are we, pace-setters in American history, going to respond?

That the AMA is a pace-setter is a matter of record. It had its birth out of a three-year fight waged by principled whites (mostly New Englanders) to achieve freedom for 52 African slaves in the historic Amistad case which was the first major abolitionist effort to seek and to obtain successful resolution by law (on March 9, 1841). The concern for abolition of slavery welded these men into a global force which also sought justice for oppressed people everywhere—in China, Africa, Siam, the Sandwich Islands, and the American Indian. In Civil War days, "missionaries" of the Association followed the Union armies to give care to the freedmen and to set up schools where the ex-slave could learn to read and to write. It was the belief of the Association that the freedmen could, and must, assume the role of full citizenship, and that education was the key.

In its historic crusade, the Association invested its massive resources of morality, money and guts in the establishment, maintenance, and operation of more than 500 schools across the Southland. Illiterate whites (of whom there were nearly as many as there were illiterate blacks) learned side by side in these schools until state laws eventually altered the pattern in those schools which had become part of a system of public education.

Six colleges remained the prime concern of the Association. In a section of the country where the public system permitted only limited education for the Negro, these institutions, with their unrestricted charters, have served for nearly a hundred years as major bulwarks of higher education for, primarily, the Negro. For much of that lengthy period, some of them have been the only spots in their respective states where intellectual and civic freedom could be found.

Dillard University (founded in 1869) is truly interstate, interchurch, and interracial in character. It is a cooperative enterprise in which citizens of New Orleans, the American Missionary Association, the Board of Education of the Methodist Church, and many foundations and organizations participate.

In 1865 John Ogden, the Rev. E. M. Cravath and the Rev. E. P. Smith, agents of the American Missionary Association and the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, established at Nashville a school for colored people of the South. With the signing of a charter on August 12, 1867, the school became Fisk University.

Huston-Tillotson College (founded in 1877) is the

result of the merger of Tillotson College (Congregational) and Samuel Huston College (Methodist) in Austin, Texas.

In 1862 Miss Lucinda Humphrey was sent to Memphis by the American Missionary Association to begin educational work among Negroes. At that time some 16,000 Negro refugees had come into the city from the surrounding country. By 1866 there were nearly 2,000 students in a fairly good system of schools. But, during a riot, 4 Negro churches and 12 Negro schools were burned. But the AMA began again and developed LeMoyne College.

The first college opened to Negroes in the State of Alabama began in 1867 as a primary school. The AMA purchased a colonial brick building overlooking the town of Talladega, and with four teachers and 140 pupils, the future Talladega College began its work in the rudiments of learning.

In 1869, the AMA established a school near Jackson, Mississippi, "to be accessible to all, irrespective of their religious tenets, and conducted on the most liberal principles for the benefit of our citizens in general." In 1954 this school combined with another, which had been established by the Disciples of Christ, to form Tougaloo Southern Christian College.

Through these schools, and over a period of a century, AMA has kept its faith. But today, because of the very openness which is peculiar to each of them, the schools are being called upon to help find "Freedom, NOW!" The demand upon them is a re-call upon the

pioneer spirit of AMA to use its forces of morality, money and guts to complete its own mission.

The Rev. Fred Lee Shuttlesworth could have been talking to members of the Association when he spoke in a Greensboro church: "You educated us. You taught us to look up . . . And, now, we're looking up!"

With the American Missionary Association (now a part of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries) committed to education as the redemptive force, its mobilization in the present era must be toward the immediate expansion of its six centers of higher education into centers of *highest* education. The physical plants, the size and calibre of faculties, the freedom for unhampered intellectual exchange among *all* people—these must burst their present bounds, *at once*. The schools, founded in the best American and Christian traditions, must become, overnight, the finest centers of education in the country. Along with them, our specialized centers—Dorchester Center, with its citizenship education program, and Franklinton Center, with its stress on in-service training for ministers—must also expand their facilities and programming.

The rationale for this course, and for the participation of the Association in all its historic ecumenicity, is clearly stated in "A Door So Wide" (free), written by Wesley A. Hotchkiss, General Secretary of the AMA, early in 1962. The sheer force of the current revolution demands its immediate implementation.

THE NEGRO, A MAN AND A CITIZEN

Reprint of an editorial from "THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY" Vol. 7, 8, 9—1863-5

The Constitution of the United States recognizes him as a **person.** In the days of Thomas Jefferson, Virginia and other States designated him as a **citizen.** The prowess of Small and other colored individuals, and the good conduct and courage of the colored troops, have proved him to be a **soldier** and a **hero.** The eloquence of Douglass and of other sable speakers, has shown that he can be an **orator.** The piety of thousands of colored men evince that he can be a **Christian.** If, then he is a person, a citizen, and capable of being a soldier, an orator, and a Christian, none but an idiot or a blockhead would assert that he is not a **MAN.**

If then, the Negro is a man and a citizen, he is entitled to the treatment of a man and a citizen, and unless he is recognized and treated as such, he cannot be safely elevated in the scale of being.

It will be in vain that he is liberated, that arms are put into his hands, that he is educated, that he is religiously instructed. And it will be worse than in vain, because if unacknowledged as a man entitled to all the prerogatives of a man and a citizen he will be a dangerous person in the community—the more dangerous in proportion to his intelligence, native and acquired.

As a missionary association, having in view the intellectual, moral and religious good of men and especially of the people of color, and particularly **the recently emancipated, and those who in the providence of God, and the march of events, are speedily to be emancipated,** we claim that our colored brother should be treated in all respects as a man and a citizen, by the **churches,** by the **Government,** and by the **people.**

At present, he does not receive such treatment either from **the churches, the Government, or the people; to their shame be it spoken! Churches refuse him admittance to their pews and communion on equal terms; Government does not award to him the pay and honors due to his valor, nor shield him from the insolence and cruelty of others; and the people ostracize him from the esteem, and confidence, and emoluments of his country. The world takes knowledge of these**

things, and reproaches us in view of the inconsistency between our professions and our practice; and the God of us all takes cognizance of our scorn and abuse of the colored children of His great family.

How long will the churches, the Government and the people of this land thus voluntarily subject themselves to the taunts of the civilized world, and the condemnation of the Scriptures? Has the Secretary of State, by authority of the President, informed foreign courts that "every where the American general receives his most valuable and reliable information from the Negro, who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom," and will our government any longer suffer him to be victimized by itself, or by those under its authority? Has God declared that he is no respecter of persons, and will the churches longer ignore the common brotherhood of the colored man? **Has the nation received so much benefit from his loyalty and prowess, and shall it not recognize his manhood, and his claims to respect, confidence, and common justice?**

We recommend no doctrine of miscegenation, **leaving social affinities to take care of themselves, but we do urge the claims of a common origin, the oneness of the blood that flows equally**

in the veins of the white and the colored man, the principles of our Declaration of Independence, the obligation of humanity and citizenship, and the precepts of our divine Lord in behalf of those who have aggrandized the country by their labor, and are with ourselves candidates for a blissful immortality.

If we do not protest against the enslavement of the minds and bodies of those who are in heathenish darkness, or aspiring after knowledge and piety, and if we did not exert our influence to remove such obstacles to their education and evangelization, we should be strangely forgetful of our mission, and treasonable to the Lord of missions. **If the United States aims to be a righteous nation, and a power and example of civil and religious liberty to the nations of the earth; if its churches feel the obligation of christianizing its people, and aiding in the evangelization of the world; if the people expect the blessing of heaven upon their efforts to secure peace, respect, and honor to themselves and their posterity; let them first conquer themselves, and then award equity to those who are with themselves common inheritors of civilization and Christianity, and the joint subjects of retributive justice on earth, and at the bar of God.**

The commitment is clear!

"The paramount national interest is that the process of Negro emancipation should go forward peaceably. It must go forward," said Walter Lippman (Newsweek, May 27, 1963). "It must go forward fast enough to make its forward movement visible. If it does not do this, there will have been an abandonment of fundamental American principles which will disgrace us at home and abroad. The movement to equality must go forward peaceably, which means that there must not be another struggle to preserve the Union."

As James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has said: "The country, I believe, is becoming aware that the people are really serious about getting their civil rights, that what happened in 1960—when we had the sit-ins—was not a fad, that it is growing, that the nation, itself, must grapple with the problem, 'Which Side Are You On?'"

Grappling with the problem, in terms of AMA commitment, is primarily the preparation of our educational institutions to fulfill their destiny. It has been estimated that the cost to equip the schools properly will amount to fifty million dollars. The securing of this sum to education, on an open racial basis, *must precede* our second century in education. How will we answer our children and grandchildren when they ask: *"Where were you during the revolution?"*

The record of contributors to the fund for this revolutionary movement will take the form of a Book of a Million Names. *The name and address of each individual or business, together with the amount of his contribution, will be entered in the volume which will be kept on permanent display as part of the AMA Archives, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, and at Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana.*

Prepared by Warren Marr, II, Division of Higher Education and American Missionary Association, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, 287 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y.

AMA COLLEGE CENTENNIALS FUND

287 Park Avenue South New York 10, New York

I hereby promise to pay to the **Treasurer of the American Missionary Association,** *for the purpose of elevating and expanding the six AMA colleges, and for the purpose of extending their benevolent influence into their entire communities, the sum of* _____ *dollars, as follows viz*

_____

I understand that my name will be entered into The Book of a Million Names which will be preserved with the AMA Archives at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, and at Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

(Address) _____

(City) _____ (Signed) _____

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TEAR OFF HERE

SCLC

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SCLC Newsletter

Volume 2 October, 1963 Number 1

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WE SHALL OVERCOME—Joining in singing of Freedom Song, "We Shall Overcome", at opening night banquet of convention were (from left): Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, his wife, Mrs. Juanita Abernathy; Mrs. Coretta King; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; and speaker, Sen. Leroy Johnson of Ga.

SCLC Holds Most Successful Convention; Upwards Of 5,000 Attend Night Sessions

With a record-breaking registration of more than 500 delegates from affiliates and organizations across the U.S., the seventh annual convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference held in Richmond, Va., Sept. 24-27, turned out to be the most successful in the organization's history. Upwards of some 5,000 Richmond residents and visitors from nearby counties attended the nightly meetings in Virginia Union University's Belgian Building to hear speakers deliver messages based upon the convention theme of "Freedom Now."

Turn-Away Crowd

The opening night's banquet on Sept. 24 indicated that the convention was going to be heavily attended as a turn-away crowd of more than 900 jam-packed the John Marshall Hotel's Virginia Room and spilled over into an adjoining banquet hall, the Colony Room. Many of those who could not get in were content to stand in the corridors outside to hear the speakers and listen to the wry humor of comedian Dick Gregory, who was the recipient of a special award.

The occasion marked the first time that a predominantly Negro gathering used the banquet facilities of the John Marshall Hotel, which earlier had expressed apprehension over the room's use by Negroes.

Christmas Boycott

SCLC president Martin Luther King, Jr. sent newsmen scrambling for telephones when he announced at a press conference upon his arrival that he was going to call for a "Christmas buying boycott" as a protest memorial to the children who were killed in the Birmingham church bombing. The suggestion was met with mixed reaction from some of the guest speakers, among them Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, who voiced enthusiastic support, and NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins, who expressed a negative response thus: "I find it difficult to go against the idea of Santa Claus."

(In a later meeting after the convention of all civil rights leaders who had participated in the March on Washington it was agreed that the Xmas buying boycott would not be invoked but that Negroes would be asked to make some financial sacrifices in memory of the children. It has been suggested that any money normally spent for extravagances should be sent to any one of the civil rights organizations or to a favorite charity.)

(Continued on page 2)

Birmingham Bombing Points Up A City With A Sick Soul

By Ed Clayton

The bomb that rocked the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham on the Sunday morning of Sept. 15 and sent four innocent children to horrible death was not only a blast that stunned America but it sent a shock wave of horrified outrage around the world. As one woman put it, cautiously egg-walking her way through the crunch of broken glass: "My God, you're not even safe in church!"

Grim News

The unbelievably grim news was that either a bomb had been hurled or placed under the steps of an entrance to the church and the explosion claimed four victims attending Sunday School — Cynthia Wesley, 14; Carol Robertson, 14; Denise McNair, 11; and Addie Mae Collins, 14.

The church had been used as headquarters in voter registration drives by SCLC, was the meeting place for last year's con-

(Continued on page 2)

Photo courtesy Jet Magazine

Explosion blasted face of Jesus Christ from stained glass window in 16th Street Church.

Mahalia Jackson To Give Benefit Dec. 1

Miss Jackson

World-renown gospel singer Mahalia Jackson, whose remarkable voice has brought gospel music to millions throughout the world, is scheduled to appear in Atlanta, Ga., Sunday, Dec. 1, in a benefit concert for SCLC. Her appearance will be an afternoon performance at 3:00 p.m. at Atlanta's City Auditorium.

Miss Jackson, who has frequently appeared in other cities in behalf of SCLC, will be making her first appearance of this kind in Atlanta where SCLC's headquarters are located. She will be the second "big name" personality to be presented in concert in Atlanta in the "Stars For Freedom" benefit series.

A recording star for Columbia Records, Miss Jackson has done more to popularize gospel music than any other living person in America today. Her determination to be heard obsessed her with such a great passion that in the early struggles of her career she once sang before audiences in Buffalo, N. Y., for an admittance ticket that cost only five cents.

Organize New SCLC Affiliate In Richmond, Va. After Meet

A Richmond, Va., chapter was organized among SCLC affiliates on Oct. 28, almost a month to the day since the close of SCLC's convention in that city.

C. T. Vivian, SCLC director of Affiliates, who helped organize the new group, affirmed that SCLC would help them achieve civil rights gains in the capital city to the point of "moving into the streets" if necessary.

Rev. E. E. Smith of Riverview Baptist Church was elected temporary president of the new affiliate, and school teacher Herbert Crockett was named vice-chairman.

BOMBING

(Continued from Page 1)

vention, and had been used again as headquarters in this past spring's mass demonstrations.

Sick Mind

But just what the bombardier hoped to achieve by murdering innocent and unsuspecting children in a Sunday School class on a Sunday morning was a sickening question that could only be answered by the sick mind that conceived the heinous plot. Whoever he is, he is the product of a city that has a long case history of being sick.

The ills were thought to be at least somewhat relieved last May 10 when the "Birmingham Agreement" was reached following the mass demonstrations and the "Bull" Connor retaliation of fire hoses and snarling dogs. But there is no cure for cancer. Worse, there is not even hope for cancer that has been allowed to rot and fester for 92 years —or since Birmingham was born.

50 Bombings

Birmingham has the kind of cancer that has made bombing a popular pastime, a lightly-regarded pursuit that has accounted for 50 blasts since the end of World War II without a single solution.

Part of the root of this deep-seated racial disease lies in the fact that big business, the respected steel industry et al, has kept racism alive with an abnormally fierce competition for its jobs. Moreover, with the city's basic economy controlled by absentee owners up north, Birmingham's leadership has, until recently, been vested in the likes of such die-hard racists as "Bull" Conner.

Indeed, the blame for Birmingham's Sunday School murders can be laid at the foot of every racist in that city and every irresponsible city, state and federal official who has encouraged lawlessness. It also can be laid at the foot of every person who has stood silently by, hoping the cancer would somehow vanish of its own accord.

Dr. King Delivers Eulogy

SCLC president Martin Luther King, Jr., expressed it most eloquently in his eulogy at last rites for the slain children:

"They have something to say to each of us in their death," he said, "to every minister of the gospel who has remained silent behind the safe security of stained glass windows . . . to every politician who has fed his constituents with the stale bread of hatred and the spoiled meat of racism."

CONVENTION

(Continued from Page 1)

Pass Resolution

In a resolution passed at the convention, SCLC went on record in favor of seeking to get all civil rights cases, both civil and criminal, placed in federal courts. The resolution also asked that the Kennedy Administration's civil rights bill be amended to provide that all cases involving voting be tried by judges appointed by federal chief circuit judges to avoid having them brought before judges with segregationist sympathies.

Dr. King Again Rejects Salary

Dr. King, re-elected to the SCLC presidency, again rejected for the sixth straight year the board's insistent recommendation that he accept a salary. Since the founding of the organization he has received only the least possible minimum salary of $1.00 per year which entitles him to participate in the employee's group insurance plan.

In refusing to accept any salary from SCLC, Dr. King pointed out that "I have an income from Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta as co-pastor along with my father, and I feel that this is adequate for me and my family's needs." He added: "It is my sincere and dedicated belief that the struggle for freedom in which SCLC is engaged is not one to be rewarded with individual wealth and gain, but rather one which finds its fulfillment in spiritual dedication and moral victories."

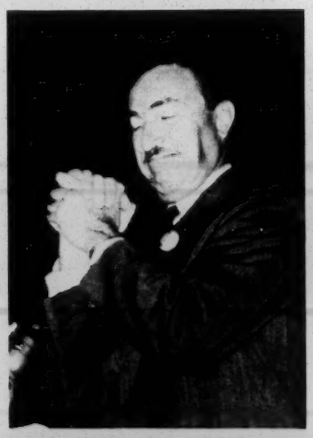
A closed meeting of board members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference resulted in the following being re-appointed to the 33-man executive board to serve three-year terms:

Esau Jenkins, Charleston, S. C,; Matthew McCollum, Orangeburg, S. C.; and Daniel Speed, Tallahassee, Fla.

FIERY ORATORY SPARKED CONVENTION

Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth

Sen. Leroy Johnson



Cong. A. Clayton Powell

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Figures Don't Lie

WHAT'S WRONG WITH 'BOMBINGHAM'

(Editor's note: the following statistical data on employment for Negroes in Alabama and Birmingham graphically illustrates the evils of discrimination within the state. The figures were compiled from the 1960 Census Series P.C. 1. Some 300,000 Negroes comprise 30 per cent of the labor force.)

State of Alabama

Engineers and Technical Workers	
Whites	10,640
Negroes	**74**
Managers, Proprietors, Officials, etc.	
Whites	46,000
Negroes	**1,094**
Clerical, Sales Workers In Retail Trade	
Whites	172,000
Negroes	**8,000**
Private Household Workers (Domestics)	
Whites	8,000
Negroes	**65,000**

City of Birmingham

Policemen	
Whites	400
Negroes	**0**
Firemen	
Whites	439
Negroes	**0**

SCLC Atty. Wins Discrimination Suit Against Travel Agency, Railroad Line

Atty. Eskridge

A Chicago travel agency and the Burlington Route Railroad Co. were ordered to pay $3,508 on October 4 for discriminating against two Chicago Negro women in a suit in which they were represented by Atty. Chauncey Eskridge, who also serves as an attorney for SCLC.

The women, Mrs. Eva Wright, an employee of the Illinois Labor Dept., and her daughter, Miss Evelyn Williams, a school teacher, had charged in the suit that they were not permitted to take a guided rail tour to the west coast because they are Negroes.

Paid $780

They said they paid $780 for a tour of the Pacific Northwest on May 2, 1960, but were not allowed to travel with the organized tour. Instead, they were told by the Vanderbilt Better Tours travel agency to report to the train station a day before the scheduled tour for "another tour", but when they arrived they learned that no organized tour was leaving.

Their attorney, Eskridge, pointed out that all white persons booked for the tour remain booked for the scheduled departure date of July 3 up to the time of departure.

Money Refunded

Mrs. Wright and Miss Williams refused to travel separately and their money was refunded. On July 3, 1962, they filed suit for $100,000.

In ruling against the travel agency and rail line, U. S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry said: "It's clear that there was a refusal because of race and we might as well bring it to a head in federal court." He awarded each of the women $500 compensatory damages, plus an additional $500 each punitive damages, $1,500 in legal fees and a refund of $8.40 for travel insurance.

It was the first time damages had been awarded against a travel agency, which means that such firms are now subject to the Interstate Commerce Act which forbids railroads to discriminate.

Wyatt Walker Photo

SCENE OF BOMBING—With broken windows almost everywhere, the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., bears mute evidence of force of explosion on Sept. 15 in which four children were killed. Windows were also blown out of homes and stores in the area by the blast which could be heard for blocks away.

How One White Man Felt After Bombing

With this Sunday's work [Sept. 15] in Birmingham on our guilt-record, it's a wonder that any of us whites have a decent bone left. I notice that you Negroes don't do what we have always done when reporting a crime by a Negro, i. e. give the impression that one Negro skin was used to accommodate the ground-up flesh of the entire Negro race so that the news release would imply that "The Negro Race broke into a hardware store . . ."

Destined For Greatness

There are many factors, many of which are traceable to free will choices for good, but just one reason why all the scholars are in agreement that Negroes are destined for great things. You are the only people without a guilty conscience, having committed no genocide against a whole continent's population and lied to yourself that you were bringing civilization to the Indians; having no six million souls crying out for justice in your subconsciousness, and all the rest. You all will, in all probability, commit all the classic crimes eventually, but that will be several thousand years in the future.

Fully Salt Flavored

In the meantime, you are still fully salt-flavored and able to lend taste to even washed out and tasteless critters like us, especially in representatives such as Dr. King who has all the qualities of a universal man rather than one hemmed in by race, national propagandizing, class "spokes-maniaing", etc. He can take a walk any day with Buddha, Gandhi, Socrates, Lincoln, Thoreau and others of this caliber.

More Civilized

Moreover, it's a puzzle to me how anyone who has eyes to see, can't see the obvious fact that the word "civilized" has more of a home in the Negro demonstrators than in the white mobs attending them. And it is also obvious that the Negroes concerned are happier because they have self respect and innocence even when the stated goal is not attained, whereas the whites are unhappy and in the gnashing-of-teeth region outside the Kingdom of GOoDness.

JOSEPH COLTON

Mineral Wells, Texas

SCLC *Newsletter*

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AIMS AND PURPOSES OF SCLC

1. **To achieve full citizenship rights, and total integration of the Negro in American life.**
2. **To stimulate non-violent direct mass action to remove the barriers of segregation and discrimination.**
3. **To disseminate the creative philosophy and techniques of non-violence through local and area workshops.**
4. **To secure the right and unhampered use of the ballot for every citizen.**
5. **To reduce the cultural lag through the Citizenship Training Program.**

Editorial

The 'Red' Plague

Over the past several months there has been an obvious organized effort to cloud the true purposes of civil rights organizations by labeling them "Communist Front," "Communist-Tainted," or what have you. SCLC and its president, Dr. King, have constantly been the targets of such newspaper attacks, although they represent little more than a re-hash of what already has been said and commented upon.

The latest of these of considerable length was an editorial in the *Richmond News Leader* on the closing day of the convention which sought to discredit SCLC and Dr. King for its past association with Jack O'Dell, an alleged one-time communist and former SCLC employee. The editorial also took exception to the presence at the convention of Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the March On Washington, also referred to by the paper as "a one-time young communist."

The intent of the editorial was clear. By placing SCLC and Dr. King amidst paragraphs liberally sprinkled with the word "communism," the reading public, depending upon the *Richmond News Leader* for its intelligence, was expected to reach the conclusion that there must be some "Red" in the ranks of SCLC.

The tactic has been tried many, many times before with other organizations, sometimes with success, more often without. The 54-year-old NAACP has had to ward off such scurrilous attacks in its past history. But thankfully it has survived to the everlasting good fortune of the Negro race.

It does not come as any great surprise that such papers as the *Richmond News Leader* would resort to this sort of editorial witch hunt. What is surprising is that the *Leader* bothered to carry anything at all in the paper's columns after invoking a news blackout on the convention for three days.

Moreover, what it printed in this connection hardly could be considered as news inasmuch as the same information had been carried months before over the wire services to all the nation's major newspapers and had been dealt with, answered and dismissed for its news value. Any re-hash of it, as any good editor knows, is only serving up left-over stew from which the meat has all but disappeared .

SCLC, as Dr. King has said, "is so firmly established as a Christian nonviolent movement that it would be impossible to be influenced in any way by the method or philosophy of Communism." And if there is any "red" in its ranks it is the memory of the red blood of 3,000 lynch victims staining America's history; the red blood spilled on the battlefield by Negroes in every war in which this nation has engaged; and the red trickle from the bullet wounds that have claimed the lives of men like Medgar Evers of Mississippi who symbolized the "hardiness and valor" for which the red in the American flag stands.—ETC

SCLC Newsletter Reaches 100,000 Mark This Issue

With this issue of the SCLC Newsletter, the total distribution across the nation reaches slightly less than the 100,000 mark. The official organ of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference began publishing irregularly in 1961 as a four-page publication, but is now established on a regular monthly basis as a 12-page news organ.

Further expansion seems certain in the future as SCLC continues to grow, and while the publication is distributed free of charge and supported in the main by contributions from its readers, it may become necessary at some point to accept advertising as well as place it on a subscription basis. Increased printing costs incurred because of the great demand for the Newsletter indicate that this may become necessary.

The Cartoonist's View

Long Night's Journey Into Day

Hugh Haynie In Louisville Courier Journal

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Perhaps If We Ignore It . . ."

Palmer In Springfield, Mo., Leader & Press

Convention Guest Writes Impressions Of Meeting

(Editor's note: The writer of the following, Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, who is author of the book, "The Desegregated Heart," was the recipient of a special award at SCLC's convention.)

The 7th Annual meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, held in Richmond, Sept. 24-27, and led by Dr. Martin Luther King, seems to be moving into the past without "editorial" comment by an eye-witness. This must not happen.

Unlike other conferences, the delegates did not express their thoughts so much as they did the essence of their lives. They spoke of things they would die for. It was not a bugle-call, beat-of-drums willingness to die, but the simple assumption that it is better to die for some things than to live without them.

Lighted Faces

Remarks by chief speakers were well-reported in the press but the importance of the meeting did not lie in these. It lay in the brief comments of unknown speakers from platform and floor, and in the lighted faces and deepened eyes of those who spoke and heard.

The meeting was composed largely of people who had been insulted, beaten, set upon by dogs, thrown into jail, for acting out "freedom and justice for all." Their voices shook when they spoke of friends who had been bombed and shot to death. Their voices were steady when they said, "love your enemies."

Great Cause

All great thoughts have many times been spoken. Therefore only when they are acted out do they move into their inherent greatness. No man is great in himself. The brilliant, the forceful, are trivial when they only flex their mental muscles. We become great when we stand for a great cause, or act out a great conviction.

Increasingly Negro Americans are standing for, acting out the great American theme: "Freedom and justice for all." Negro Christians are standing for , acting out, the great Christian theme: "Love your 'unlovable' neighbor because God loves you."

Thus, in them the soul of America vibrates with life. In them Christ lives with passionate, compassionate love that can redeem. These are the great Americans, the great Christians of today.

Mrs. Boyle

Ignoring their just demands, we reveal ourselves pale beside them, not alone in face, but also in mind, heart and soul. We could quietly, swiftly renew our nation by making her what she claims to be. We could renew our faith by living what we affirm.

SARAH PATTON BOYLE

Charlottesville, Va.

From Convention Speeches . . .

Martin Luther King, Jr., President of SCLC: "If we have won any victory, and certainly there have been some, this is not the hour to gloat in that victory. We must reach still yet for higher peaks of attainment of the ends we seek. We must move now even more militantly forward, knowing full well that there can be no idle hours in the midst of our siege of battle. Our noble yesterdays must be transformed into new tomorrows re-dedicated to our single, sincere thesis that America *must* cleanse itself of this awful sin of race hatred and social injustice."

Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois: "The self-restraint which you have practiced in the face of beatings, jail sentences, fire hoses, police dogs, bombings and the killing of the innocent, as in Birmingham, is beyond and above all praise. I have believed fitfully during my life in the supreme worth of the spirit of active good will and in the final ability of love to conquer hate and to transform society. But I am frank to say that I do not think that under such provocations as you have experienced I would have possessed the strength of character to practice it."

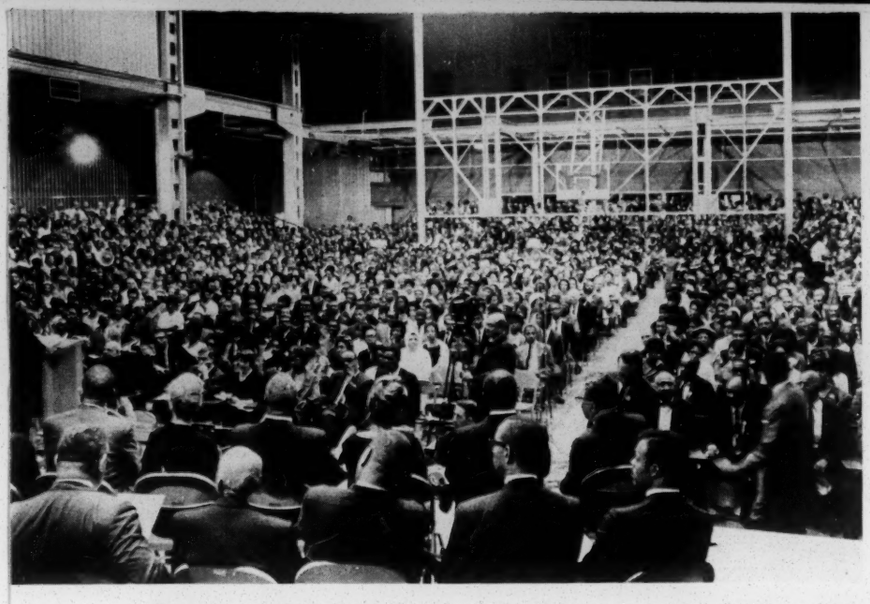
Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican from New York: "Make no mistake about it, the Negro 'revolution' of 1963 has generated moral power which can make or break Presidents — or presidential candidates — a power which can make or break political parties. A power — in fact — which can prove again to a sometimes doubting world that the people of the U. S. have the stuff of greatness when morally challenged — as they are now on this historic issue of equal opportunity and civil rights."

Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Assistant to Dr. King: "It appears that in this year of 'Emancipation', there really is no emancipation. We have been duped, or have duped ourselves into believing that the chains had been broken, when in truth, we have only been chained more securely. Half-freedom has in many instances been worse than no freedom at all. The compromise during Reconstruction was not only a legal compromise, it was also a *moral* compromise. As a nation, what we have sown, we are reaping."

Thomas Kilgore, Jr., Former Director of SCLC's New York office: "Churches in America may very well ponder the symbolic meaning of the missing face of Christ from the stained glass window after the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Church in Birmingham. Maybe this disturbing scene is saying to America's Christianity that all too often the face of Christ has been in stained glass windows and not in the lives of the people."

L. D. Reddick, SCLC Historian: "Lest we forget, part of our struggle against inequality is an intellectual revolt against the stereotype to which we have been reduced by hostile historians, novelists, and after them the evil or obtuse men of radio, Hollywood and television. We do not yet have a plan on them. We have not yet gotten around to a sustained effort not only to get Negroes employed in the publishing and communications industries but to change the picture that these agencies of information and entertainment paint of us."

Convention Mood



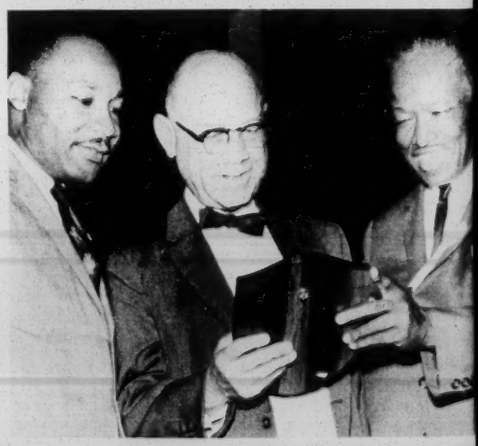
Capacity crowds jammed Virginia Union University's Belgian Building nightly (above) to hear speakers in four-day convention meet, often became cheering, pennant-waving spectators (below) in response to fiery oratory.

Autograph seekers were on hand to greet Dr. King virtually everywhere he appeared in public. Here he obliges some students from Virginia Union University, many of whom took keen interest in convention proceedings.

Surprise contribution at convention came from Yonkers, N. Y., Publisher Noel F. Marder (r.) who presented Dr. King with checks totaling over $2,000, an additional report from N. Y. banquet.

Rosa Parks Freedom Award was presented to Fred Shuttlesworth (l.) by Mrs. Rosa Parks (at mike). Others in photo are Atty. William Kunstler, N.Y., (2nd from r.) and Rev. Abernathy (r.).

Photos These Pages By Scott Henderson Of Richmond, Va.



Affiliate Award went to Alabama Christian Movement by Dr. A. A. Peters (r.), Los Angeles. W. E. Shortridge (c.) of Birmingham accepted.

Caught By Lensman

Special award was presented to comedian Dick Gregory (r.) by Dr. King on behalf of SCLC for his role in civil rights struggle. Gregory, though ill with flu, flew in from Washington, D. C., to attend meet.

Portion of delegates lined up on steps for official convention photo at First African Baptist Church where day sessions were held. Registration showed that this was largest convention in SCLC's six-year history.

Guest speaker Roy Wilkins of NAACP paused to pose with Dr. King to give lie to reports that there is disunity among civil rights organizations. Wilkins was greeted by NAACP unit at Virginia Univ.

Senator Jacob Javits (c.) stopped to pause with students from Virginia Union University upon his arrival to address the convention. Javits spoke on "The Civil Rights Struggle In Congress," was warmly received.

Special citation for meritorious service was presented Wyatt Tee Walker (l.), SCLC executive assistant to Dr. King, for job he has done in helping build SCLC. He is shown being congratulated.

Joining in singing "We Shall Overcome" at conclusion of first night session, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois (c.) clasps hands with Dr. King (l.) and Rev. Abernathy (r.) on platform along with Thomas H. Henderson, Virginia Union president.

The SCLC *Bookshelf*

As in other areas where the demand for more knowledge about the Negro in America's midst has reached a new high, the Negro poet too now seems destined for a measure of well-deserved recognition. Below are listed two of the latest works by two well-known Negro craftsmen, Arna Bontemps, Fisk University librarian, and Gwendolyn Brooks, 1950 Pulitizer Prize winner.

» *American Negro Poetry*, an anthology edited by Arna Bontemps. This work of 197 pages, published by Hill & Wang, contains 171 poems by 55 poets, among them such names familiar to Negroes as James Weldon Johnson, Paul Laurence Dunbar and Langston Hughes. It has a brief historical introduction and biographical sketches as well.

» *Selected Poems* by Gwendolyn Brooks. This newest work from the pen of the Chicago verse writer is a volume containing a group of new poems together with selections from three earlier books, now out of print. Published by Harper & Row, it deals with a variety of matters set to verse, including race, love, war and other ingredients of which life is made.

New & Current

» *When The Word Is Given* by Louis E. Lomax. Another effort to make a close inspection of the Black Muslim movement, this work by author Lomax seeks to tell the "inside" story of the history of the Black Muslims, their growth, and their leadership. Publishers are World Publishing Co.

» *The Learning Tree* by Gordon Parks. A first novel by famous Life magazine photographer Gordon Parks, this addition to previous expressions of his talents might make one wonder what Parks will do next. Besides being an accomplished photographer, he has composed piano concertos, published poetry and directed motion pictures. Harper & Row are publishers of his latest work.

Mr. Parks

Available At SCLC

» *Strength To Love* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Row. Price: $3.50.

» *Stride Toward Freedom* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Brothers Co. Price: $2.95

» *Crusader Without Violence* by L. D. Reddick. Publishers: Harper & Brothers. Price: $3.95

» *Echo In My Soul* by Septima Poinsette Clark. Publishers: E. P. Dutton & Co. Price: $4.50

» *The Desegregated Heart* by Sarah Patton Boyle. Publishers: William Morrow & Co. Price: $5.00

Booklet On 'March' Set For Publication

A 96-page, hard-back, paper-covered pictorial booklet, containing speeches and photos from the March on Washington, is scheduled to be published Nov. 15 by the Book Division of Johnson Publishing Co. in Chicago. Mrs. Doris Saunders, chief of the department and also editor of the booklet, said it is entitled: *The Day They Marched.*

Mrs. Saunders said it will include an introduction by Ebony senior editorial writer Lerone Bennett, who authored the current best-selling Negro history book, *Before The Mayflower*. Lavishly-illustrated, the booklet will sell for $1.00

Besides Bennett's introduction, the booklet also will contain the following:

- The Speech delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
- The 400-word statement by President Kennedy.
- The words to the freedom song, "We Shall Overcome."
- The goals of the March.
- The pledge taken by those who participated in the March.

The major portion of the booklet will be dramatic photo layouts, Mrs. Saunders emphasized, and pointed out that because of its hard-back cover it will be of long-lasting quality.

Mrs. Saunders

The booklet will be available through the Atlanta offices of SCLC, and can be obtained by sending $1.00 to 334 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Dr. King's Latest Book In Three Foreign Languages

By Carole Hoover

The second book from the pen of SCLC President, Martin Luther King, Jr. has almost reached the 20,000 mark in sales and is now being translated into three foreign languages, French, German and Swedish. A third printing is anticipated for early 1964, in addition to an already scheduled printing in England.

Having worked exclusively for the past several months on *Strength To Love*, I have observed that the constituency of the church community has been our largest purchasers.

The book, *Strength To Love*, has been reviewed nationally and internationally by some of the most prominent clergymen of this era.

This can be attributed to the fact that the book was written on a religious-centered philosophy. Greater sales are anticipated for the coming months, because not only are purchasers receiving the intimate thoughts and philosophy of one of America's most outstanding leaders; they are also helping finance the struggle that is leading to the complete redemption of the soul of America.

DIS 'N DATA

DID YOU KNOW . . . that **Birmingham, Ala.**, is so determined to preserve the image of being die-hard segregationists that it still has "white" and "Negro" signs above the drinking fountains and rest rooms in City Hall? Further proof that that city is at least 10 years behind the times — even where signs are concerned . . . . It hasn't been formally announced yet, but SCLC's **Wyatt Tee Walker**, executive assistant to Dr. King, is spending what leisure moments he can spare at the job of editing an upcoming book of sermons for the **Educational Heritage Company**. Added thought: The **Greyhound** bus station in Richmond, Va., still maintains "white" and "Negro" dining areas although the signs were taken down several years ago. Some Negroes "dare" to eat on the "white" side despite hostile stares, but for the most part Negroes "just automatically" go to the "Negro" side out of sheer habit.

• • •

HAVE YOU READ . . . The **Newsweek** magazine article (Oct. 21) entitled "What The White Man Thinks Of The Negro Revolt?" Negroes might have sensed what it would contain, but some of the raw expressions of hatred and prejudices voiced in some instances were so hostile that the **Louis Harris** organization which took the poll feared that the IBM punch card tabulators might walk off the job. The reason was simply that 75 per cent of the girl tabulators happened to be Negroes . . . . The October **Gibson Report**, prepared monthly by New York marketing specialist **D. Parke Gibson,** reveals some encouraging signs. Among other things, it points out that **12 banking institutions** owned and operated by Negroes have reached a record growth with assets over **$71 million**. Nine of the 12 banks are located in the South; one in the Mid-West; one in the nation's Capital; and one in the North.

• • •

HAVE YOU HEARD . . . about the **"Freedom Concert"** given by **Mrs. Coretta Scott King**, wife of Dr. King, at Brooklyn's **Corner Stone Baptist Church?** It was a unique presentation, telling the freedom story from Montgomery, Ala., to Washington, D. C., in narration, poetry and song. The talented soprano received such a tremendous response that the idea may develop into a new type concert concept as only she would be able to do it.

Make Gains In St. Augustine

After months of racial strife, climaxed with the brutal beating at a Ku Klux Klan rally recently of four NAACP officials, the NAACP has scored a series of several breakthroughs in the nation's oldest city. They are as follows:

- Lunch counters at Woolworth's and McCrory's have been opened on a desegregated basis and also Del Monico's restaurant.
- Three Negroes have been hired as clerks and cashiers at three clothing stores.
- At Fairchild Aircraft eight persons have been upgraded in their positions to work on airplane interiors.

Quote & Unquote

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., in his address at SCLC's convention: *"Santa Claus begins with a lie to our children and ends in hypocrisy. Strictly a creation of the Anglo-Saxon world, he has nothing more to do with the birth of Jesus than a rabbit has to do with Christ's resurrection."*

* * *

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., eulogizing the four children bombed to death in Birmingham: *"Good still has a way of growing out of evil. The blood of these girls must serve as a revitalizing force to bring light to this dark city."*

* * *

Newsweek Magazine, in an article on what the white man thinks of the Negro revolt: *"The white man is eternally torn between the right that he knows and the wrong that he does."*

* * *

Rev. Walter R. Courtenay, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Nashville, Tenn.: *"All men are created equally helpless, equally ignorant, equally inexperienced and equally sin-touched."*

* * *

Laurence Boyd, of Lake Zurich, Ill., telling in a Newsweek article how he felt after a Negro co-worker was refused in a restaurant: *"I thought this was a dirty, cryin' shame. Just 'cause he's black don't mean he ain't hungry."*

* * *

Nine-Year-Old Birmingham white boy in a school essay: *"I think the person that bombed the church should get a trial and sinunst [sentenced] for life. And I think Negroes have a rite [sic] to fite [sic] back. And I think if people wood [sic] stop waving the Confederate flags (the bombers) woodnt [sic] do all this."*

Mr. Young

* * *

Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League: *"While we march to open a restaurant to Negro customers, our youngsters must also march to the library to read books."*

MONTGOMERY DELEGATION—Freedom fighters since the days of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott in 1955-56, delegates from that city to SCLC's convention got together to pose with convention officials, Wyatt Tee Walker (l.), national coordinator, and Mrs. Laurayne James (r.), Richmond coordinator. Boycott principles are also on front row with Mrs. Rosa Parks, (2nd from left), whose refusal to give up bus seat led to beginning of today's nation-wide freedom fight.

File Lawsuit In Miss. In Church Integration

A lawsuit was filed in the United States District Court in Jackson, Mississippi, on Oct. 11 which, if successful, will prevent Mississippi officials from arresting, prosecuting, or jailing Negroes who attempt to worship in the white Protestant churches of Jackson.

The suit was filed as a result of the arrest on Oct. 6 of three students, two Negroes and one white, from Tougaloo Southern Christian College on the steps of the Capitol Street Methodist Church in Jackson.

Fined $1,000

The three girls, who attempted to enter the church to join the congregation in World Wide Communion Sunday worship, were held overnight in jail and tried the next day without benefit of legal counsel. Each was sentenced to a year in jail and fined $1,000 on charges of trespassing and interfering with public worship. Bail, which had been set at $1,000 for each girl, was posted on Tuesday, Oct. 8, by two agencies of The Methodist Church, the Women's Division and the Board of Christian Social Concern.

The three girls are Bette Poole and Ida Hannah, both 19 from Mississippi, and Julie Zaugg, 21, a white transfer student from Oberlin College in Ohio.

Enter Conspiracy

In papers filed in the District Court, attorneys for the three girls argue that Jackson law enforcement officials have entered into a conspiracy to deny the students and other Jackson Negroes their Constitutional rights to worship freely, and that the severe sentences imposed upon the girls constitute cruel and unusual punishment.

The broad-guaged suit names as defendants Mississippi Governor Ross R. Barnett, Jackson Mayor Allen Thompson, the chief of police, municipal judge and city prosecutors of Jackson, and the sheriff and county attorney of Hinds County.

Attorneys for the students are R. Jess Brown of Jackson and William M. Kunstler and Arthur Kinoy of New York. Mr. Brown was attorney of record for James Meredith in the latter's successful bid for admission to the University of Mississippi last fall. Mr. Kunstler is trial counsel for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

JIM CROW SOUTH AFRICA: VOLCANO READY TO ERUPT

In a recent article entitled "Investing In A Volcano," which appeared in a leading British magazine, the *Investor's Chronicle*, the sorry plight of South Africa's twelve million Africans in a country ruled by three million whites is vividly pointed up in the light of potential industrial investors.

The article, written by a former editor of the Johannesburg weekly, the *Financial Mail*, states in part: ". . . It is of some investment significance that of South Africa's twelve million Africans, three-and-a-half million have been sent to gaol [jail] in the past five years, that job reservation bars them from certain jobs, that they have no direct say in the fixing of their own wages, that they are without political rights and that separate development is a dishonest sham even in the border industry policy."

Millions in Gold Weekly

South Africa is experiencing an industrial boom, the article goes on to say, stating that a million pounds worth ($2.8 million) of gold is pulled from the ground every week. But the writer further warns that the investor is "being asked to take an interest in a volcano . . . the important question is not whether the mountain will erupt, but when."

"If the trouble were to occur within a year or two it could probably be 'bottled up' again," the article concludes. "But the policy [*apartheid*] looks too rigid and too deeply ingrained ever to adapt itself to a changing world; those who oppose it radically cannot hope to win, but they can perhaps survive."

Coca-Cola Boycott Ended; Negroes Given Better Jobs

The Negro Ministers of Atlanta called an end to their selective buying campaign against the Coca-Cola Bottling Co. of Atlanta on Oct. 8 after the beverage firm agreed to their request for employment and job-upgrading for 16 Negroes. Negotiations for the boycott conclusion were completed at the Coca-Cola plant's office and at Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church of which SCLC's president, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is co-pastor.

Demands Outlined

In their demands for equal job opportunities for Negroes, the minister's organization had asked that Negroes either be employed or up-graded in the following categories at the soft drink company:

1.) Sales Dept. (one assistant to the sales manager and eight route salesmen); 2.) Premix Dept. (one route salesman); 3.) Cooler Dept. (one service man); 4.) Garage (one full mechanic); 5.) Advertising Dept. (one person); 6.) Factory (two general promotions—either a forklift operator or a loading and unloading foreman); 7.) Office (one clerk typist).

To Train More

The Atlanta Coca-Cola Bottling Co. not only met the request of the ministers but began training more Negro employees for better job positions and established an apprenticeship program to further train more Negroes for better job positions. In addition, they pledged that all hiring in the future will be done on a non-discriminatory basis and that more up-grading will take place when jobs become available.

The internationally-known soft drink company employs about 45 per cent Negro help and 55 per cent white at the Atlanta-franchised bottling company.

President Comments

In commenting on the boycott end and successful negotiations, Arthur L. Montgomery, president of the firm, said: "We plan to continue to work as hard as we can, and as well as we can, for the benefit of all the citizens of greater Atlanta — both Negro and white. We are proud of the fact that the Atlanta Coca-Cola Bottling Company has as fine a record of community services as any organization in the city, and we will work in the future toward making this record better than ever."

SCEF Director, Three Aides Cleared Of 'Un-American' Charges After Raid

Judge Bernard J. Cocke of the Louisiana Criminal District Court Division, at a preliminary hearing on Oct. 25, discharged and dismissed the case against James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (S. C. E. F.), Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of S. C. E. F., and New Orleans attorney, and Bruce C. Waltzer, Smith's law partner.

The three men had been arrested on Oct. 4 by the Louisiana State Police and New Orleans police at the behest of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities; and their offices and homes were searched. Records and personal possessions were confiscated.

No Factual Basis

Judge Cocke ruled that there was no factual basis for the State's charge that the men had conspired to violate the State's Subversive Activities and Control Law or its Communist Propaganda Control Act by managing S.C.E.F.

S.C.E.F. is an organization dedicated to furthering integration. Smith and Waltzer are active civil rights lawyers.

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of S.C.E.F. and leader of the Birmingham integration movement, said: "The dismissal of the charges against Smith, Waltzer and Dombrowski, is a signal victory for the forces of civil rights and civil liberties in their efforts to bring about justice, freedom and fair play."

Subpoenaed by Eastland

Testimony at the hearing by James A. Pfister, chairman of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, revealed that the records and personal effects seized on Oct. 4 were subpoenaed on Oct. 5 by Senator James O. Eastland's U. S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

INSURANCEMEN HELP—Lending their financial as well as moral support, the National Insurance Association gave a donation of $10,000 to SCLC during its August convention in Chicago. Here Charles Green (r.), representing Atlanta Life Ins. Co., presents Dr. King a check for $5,000, as half the amount from his firm, while George Beavers (l.), Board Chairman of Golden State Mutual, Los Angeles, and George Harris, president of Chicago's Metropolitan Mutual Assurance Co., look on.

'March' Speeches, Songs Now On Record

"We Shall Overcome," a recording of the speeches and music of the recent March on Washington, has been released by the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership as its official, authorized recording.

The Council, comprising the seven major, national Negro civil rights organizations, will use revenue from the record to meet costs of the civil rights crisis.

The recording is available from the Council office, 10 East 44 Street, New York 17, N. Y., at a discount price of $3.00, part of which is set aside for the civil rights organization through which it is ordered. *(See order coupon below.)* It is also being made available to the general public through record stores across the nation, where it will be sold for $3.98.

Full Speeches, Songs

It contains the full speeches of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and Rabbi Joachim Prinz, excerpts from the talks by Walter Reuther, Roy Wilkins, Whitney M. Young, Jr., John Lewis, Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph. It also has recorded songs by Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Marian Anderson, Odetta and Peter, Paul and Mary.

The organizations comprising the Council are: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Urban League; National Council of Negro Women; N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; Congress of Racial Equality; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

COUNCIL FOR UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York.

Please send me _____ copies of the authorized recording(s) of the March on Washington at the special Council price. I understand the proceeds from the sale of this record will benefit the civil rights movement throughout the country. I enclose $3.00 for each record ordered.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

Please make check or money order payable to Council for Unity.

S.C.L.C. Branch _____

Workers Wanted! Space Needed! For Education Program

By Mrs. Septima P. Clark

Continuing education used to be merely a good and worthy thing for the individual — only that. But today it is one of this nation's chief wealth-producing resources. For meeting challenges posed by our explosive growth of knowledge, for coping with increasing complexities in our society and for adjusting to changing needs of each individual, continuing education as never before has become a vital force in the lives of every one of us.

Our world is changing at a staggering pace. Each scientific and technical breakthrough seems to produce a chain reaction of new knowledge, new opportunities and new problems. Today, we must learn more, in less time, and throughout life to meet these challenges and in order to insure our security, our productivity, and our adaptability to ever-accelerating changing conditions.

Plantation Culture

Recently in Hattiesburg, Mississippi I worked with Negro men and women 40 - 81 years of age, fresh from a plantation culture who want to register and vote. Although they have been sent to poor schools, and in some instances, no schools, or the schools provided for them by the power structure of yesterday, they must now read, write and interpret the constitution of Mississippi to the satisfaction of the registrar. This group labored for two hours in a church's educational building in an effort to acquire the skills necessary to attempt to qualify. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is offering such service to every one, but especially to those who attended school prior to 1950.

Consider the awesome responsibility that science and technology of today are creating for the citizens of a democracy. Only through constant and continuing study can we discover how to make decisions about changes in our government's structure that are required if our democratic government is to survive and continue as a model for the new nations recently born. Remember! We are talking about a closeness between economy, urgency, education and action — unique problems of adults — which can only be resolved by adults.

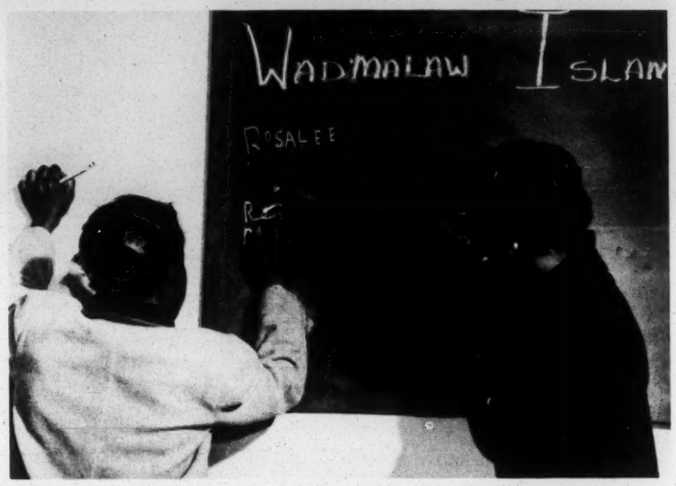
Change in Mississippi

In all of Mississippi the changing landscape is evident. Cotton fields are now pasture lands and herds of cows are seen roaming the hillsides. Unwilling plow hands and hoe hands have left the ill-constructed shacks; huge weather-proofed, electrically-equipped barns house the cows that have changed the one-time crop farms to dairy farms. The functionally illiterates of today and tomorrow must be educated and trained to become qualified members of a productive private economy. In the September Bell Telephone News, Governor Russell of South Carolina says, "We must not, we cannot tolerate a situation that denies to such a large portion of our people any real chance."

The demand for adult education is on the increase. The number of people working in the field of adult education is growing. The 1962 Gallup Poll and statistics from the office of Education say that the increase has climbed from two to 20 per cent. It has been maturing through legislative enactment also, when one considers the 1962 Manpower Development and Training Act which established a three-year program to re-train the unemployed in new skills demanded by our complex industrial society. The act represents a large scale effort by the Federal Government to meet some of the problems posed by automation, increased technology, and school drop outs.

JACKIE ROBINSON RALLY—Estate of former baseball star Jackie Robinson in Stamford, Conn., was scene of recent fund-raising rally for benefit of SCLC as well as NAACP and CORE. It was second such rally Jackie has held on grounds of home to aid civil rights cause.

Wyatt Walker Photo



Learning to read and write in SCLC Citizenship School, a resident of Wadmalaw Island, S. C., became eligible to register and vote after five months training. Teacher (at right) is Mrs. Ethel Jenkins Grimball.

Community Level

But the place where things really count and where people really grow is at the local community level. This means newer knowledge of state legislation, local rules and regulations, state appropriations, and local allocations. This is where the Citizenship School Program sponsored by SCLC continues to grow.

We must continue our own education. We must learn to become action - research minded. We must take a look at where we are and where we want to be. We need to get so excited about our programs that we even participate ourselves. Hosea Williams, of the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, 416 W. Park Street, Savannah, Georgia, has done just this. He has prepared for himself and his citizenship school teachers a questionnaire on local, state and national government which encourages a type of research that is rarely given in any college, but which can prepare one to live in our complex Urban Communities.

Movements Discussed

On Johns Island in a Voter Education Internship Workshop in that South Carolina community we established a few bench marks after discussing the Albany, Georgia, Charleston, S. C. and Greenwood, Miss. movements. It became the consensus of opinion that:

1.) **Appropriate people must be involved in determining the goals.**
2.) **We must marshal all resources.**
3.) **Ask ourselves: How well have we done?**
4.) **What level of success have we attained?**
5.) **What contributed to our success?**
6.) **Why did we fail in some instances?**
7.) **How can we improve?**

Suggestions

To these questions came the following suggestions:

1.) **We must be willing to share our knowledge with others and provide settings for these ideas to be tested and improved.**
2.) **Struggle more to find better answers to problems that plague us as educators and citizens.**
3.) **Be favorable to change — create and maintain within ourselves attitudes of flexibility.**
4.) **Teach adults to learn how to learn more effectively.**

Modern society does not live by asking, "Is everybody happy?", but rather, "Is everybody learning?". Continued learning is the basis for being richly alive. There is no room for the apologetic or the "can't-be-done" attitude. We are living now at a time when the question is: "Who's going to do it and when?"; not, whether it can be done.

Letters To SCLC

A Salute From Budapest

Dear Sirs:

Millions of young people all over the world warmly applaud and salute with solidarity the efforts by Civil Rights groups together with other progressive minded people to secure Negro equality in the USA. Youth of the world hold no truck with racial discrimination and condemn all manifestations of racism. The WFDY sees the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" as an important step towards winning the struggle for the Democratic rights of Negro Americans. We call upon all young people and their organizations to urge the Congress of the USA to immediately adopt the Civil Rights Legislation before them and also urge President Kennedy and the Federal Government to implement that legislation rapidly and effectively by using the authority vested in them by the Constitution.

PIERO PIERALLI, PRESIDENT
THE WORLD FEDERATION OF
DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

Budapest

'Kick Oppressor In Teeth'

Dear Friends:

Thanks for Mr. King's letter written from the Birmingham Jail. I want to salute you people. What you are doing for freedom will reach into every nook and cranny on earth. Never in the history of the earth has so much been accomplished for human dignity and individuality in so short a time. It shows one thing conclusively — "that an oppressor understands only one thing: a kick in the teeth!" I know you won't slow down now. You have now carried things to the point, I think, where nature wouldn't let you stop even if you wanted to. Best wishes.

EDGAR LESLIE

Los Angeles, Calif.

Negro In Russia Offers Help

Dear Rev. King:

I have been wanting to write you for some time. My name is Huldah Susan Clark. I am a sixteen-year-old Negro girl. You may remember that about two years ago I left the United States to go to school in Moscow because of race discrimination in the U.S.A.

I am enjoying myself here very much, but now I'm so excited about what's happening in Birmingham that I can't wait until I get home. It's too bad that I won't be coming home this year.

Last June 13 on television here in Moscow I saw them taking you to jail again. That's one reason I've decided to write you. You see, I'm a fighter for freedom and so is my father. He was in Birmingham at the time Mr. William Moore was killed. He is planning to go again as soon as he gets some people together who are willing to help you in the fight. I know we'll win.

Now I want to ask you to do me a favor. (This is the main reason I'm writing.) I want very much to help you. Please allow me to. Is there anything I can do for you?

I know I'm overseas, but I have a large correspondence with people all over the world. Maybe I can get some signatures of people over here who are against this kind of injustice or translate some leaflets into Russian and give them out. I'll do anything in my power. Just let me know.

HULDAH SUSAN CLARK

Boarding School V 12
Moscow, USSR

Integration 'Clarified'

Dear Reverend Mr. King:

Excerpts from your letter to the Birmingham Clergy published in the July 1, 1963 issue of *Presbyterian Life* have helped to clarify many things about the Negro integration — equality of opportunity problem for me.

My mother's recommendation for reading of the new inter-racial cooperation program of the newly Constituted General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. in an earlier issue of the same magazine indirectly brought your article to my attention.

I am a mid-westerner by birth and bringing up, and an integrationist by parental training and conscience. But, because I am white, I am complacent, wary of Negroes in general, and rather frustrated about the whole business.

However, this is not meant to be entirely a letter of confession for that will solve nothing. I am writing to ask what I can do in an active way to help the cause of better understanding, mutual trust, equal opportunity and full integration for all the peoples of our nation . . . .

MARY GUN MYERS MAXSON

Walla Walla, Wash.

SCLC Offices Paid Visit By World's Oldest Daily Paper

The Atlanta offices of SCLC were visited by a correspondent from the world's oldest daily newspaper, the *Berlingske Tidende*, which has been publishing for 217 years in Copenhagen. The correspondent, Anders Georg, who is stationed in Washington, D. C., as a member of the foreign press corps, was seeking information for a series of articles in his paper on Dr. King, SCLC and the civil rights struggle in America.

CONTRIBUTIONS

I wish to contribute to the work of SCLC and the social struggle in the South.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....
(street)

.....
(city & state)

Amount of Contribution.....

Send to: SCLC
334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SCLC *Newsletter*

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Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

November 22, 1963

Dear SCLC Supporter:

No American citizen loyal to the ideals of our Democracy can erase from memory the dark and tragic Sunday of September 15 in Birmingham, Alabama, that left six youngsters dead in the wake of the bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. There is no way to give back precious life to the four little girls who were dynamited to death while attending Sunday School on a day when the lesson, ironically enough, was "Love Your Enemies"; nor is there any way to bring back to the living the two innocent boys who were slain in the rioting that followed.

However, there is something we can do in memory of these innocents toward the end that their deaths shall not have been in vain. Many of us have decided that rather than give expensive gifts this year at Christmas time, we would make a substantial contribution to the civil rights organization of our choice to help continue the fight against the evil system that is responsible for the deaths of these young children. We in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference are so wholly committed to the difficult task of changing this vicious system that feeds upon race and color prejudice and is manifested most tragically in the cowardly slayings of the innocent, that we believe the ends we seek can only be achieved through the sacrifices of those of us who love freedom dearly.

So as we approach the 1963 Holiday Season to celebrate the birth of Christ, let us reflect for a moment on the saddened homes of those in Birmingham and elsewhere where the joys of Christmas have been stifled this year by those who would hate and seek to deprive others of their freedom, even to the destruction of life itself.

This letter, then, comes to ask that you join with others in helping to continue to root out this evil system and take the opportunity at this time to make a contribution through our Holiday Freedom Fund that has been established in memory of the Birmingham children to reach the common goals we all seek. Many of us have decided to exchange no gifts at all and use the money we normally would spend in this manner as our contribution to the Freedom Fund. Others have adopted a plan of limiting their gift-giving and setting aside a portion of this money for a contribution. But whatever plan you decide best fits your circumstances, your contribution and the dedicated purpose for which it is given is deeply appreciated, and we will look forward to receiving your check or money order made payable to SCLC'S Holiday Freedom Fund.

Sincerely yours,

Martin L. King Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

K/m

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

334 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Although we try to avoid duplication, it is not always possible for us to do so. If you receive more than one letter from us, we hope that you will excuse the unintentional duplication and share this material with other interested persons. We also would appreciate it if you would check the following below and return this form to us so that we can correct our files.

Name: _____

Address: _____ City & State _____

[ ] I have received more than one letter. How many? _____

[ ] I receive more than one SCLC Newsletter. How many? _____

[ ] I am not receiving the SCLC Newsletter.

VI
coward!

December 3, 1963

Mr. David W. Schneider
43 West Broadway
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Schneider:

Your letter of November 26, to the former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, is hereby acknowledged. Our present director, Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, has requested me to reply.

We are enclosing herewith materials which reveal the methods and thinkings of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and we also refer you to the following books and articles.

Books authored by Dr. King.

Strength to Love. Harper & Row, N. Y., 1963

Stride Toward Freedom. Harper & Bros., N. Y., 1968.

Articles.

"Bold Design for a New South." The Nation. March 30, 1963

"Equality Now." The Nation. February 4, 1961.

"Fumbling on the New Frontier." The Nation. March 3, 1962.

"A Visit With Martin Luther King, Jr." Look. February 12, 1963.

"Martin Luther King, Jr. Apostle of Crisis." Saturday Evening Post., June 15, 1963.

Ltr., Mr/ David W. Schneider
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
December 3, 1963

I have requested Miss McDonald, Dr. King's secretary, to forward you other material that will be helpful to you in preparation of your senior thesis. If at all possible, we would like to have a copy of it for our research files.

Good luck!

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

1. New South, December 1961
2. New South, June 1963
3. Letter From Birmingham City Jail
4. "Text of speech delivered August 28, 1963 at Lincoln Memorial," Washington, D. C.

√I - pls reply

43 West Broadway
Gettysburg, Penna.
November 26, 1963

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

For my senior thesis in history at Gettysburg College, I am writing on the methods of Martin Luther King, Jr. in what I will call the Negro Revolt. I realize that emotions run high in any sort of discussion of this type, but I would like to ask you for some discussion on topics such as the following:

What do you think of King's methods (non-violence)?
Are they the best possible? Why?
What is his place in the Negro Movement?
Is he a leader? Why? Will he remain so?
Any other comments on King or suggestions for this thesis.

I find that for my thesis to be complete, I need an evaluation of the sort that I have asked from you. I will keep in confidence any statements that you might wish to have so kept.

Thank you very much for your help in what I trust will be an original comprehensive study into the methods of King from an historical viewpoint. If you could suggest any other sources for me to contact, I would appreciate it.

Thank you,

David W. Schneider

David W. Schneider

THE ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

RESPECTFULLY
REFERS TO

Southern Regional Council

the attached letter with the request that same be answered and such action as you think best be taken on the matter mentioned in the letter.

43 West Broadway
Gettysburg, Penna.
November 26, 1963

Manager, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
818 Volunteer Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

For my senior thesis in history at Gettysburg College, I am writing on the methods of Martin Luther King, Jr. in what I will call the Negro Revolt. I realize that emotions run high in any sort of discussion of this type, but I would like to ask you (or someone you feel is qualified) for some discussion on topics such as the following:

What do you think of King's methods(especially in Atlanta)?
Is non-violence one of the best ways? Why?
What is King's place in the Negro Movement?
Is he a leader? Why? Will he remain so?
Any other suggestions on King or for this thesis.

I find that for my thesis to be complete, I need an evaluation of the sort that I have asked from you. I will keep in confidence any statements that you might wish to have so kept.

Thank you very much for your help in what I trust will be an original comprehensive study into the methods of King from an historical viewpoint. If you could suggest any other sources for me to contact, I would appreciate it.

Thank you,

David W. Schneider

David W. Schneider

File: SCLC

Don't Buy SCRIPTO!

Mechanical pencils, fountain pens, ball point pens or cigarette lighters!

Scripto, the Atlanta, Georgia-based company with its long, ugly history in labor relations, has once again forced its employees OUT and into the streets.

On November 27, while people all over the world were turning their minds to thoughts of a Merry Christmas, Scripto employees were walking off their jobs because conditions had become unbearable.

More than 760 of the 900 Scripto employees are Negroes. The average Negro Scripto employee takes home less than $2,400 for a year's work with no time lost. This is $600 less than what President Johnson calls a minimum income in his War on Poverty Program. Net sales for Scripto now exceed $26 million each year.

- The workers complain of having only 20 minutes for lunch;
- Only six (6) of the Negro employees are classified as skilled, while all white workers are classified as skilled;
- All Negro skilled workers earn less than the lowest paid white worker;
- The Company has offered raises up to 13 cents per hour for skilled workers but only 3 cents for unskilled;
- The Company still has not signed a contract with the Union (Local 754, International Chemical Workers Union).

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. has placed the full force of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference behind the demands of the striking workers and is calling on all men and organizations of good will to join him in this cause.

YOU SHOULD:

1. *Refrain from buying Scripto Products.*
2. *Write to the Scripto management calling for a favorable settlement of the strike.*
3. *Call upon merchants with whom you deal and ask them not to sell Scripto products until the strike is settled.*

Distributed by:
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

DON'T BUY SCRIPTO PRODUCTS!

Pens

Pencils

Ball Points

Cigarette Lighters

THIS COMPANY MAINTAINS UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES!

- *No Seniority*
- *Labor Harassment*
- *No Signed Union Contract*
- *Job Discrimination*

Please Support International Chemical Workers Union

Distributed by:
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President

December 6, 1963

Mrs. Edwina Smith
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Smith:

As per Mr. Jordan's request, I am enclosing herewith, two copies of our survey, which partially covers desegregation in employment, schools, hotel and restaurant service in several southern cities.

If we can be of further assistance, please feel free to let us hear from you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mr. Jordan

/nm
Enclosures

December 9, 1963

Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker
Executive Assistant
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Walker:

Consistent with your request on Auburn Avenue last week, please find enclosed a list of members of the Southern Interagency Conference.

You would have had it earlier, except that I misunderstood Miss Mackey's request.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SCLC Newsletter

Volume II March, 1964 Number 6

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SCLC Maps Voter Drive, All-Out Assault On Alabama Segregation

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM — Checks totaling $2,858 were given to Miss Carole Hoover of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Atlanta, Ga., following a review of the book, *Strength To Love*, by Martin Luther King, Jr., SCLC President, at Los Angeles' Victory Baptist Church. The checks represented gifts and donations in connection with a book review program, sponsored by the Los Angeles Chapter of the Western Christian Leadership Conference, led by Rev. Arthur A. Peters (l.), president and pastor of Victory Baptist Church. Others from left: Rev. J. B. Reese, Rev. E. V. Hill, Rev. T. M. Chambers, Sr., Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., Bishop L. C. Page, and Rev. C. A. Henson.

FIVE-POINT PLAN ADOPTED IN STATE-WIDE MEET OF 215

An all-out voter registration drive and assault on segregation in the state of Alabama was set in motion on March 4 by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in a state-wide meeting in Montgomery, Ala., of 215 conferees of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Alabama unit. The delegates, representing 30 counties and 24 communities, adopted a five-point plan of action aimed at breaking down discrimination barriers and securing the vote for Alabama's 481,000 Negroes of voting age, only 90,000 of whom are registered.

In addressing the group prior to adoption of the plan, Dr. King said:

"We have not lost sight of the fact that nonviolence was born in Alabama. Our meeting today brings us together in a state-wide effort in Alabama, with Montgomery as headquarters, to rid our state of its by-products of discrimination."

'Historical Moment'

"It was in Montgomery, Alabama, that the Negro made his most significant stride toward freedom, and we believe it may now be the historical moment to make this the most significant stride into freedom."

In a later press conference, Dr. King indicated that "Birmingham-type" demonstrations might take place in major cities across the state within 30 days because Birmingham has "reneged" on the desegregation agreement reached last May 10. It would, in effect, be an all-out assault on segregation and discrimination in the state, which has systematically denied Negroes the right to vote through such devices as literacy tests, poll taxes and an educational system which deprives Negroes of full political knowledge.

List Five-Point Plan

The five-point action program adopted by the SCLC State Conference is as follows:

1.) Cognizant of this critical election year, we commit ourselves to an intensification of voter registration in all of Alabama's communities.

2.) To initiate a state-wide coordination of masses in direct action to secure in fact

(*Continued on Page 2*)

SCLC Board Members, New York Times Win Reversal In $500,000 Libel Suit Brought By Ala. Police Official

The Supreme Court on March 9 unanimously threw out a $500,000 libel judgment awarded Montgomery, Ala., Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan against four board members of SCLC and the New York Times in 1960. The libel suit was based on an advertisement in the New York Times of March 29, 1960, which carried a statement critical of the handling of racial demonstrations in Montgomery.

The advertisement was placed at the time by an organization called "The Committee To Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle For Freedom In The South." It bore the names of Board Members Ralph Abernathy, SCLC treasurer; Fred L. Shuttlesworth, SCLC secretary; Joseph E. Lowery, SCLC second vice-president; and S. S. Seay, Jr., an executive board member of SCLC.

Cars Seized and Sold

When the judgment was returned against the SCLC officials and the Times in 1960, three of them had their cars seized and sold at a sheriff's sale as result of the verdict and two others had their lands seized. In winning their appeal, the board members will probably get back about $6,000 plus six per cent interest, the $6,000 being the value of their confiscated property.

The advertisement and the litigation stemmed from an appeal to solicit funds for defense of SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr., who at the time, was under charges

(*Continued on Page 2*)

Shuttlesworth Wins In Ala.

In a brief order, the Supreme Court on March 9 overturned a conviction of SCLC Secretary Fred Shuttlesworth on a charge of interfering with Birmingham police. The interference allegedly occurred on May 17, 1961, when police took into "protective custody" a group of "freedom riders" at Birmingham's Greyhound Bus station.

Shuttlesworth, sentenced to 180 days in jail and fined $100, denied any interference and said he was "convicted without evidence of guilt."

ALABAMA ASSAULT

(*Continued from Page 1*)

the right of the ballot for all Negroes 21 and over not previously convicted of a felony. We shall employ whatever techniques necessary to implement the "one man—one vote" concept.

3.) Basically we are committed consumers, and it shall be our goal to buy goods where we can work, and we shall no longer fatten the coffers of those companies who suppress us. All affiliates of the state-wide conference will initiate this critical program for employment.

4.) It is our hope that the present civil rights bill pass and that it be unaltered by the Senate. We shall immediately embark on implementation of the bill in Alabama should it pass, and we will make the public accommodations section a major part of the state integration program.

5.) We shall appeal to the United States Congress to reduce the number of Alabama representatives until such time that voting rights are extended to Negroes, not only in the urban areas, but can be assured in such rural areas as Wilcox and Lowndes counties.

77,714 Ark. Negroes Can Vote

A record 77,714 Negroes have qualified to vote in Arkansas by paying the 1963 poll tax, it was disclosed by State Auditor Jimmie Jones. The figure compares with 68,970 Negroes who qualified two years ago and the previous high of 72,604 in 1959.

CIVIL RIGHTS ROUNDUP

Jackson, Miss. Prepares For "War"

JACKSON, Miss. — The city of Jackson and near-by Canton plan to stage an all-out "war" by pooling their police power in dealing with mass racial demonstrations. Jackson has been steadily strengthening its police force in recent months and has laid in an extra supply of gas masks, shotguns and helmets. The city also recently purchased a $15,000 tank-like vehicle designed for riot control.

* * *

Macon County School Fund To Suffer

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The schools in Macon County will lose some $75,000 in state funds next semester because of the mass white boycott touched off by federal court desegregation orders. A total of 432 students walked out of high schools at Tuskegee, Notasulga and Shorter, refusing to attend classes with Negroes. All three schools presently desegregated may be closed by September if the white pupils stay out. The state contributed $1,096,993 to Macon County's schools this year, based on attendance last year, and it is certain that this sum will be reduced in September.

* * *

CORE Will Attempt To Seat Mississippi Delegates

NEW YORK — CORE has announced that they will attempt, this summer, to seat Mississippi Negro delegations at the Republican and Democratic national conventions. James Farmer said CORE wants to "put the spotlight" on the situation. The effort to seat Mississippi delegations, Mr. Farmer said, will be "on grounds that they were elected by the people in their communities" and were excluded by the parties in that state.

* * *

Liston Kayoed Fight For Jim Crow Theaters In South

JACKSON, Miss. — The World heavyweight championship boxing bout between Sonny Liston and Cassius Clay was not shown in any Jackson, Mississippi theater via closed circuit television. The Closed Circuit TV rights for the bout are controlled by a corporation known as Intercontinental Sports of which Liston is president. Liston insisted on a clause forbidding racial discrimination in the contracts between the corporation and the theaters showing the fight via closed TV. The fight was not shown in Jackson, New Orleans, Montgomery and other Deep South cities.

* * *

Rowan Restricts Showing Of "March On Washington"

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Newly-appointed U.S. Information Agency Director Carl T. Rowan clamped a key restriction on the showing of the film "March on Washington" before he was confirmed as director of the USIA. One senator, Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R., Iowa), complained that the film portrays the U.S. as "a land of slavery for the Negro" and points up the fact that he had "to demonstrate to get freedom and liberty." The film shows this without showing the progress made by Negroes in the U.S., Hickenlooper observed. Mr. Rowan stated "we would never order any mission to use this film if he (the U.S. Chief of Mission) felt it would not advance the cause of the United States." "We are going to get the whole story, senator," Rowan replied. The film will be used in conjunction with lectures and other films reflecting progress of the American Negro.

* * *

Pickets Jailed After Mass Sleep-In

SAN FRANCISCO — Arrests of more than 100 civil rights pickets, in a mass lobby sleep-in at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel on March 7 climaxed the largest protest demonstration ever called in San Francisco. The protest was called by the Ad Hoc Committee to end discrimination. Other civil rights groups joined the protest against alleged racial bias in hiring by the hotel. The hotel's management has denied discrimination. Some 1,200 pickets marched outside the hotel about 6:00 P.M. in the evening, with an estimated half of them moving into the hotel's lobby about three hours later.

Democracy Must Give . . .

The right to equal employment
The right to equal justice
The right to adequate housing
The right to vote
The right to equal treatment
The right to equal learning

BOARD MEMBERS WIN

(*Continued from Page 1*)

of falsifying his Alabama income tax returns. He was later acquitted.

In his suit brought against the four and the Times, Sullivan contended that several paragraphs in the advertisement reflected on him.

Creates Hazards

The Supreme Court's decision was written by Justice William J. Brennan, with separate and concurring opinions written by Justices Hugo L. Black and Arthur J. Goldberg.

Brennan's main opinion said the Alabama law of civil libel, involved in the case, was a form of regulation that creates hazards to protected freedoms markedly greater than those that attend reliance upon the criminal law.

Said Brennan: "We hold today that the constitution delimits a state's power to award damages for libel in actions brought by public officials against critics of their official conduct. Since this is such an action, the rule requiring proof of actual malice is applicable."

Dr. King Issues Statement

In a prepared statement in connection with the decision, Dr. King said: "The Supreme Court's decision unanimously reversing the libel suit brought by an official of the state of Alabama is a significant and encouraging decree. The Supreme Court has upheld the freedom of press and speech so vital to those who are engaged in the struggle for full freedom. Those news media and individuals who have been engaged in pointing up the evils of racial segregation and discrimination have been reassured by this court that the Constitution enables them to speak freely and fully. This decision is an historic affirmation of the fact that forces of ill will can no longer silence the voices speaking for freedom."

IN ATLANTA MAY 9 — In the third of SCLC's "Stars For Freedom" series, Sammy Davis, Jr. will appear in Atlanta at the Civic Auditorium on May 9 in a benefit show. It will be the star entertainer's first appearance in the deep South in many years.

A DIGEST OF 'RIGHTS' BILL

(Editor's note: To better help Newsletter readers understand what is basically contained in the civil rights bill now before the U.S. Senate, a digest of the bill is presented herewith.)

Voting Rights

This is designed to close loopholes in civil rights laws passed in 1957 and 1960.

It prohibits registrars from using different standards for whites and Negroes and requires that literacy tests be in writing. A person with the equivalence of a sixth-grade education is considered to be literate. Applicants can demand transcripts of questions and answers.

Registrars can't disqualify applicants for unimportant mistakes.

The attorney general can bring voting suits before special three-judge panels to speed action.

Only federal elections are covered. However, 46 states hold federal and state elections the same day. This means Negroes will be able to vote for both unless states change their laws to have seperate elections.

Public Accommodations

This outlaws discrimination by refusal of service in hotels, motels, restaurants, service stations, theaters and sports arenas. Exempted are rooming houses in which the proprietor lives, and which have five or fewer rooms.

Also prohibited is the practice of segregation required by state law or local ordinance. This reaffirms the 14th Amendment, but adds enforcement to the ban through suits brought by the attorney general.

Desegregation Of Public Facilities

This forbids denial of access to any public facility owned, operated or managed by a state or subdivision on account of race or color—for instance, a public playground or pool. Also, the attorney general can join an individual seeking to have his constitutional rights enforced.

Public Education

Under this title the attorney general can bring school desegregation suits. Also, the U.S. Commissioner of Education is authorized to aid local communities in planning desegregation.

Absent from this title is any requirement that white and Negro pupils be mixed by transfers to other school districts. The House specifically ruled out this requirement during debate.

Civil Rights Commission

This extends the commission's life for four years. The House inserted a provision prohibiting the commission from investigating membership practices or internal operations of any fraternal or religious organization or private club.

Cutting Off Federal Assistance

Under this title, all federal agencies are directed to act against discrimination in all federally assisted programs in states and communities. Cutting off the aid is permitted. Exempted are all federally-insured programs, such as FHA and VA.

Fair Employment

This bans discrimination by labor unions or employers.

It would be put into effect over a four-year period, finally covering unions and businesses with 25 or more members or employes.

Set up under this proposal is a commission with power to bring suits to enforce compliance if persuasion fails. Courts will decide finally whether discrimination really exists.

Registration And Voting Statistics

The Census Bureau is directed to compile accurate statistics on the denial of the right to vote in areas designated by the civil rights commission.

Court Procedure In Civil Rights Cases

A defendant who has sought removal of a state court suit to a federal district court, on the ground that he would be denied his civil rights in the state court, may appeal to a federal court of appeals an order of the district court sending the case back to a state court.

Community Relations Service

This sets up such a service with a director chosen by the President. It would help communities settle racial disputes.

CITED AT BREADBASKET DINNER—Given citations for meritorious service by "Operation Breadbasket" at the group's first annual dinner on March 2 in Atlanta's Stouffer's Restaurant, the recipients posed together for photos with their awards. From left they are: Jesse Hill, Jr., Martin Luther King, Jr., and Larry Fox, chairman of the Committee On Appeal For Human Rights, which was honored as a group. Also shown are Ralph D. Abernathy (r.), who chaired the dinner, and Dr. Harry V. Richardson (seated), guest speaker. "Operation Breadbasket," an SCLC affiliate, is composed of a group of Atlanta ministers and businessmen, who in less than 18 months of operation have secured some 750 new jobs for Atlanta Negroes, adding an increased income of some $1,500,000 for Negroes.

A 10-YEAR-OLD WRITES OF RIGHTS BILL

I'm for the bill because I've lived with Negroes most of my life. I've seen some very nice ones too. In our newspapers we mainly read about bad things of the Negroes, where they're as nice as many white people I've known. In Vidalia, Georgia there are many Negroes. They help farmers pick cotton, tobacco, and fruit for only fifty cents a day. Many times Negroes are not very nice or they're bad, but they're [sic] many bad white people. I think Negroes are mean because white people are mean to them.

God made all of us to live, love, and be kind to one another. As my preacher says, he would allow any Negro who wants to come to church to worship God, but will not allow any Negro who comes with camera men and reporters to show off that he is the first Negro to enter Jones Memorial First Methodist Church.

If you were a Negro you would want to have free rights and be welcomed to public places, you would want to be liked too.

The reason I think many people are against the bill is because of what they've heard, and really they've never honestly lived or known one that is very nice, and yet Negroes still wait till God will show the representatives and senators that they are just as good as they are. I believe God in a way is acting this moment and has been acting because he has let the representatives pass this law. I hope the Lord will help and guide the Senate to the best decision.

Written By Ten-Year-Old LAURA PEEK
Forest Park, Georgia

SCLC *Newsletter*

Publisher, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.

Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Phone: 524-1378

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WYATT TEE WALKER, *Executive Director*

EDWARD T. CLAYTON, *Editor*

AIMS AND PURPOSES OF SCLC

1. **To achieve full citizenship rights, and total integration of the Negro in American life.**
2. **To stimulate nonviolent direct mass action to remove the barriers of segregation and discrimination.**
3. **To disseminate the creative philosophy and techniques of nonviolence through local and area workshops.**
4. **To secure the right and unhampered use of the ballot for every citizen.**
5. **To reduce the cultural lag through the Citizenship Training Program.**

Editorial

The Senate's Dying Hour

There is always something melancholy and sad about a man's desperation and helpless distress in a dying hour. It was true in Richmond, Va., the Sunday morning of April 2, 1865, when word came during the church hour that this seashore town would soon be under siege from the Union forces and that it must now be put to fire and its citizenry evacuated. Confederate President Jefferson Davis, upon receiving the news as he worshipped in church, immediately set out for the Confederate capitol, packed up what records he could, and took a train for Danville.

The South had lost its war to keep men enslaved, and in the losing, had lost a measure of its great pride and its magnolia-scented traditions.

The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 had declared three million slaves free men, but not until Lee surrendered at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, and Johnston surrendered to Sherman at Durham Station, N.C. on April 18 did war come to an end and freedom a feeble reality.

Now, 100 years later, Southern forces in the Senate intend to wage one last desperate battle to continue to deny full freedom and constitutional rights to the Negro descendants of that great war of a century ago.

It is regrettable that men have learned so little in the last 100 years. It is saddening to realize that their efforts, in the midst of these disturbing times, must be turned to and wasted on such empty goals as depriving 19 million of their fellow citizens of the rights they themselves have so long enjoyed. It is unfortunate that they do not have the wisdom to see that this is a useless and futile stand.

Today's Negro, more enlightened, more determined and more self-respecting than his ancestors of that ancient civil war, will not be satisfied with anything less than full constitutional freedom as further re-emphasized in the present civil rights' bill.

The dying hour indeed has come in the Senate for such tactics as a filibuster on the part of Southern Senators, and with it has come a melancholia and sadness that these men, who might have served their country more purposefully, have prostituted their offices in the perpetuation of racism.—*ETC*

An End Of Rights Efforts

(The following editorial is reprinted from the Atlanta Constitution of March 7.)

Hamilton Douglas is a man with a tough job. And because it is a hard job, he is faced with hard facts. This week, he shared some of these facts with an audience of Atlanta Jaycees. What he said is important for the whole community to understand.

Mr. Douglas is chief negotiator for Mayor Allen in the matter of the Negro community's "Action for Democracy" appeal to end all public discrimination.

"People keep asking how long it is going on, saying 'every time we yield, there's another demand,'" Mr. Douglas told his audience.

The answer: "This is not an Atlanta problem or a Georgia problem. It's a worldwide social revolution, and it's not going to stop until the full measure of rights guaranteed are actually granted."

Only in this context can present negotiations here be understood and dealt with honestly. "It's a difficult thing," Mr. Douglas declared, "for a white man raised in a white man's culture to put himself in (the Negro's) position. I find it difficult."

Mr. Douglas made it clear that he was talking about equal opportunities, not special privileges. But he said that granting equal rights to all citizens does not take away real rights from some, because the "right" lost "was not a right in the first place."

It would be healthy for all Atlantans to ponder Mr. Douglas' words.

Register To Vote!

The Cartoonist's View

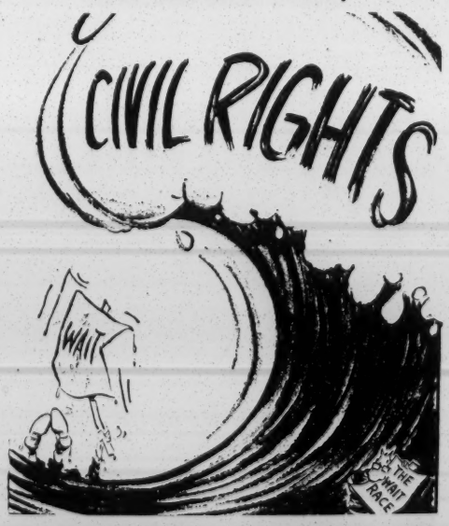
'Your Turn!'

Whitman In The Stockton Record

'And, Over Here, The Enemy—People'

Herblock In The Washington Post

'Old Man River—Today'



Dobbins In The Boston Traveler

ed clayton

Of Georgia Judgin', Justice And A Judge

In the lore of the old West, tales of hangin' judges have provided the stuff from which today's television "shoot-'em-ups" are made.

In Atlanta, Georgia, the courtroom of Judge Durwood T. Pye provides the stuff from which unbelievable newspaper headlines are made.

Now Judge Pye can't rightly be called a hangin' judge simply because he never (to my knowledge) sentenced anyone to be hung. But when it comes to civil rights and Georgia law, Judge Pye is fast earning a reputation that can match even the meanest of the old West's hangin' judges.

So far to his credit he has gaveled out the maximum and harshest of misdemeanor sentences to three white persons involved in civil rights cases, all of them under Georgia's questionable anti-trespass law.

Let's look at his record.

Last August he sentenced former Miami University student Tom Taylor Tolg to six months in jail, 12 months on public works and a fine of $1,000. The 24-year-old Ohio ex-student was trying to get a meal in a downtown Atlanta restaurant along with several other integrationists.

In Jail 188 Days

In that same month Judge Pye also gave the same sentence to Rev. Ashton Bryan Jones, a 67-year-old California minister. He was trying to attend an "all-white" white church in the company of two young Negro girls. For this, under Georgia's anti-trespass law, Judge Pye set Rev. Jones' bond at $20,000, and reduced it later to $5,000 only after the Georgia Supreme Court ruled that the amount was excessive. Meanwhile Rev. Jones languished in jail for 188 days, finally getting his release a few days ago after an unidentified white woman posted a property bond, stating that she "was just tired of seeing the city get such a bad name."

In the third case several weeks ago, Judge Pye meted out the same sentence to Miss Mardon Walker, 18, of East Greenwich, R.I., a student at the Connecticut College for women. She too was trying to get a meal downtown with some of her Negro friends when the proprietor of the restaurant took out a warrant for her arrest.

At her trial, another white man, Melvin C. Drimmer, a professor at Atlanta's Spelman College, was sentenced in the midst of the proceedings to 20 days in jail after he remarked that in his opinion "southern courts will try to impugn the witness." Judge Pye disagreed, considered his opinion an insult and ordered him jailed. He was released the next day after apologizing to the judge.

Great Legal Training

Now judging is a very serious business and by rights ought to be so conducted by those charged with dispensing justice and measuring out the law to violators. But six months in jail, fines of $1,000 and bonds of $20,000 hardly seem fitting and proper for persons who are merely trying to get something to eat or trying to get inside of a church to worship God.

I have not been so privileged to have the great legal training that Judge Pye must surely have, but I somehow have a sense of right and wrong, which to me seems to be the whole business of judging, and somehow this doesn't seem right.

Of course, there are other considerations that must be taken into account in any scrutiny of this matter.

Fined NAACP $25,000

There is, for example, the matter of his having imposed a $25,000 contempt fine on the Atlanta branch NAACP in 1955 shortly after he was appointed to the bench.

There is also his unusual background in matters of segregation inasmuch as he once served as secretary of the Georgia Education Commission, a body created to preserve segregation in Georgia schools.

Now it would seem that none of this would have any bearing on judging in Judge Pye's court, but it does make a body wonder just what are his views, as a judge of course, on segregation and civil rights matters.

I'm sure this would be interesting, and like we said in the beginning, tales of hangin' judges have provided a lot of lore.

Maybe now it's Georgia's turn to add to that lore.

About Stereotypes

Images Instead Of Men

By Sarah Patton Boyle

(*The following is from Mrs. Boyle's forthcoming book,* For Human Beings Only, *and is printed herewith by permission of the author.*)

Generalizations about people rest on fixed images, stereotypes. When we think in terms of group characteristics, we are, of course, seeing stereotyped images, not real people. We readily form these stereotypes when we are only in external contact with a group but have no actual friends among them.

Once formed, these images stand between us and the people we project them on, so that we can look straight at a real person and see only our stereotyped image instead. And he gets the miserable feeling of being blotted out as a person by our preconception.

'Rid Ourselves Of Stereotypes'

It is hard to rid ourselves of stereotypes because we unconsciously collect evidence that supports them and reject that which does not. Always those things are most meaningful to us which tie in with familiar ideas. It is from this fact that the stereotype derives its power.

For instance, hearing a Negro sing well, a white will think, "Ah, how typical." But when he meets a Negro who cannot sing he probably makes no mental note at all. It does not "fit the picture," is untypical, and therefore being unmeaningful, it is ignored.

'Bad Negro' Image

Good-willed people often have as firmly fixed a stereotype as the ill-willed but "racial virtues" will be stressed in that stereotype. The habit of seeing images instead of people is at its cruel worst when faults are crystalized in a stereotype. Then we get the "bad Negro"—or Jew or Catholic (or white man)—image from which hostility and persecutions result.

Mrs. Boyle

But even good stereotypes separate us from those on whom we project them. We cannot reach, touch, or know the real person, nor he us. It is for this reason that many Negroes resent the good stereotype as much as the bad.

FREEDOM IN '63? MORE IN '64!

Cameras Record Civil Rights Push Across Nation

BOSTON

MASSING AGAINST SEGREGATION — Gathering outside St. Mark Congregational Church Social Center, hundreds of students listen to James Bevel (upper right) of SCLC's Atlanta staff as he instructs them in nonviolent techniques of conducting boycott of Boston schools on Feb. 26 in protest of de facto segregation. Some 10,000 school children remained away from classes, instead attended "Freedom Schools" to hear lectures on such subjects as "Negro History," "Teen-age Unemployment."

PRINCESS ANNE, MD.

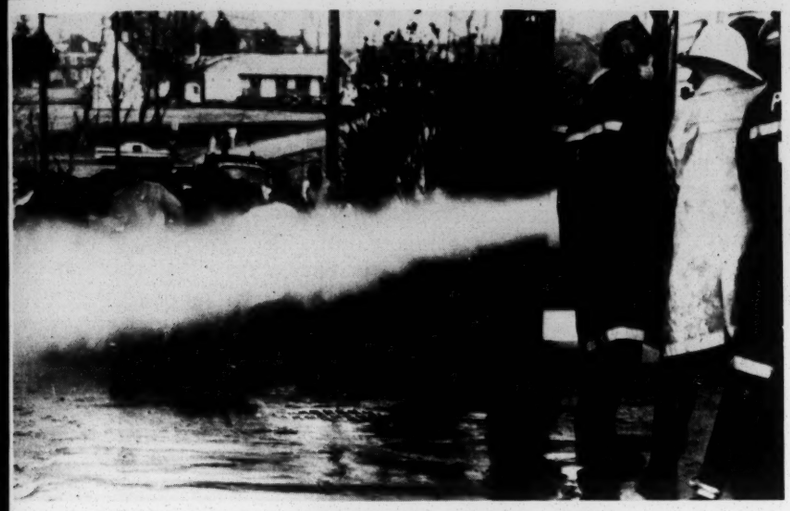
JAILED DEMONSTRATOR — Hustled off to jail as one among 600 demonstrators against segregated restaurants in the town of 1,300 population on Feb. 26, an unidentified student is taken in tow by a state police officer.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

DOUSED WITH ICE WATER—After joining 400 other demonstrators in sit-ins and anti-segregation marches in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, this unidentified lady is given assistance by a companion after she was drenched with ice-water in the below-freezing, 15-degree weather.

CHICAGO

EMPTY CLASSROOMS—As Chicago civil rights leaders staged a second school boycott in protest of school segregation, classroom scenes like this were reflected in many predominantly Negro schools in Chicago as more than 172,350 students stayed away from school. Some observers claimed it was about 75 per cent as effective as the first boycott staged several months ago. Boycott was opposed by city's Negro politicians.

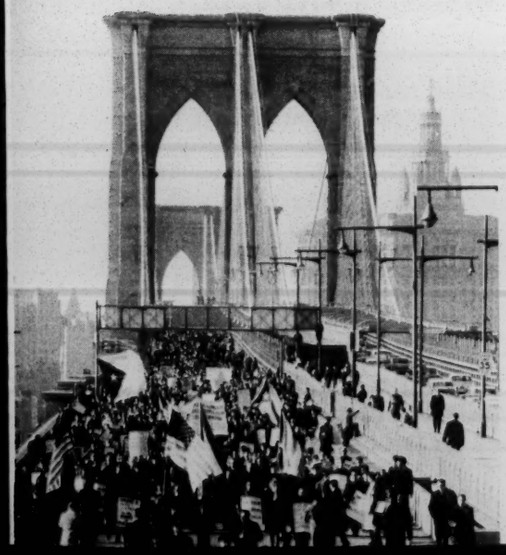


PRINCESS ANNE, MD.

ROUTED BY FIRE HOSE—Seeking to break up the demonstrations by students of Princess Anne College, fireman resorted to high pressure fire hoses to repel the protesting students. The demonstrations have occurred because restaurant owners have failed to desegregate, although all but one agreed last summer to lower racial barriers in this Eastern seashore town.

SAN FRANCISCO

CORE STAGES 'SHOP-In'—After two Lucky Store supermarkets in San Francisco, Calif., violated an agreement to hire more Negroes, members of CORE staged a "shop-in" by loading carts and bags with groceries, having a clerk check them out at the counter, then abandoning the groceries. This store's management put up the sign "Courtesy Of CORE."



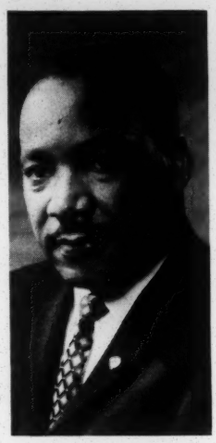
BROOKLYN

PUERTO RICANS ON MARCH — Marching across the Brooklyn Bridge in New York City, some 2,000 Puerto Ricans head for Brooklyn's Board Of Education offices to press their demands for improved educational facilities for Puerto Ricans in the city's school system. Before the march, the group rallied outside New York's City Hall.

The Past And Future:

Of The Civil Rights Bill

By Martin Luther King, Jr.



Martin Luther King, Jr.

Early last month, the hopes of twenty million Negroes and their allies in the Freedom struggle, were tremendously heightened as the civil rights bill cleared the House of Representatives principally intact. Great significance must be attached to the resounding defeat delivered to the opponents of the bill whose every attempt to weaken the bill was decisively rebuffed.

More than 125 amendments aimed at diluting the strongest civil rights legislation in the history of our nation were voted down by an overwhelming majority vote. The record of this bill reflects what can be done when the liberal and conscienable forces of the Democratic and the Republican parties form a coalition for meaningful legislation. Few legislative measures of so controversial a nature have ever won the broad support that this bill has received.

Bill-Killing Filibuster

However, we must not let undue optimism lull us into thinking that the bill will have easy sledding. It is evident at this very moment, that the southern bloc in the Senate is tightly organized to mount a bill-killing filibuster or force a compromise to eliminate the most objectionable sections—public accommodations, fair employment practice and the cutting off of Federal funds. Without these sections, which make up the heart of the bill, what remains will be so watered down, that many of us who work in the Deep South would just as well have no bill at all.

I do not mean to suggest that we have a defeatist attitude. Rather, I am suggesting that passage of the bill in its present form is so critical for the domestic health of our national community that we must mobilize every force and pressure available to see to it that the civil rights bill before the Senate gets through—*as is.*

It can be done, but it involves the determined work of those who support the bill to labor relentlessly at our task of lobbying for passage of the bill at the local, state and national level. Our best sources, close to the activity on Capitol Hill advise us that the mail being received by the legislators is now 3 to 1 *opposing* the bill. This does not mean the bill does not have broad support across the nation. It does mean that the opponents of the bill are working more zealously to defeat the bill than we are working to pass it.

Politicians Respond To Pressure

It is a political fact that politicians respond to pressure and those who are sympathetic to the bill and wish its enactment must take the time to sit down and write to their Senators and Senate leaders, such as Everett Dirksen of Illinois, to let them know that Americans by and large support the necessity and the morality of the pending legislation. We must cajole the organizations of which we are a part to send telegrams and letters—delegations where possible—and so keep the pressure on the Senate forces to pass this bill that the filibuster can be broken without compromise to the bill itself. Only this kind of public pressure will be able to break the unholy alliance of Dixiecrats and Northern right-wing Republicans.

This evil bi-partisan coalition has a long history of burning to ashes in the legislative incinerator every liberal bill proposed in Congress. The past history of the bill's fortunes in the House is a guide to what must be done in the future in the Senate if it is to be enacted into the law of the land.

Quote & Unquote

Arthur J. Holland, Trenton, New Jersey mayor, after buying and moving into a home in a predominantly Negro neighborhood: *"It is a real ethnic neighborhood right now. There is an Irish family on one side and a Negro family on the other. There is an Italian barber that lives on the same street, and a Scottish dancer, and even a Buddhist, I think."*

* * *

Martin Luther King, Jr., in a Los Angeles address: *"We must learn to live together as brothers or we will perish as fools. We must get rid of the notion once and for all that one race is superior and another race inferior. Anyone who believes that doctrine of white supremacy is sleeping through a revolution."*

* * *

Dr. Albert L. Turner, dean of North Carolina College Law School, in an address at the school: *"If you didn't 'sit-in' during the revolution, you must 'stand-out' of the way after the revolution."*

* * *

President Lyndon B. Johnson, in his first political campaign speech at Miami, Fla.: *"Full participation in our society can no longer be reserved to men of one color."*

* * *

James Farmer, CORE director, discussing implementation of the civil rights bill: *"Laws do not enforce themselves. We will have to go from restaurant to restaurant in Mississippi and Alabama."*

* * *

Billy Graham, the evangelist, commenting on school segregation in the North: *"I feel that some areas of the North have been rather hypocritical of the situation. Some Northern newspapers have tried to preach to the South when they have the same problems."*

* * *

Ralph McGill, Atlanta Constitution publisher, in his front page column urging passage of the civil rights bill: *"The nation cannot be made weaker by doing what is morally right. There is no social 'mixing' involved in voting, attending classes and holding jobs. The personal choice of social association is not disturbed. It should be obvious that neither brutality, violence nor filibuster will halt demonstrations so long as undenied inequity and discrimination exists."*

* * *

Carl Rowan, newly appointed director, U.S. Information Agency: *"All we need wish the world to know about us is the truth. I consider it one of USIA's first challenges to relate to the world in a credible, meaningful way the truth about those several peaceful revolutions, some occurring during my lifetime, that have made our country the land of hope that it is."*

Carl Rowan

MARCH WITH DR. KING — With Frankfort, Ky. Capitol building in background, part of crowd of 10,000 is shown singing freedom songs after staging a protest march on Kentucky capital, which was led by SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. on March 5. Marchers also heard address delivered by Dr. King.

More Negroes Register Under New Voter Board In Alabama

A sharp upswing in Negro voter registration in Jefferson County, Alabama (Birmingham) has been noted in the past five months since a new Board of Registrars has been in office, it was disclosed.

In previous months, under the old board, the ratio of Negro to white applicants approved for voting averaged about one to 11. Since last October when the new board took over, the ratio has narrowed to approximately less than one to three.

Register 3,840 Negroes

The totals of 13,400 registered from Oct. 1, 1963 to Feb. 29, this year, indicate that 3,840 Negroes were registered as against 9,560 whites.

The following are totals according to race and sex for the five month period:

- **October:** 733 Negro women, 210 Negro men, 2,930 white women and 1,109 white men.
- **November:** 746 Negro women, 233 Negro men, 1,023 white women and 523 white men.
- **December:** 585 Negro women, 266 Negro men, 174 white women and 123 white men.
- **January:** 425 Negro women, 179 Negro men, 1,362 white women and 853 white men.
- **February:** 300 Negro women, 164 Negro men, 989 white women and 464 white men.

Register To Vote!

DIS 'N DATA

HAVE YOU HEARD . . . Those reports circulating in Atlanta about the motel (white) that makes every prospective Negro employee take a **"lie test"** in a room under the supervision of an armed man before they can be considered for employment? The questions they want answers to are whether or not they are "one of **Martin Luther King's** Nigras," and if they have ever been a **"freedom rider"** . . . Or have you heard about the **nation-wide student fast** being sponsored by **Brandeis University,** the **NAACP** and **SNCC** to help provide food for **needy families** in Mississippi? **American University** students in Washington, D.C., fasted at lunchtime on Feb. 27 and turned over their lunch money (about $170) to aid Mississippi families who have been cut from relief rolls because they aided in voter registration drives last year.

• • •

HAVE YOU READ . . . that comment by Ebony-Jet Publisher **John H. Johnson** in the February issue of **D. Parke Gibson's Gibson Report** which gives credit to the Negro revolution as a contributing factor in an upswing in advertising lineage in **Negro news media.** Said Publisher Johnson: ". . . I think an additional factor was the prominence that race relations and the Negro revolution received in the press of the nation all during the year. We expect business to be even better in 1964 than it was in 1963 for the same two reasons expressed."

• • •

DID YOU KNOW . . . that there is a practice in Atlanta of having Negroes pay **twice the deposit** amount for utilities than whites do? One young Negro lady stood in line recently at the **gas company** to get new service and observed that whites were being charged $10 to have the gas turned on. When it came her turn, she promptly was asked for $20 . . . And did you know that in this same Georgia city with the "sparkling" racial image there are over 700 bus drivers with the **Atlanta Transit Authority,** but only 12 of them are Negroes? Ten are presently driving and two are in training. They recall, in answer to a query, that the first driver was hired the same day the first Astronaut went into orbit around the world a year or so ago.

The SCLC *Bookshelf*

New & Current

» *The Negro Revolution in America* by Louis Harris and William Brink. Last July the magazine *Newsweek* printed a survey conducted by Louis Harris on Negro attitudes. The complete survey is now available in hard-back book form under the title, "The Negro Revolution In America." Simon and Schuster Publishers.

» *Symbol, Status, and Personality* by S. I. Hayakawa. This is a collection of writings on general semantics—the study of use and misuse of language in the everyday life of the Negro. Brace & World Inc.

» *New Nations* by Lucy Mair. The emergence of the new nations of Africa is discussed with new light and great insight. People, whose lives once were bound by their own villages, are now a part of the world system of economic exchange and political power relations. University of Chicago Press.

» *Black Cloud, White Cloud* by Ellen Douglas. The second book from the pen of this pen-name writer, this volume of 232 pages published by Houghton Mifflin Co. consists of two novellas and two short stories. All are related in subject matter, theme and place with the setting in Mississippi and the theme the blood-guilt of the white South hoping one day for redemption.

» *Mary McLeod Bethume* by Rackham Holt. The battle for civil rights is not a recent phenomenon. The biography of Mary McLeod Bethume reveals an interesting and informative historical review of the advance of the present civil rights struggle. Doubleday.

Available At SCLC

» *Strength To Love* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Row. Price: $3.50

» *Stride Toward Freedom* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publisher: Harper & Brothers Co. Price: $2.95

» *Crusader Without Violence* by L. D. Reddick. Publishers: Harper & Brothers. Price: $3.95

» *Echo In My Soul* by Septima Poinsette Clark. Publishers: E. P. Dutton & Co. Price: $4.50

» *The Desegregated Heart* by Sarah Patton Boyle. Publishers: William Morrow & Co. Price: $5.00

» *The Day They Marched,* edited by Doris Saunders. Publishers: Johnson Publishing Co. Price: $1.00

See Something Go

A Page From Detroit Primer.

Detroit Schools Try Interracial Primers

Ending a long-standing tradition of using elementary school primers showing photos of white children only, Detroit's public schools have started to experiment with integrated early reading books showing Negro and white children in interracial play scenes.

Some of the titles of the primer booklets designed for the city school's reading program are: "Fun With David," "Play With Jimmy," and "Laugh With Larry." They have been placed in the Detroit schools by The Writer's Committee of the Great Cities School Improvement Program of The Detroit Public Schools.

The booklets, illustrated by Ruth Ives, are published by Follett Publishing Co., Chicago.

Just Published!

Here is a collection as up-to-date as tomorrow morning's newspaper. From the picket lines and demonstrations in the South, Guy and Candie Carawan have compiled the first collection of Freedom Songs of the Integration Movement. This new book contains over 70 songs of the Movement, complete with lyrics, music, guitar chords, part arrangements, and incisive, timely notes. Brilliantly illustrated with documentary photographs, We Shall Overcome is the most exciting new folk song collection of the year.
112 pages (paper) $1.95

OAK PUBLICATIONS, INC.

165 West 46th Street / New York 36, New York

The Poet's Pen

Rightful Place

Long have I fought for what I thought was right
Why any race should have to hang its head
Is more than I can see. The Negro's plight
Has been my plight. It is for them I've pled.
They are my friends and have always been
Since as a child I passed daily down Ghetto Street
Upon my way to school, finding courteous men,
Warm-hearted women and children who would greet
This lone white child as one of them. I knew
No fear at heart for they belonged to me,
They happened to be my kind of people, too,
Exchanging kind words without humility.
Some of these days right will come along
And they will find that place where they belong.

ELIZABETH CHARLES WELBORN
GREENWOOD, S. C.

A Call to Faith and Freedom
by
Martin Luther King, Jr.

Men, women and children have been quickened to pray, to march, to suffer imprisonment—even to face death—for the ideals and beliefs preached by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Now, in his new book, Dr. King shares the convictions that guide his life and are inspiring a second revolution in America today. Don't miss this "Emancipation Proclamation" for our time.

STRENGTH TO LOVE

$3.50

HARPER & ROW, Publishers

Sixth Rights Leader Given Probated Sentence In Albany

Mrs. Jackson

A federal jury has convicted Mrs. Elza Leslye Jackson of Albany, Georgia, on perjury charges in connection with an Albany boycott last year, and she has been given a sentence of three year's probation by Judge W. A. Bootle.

Mrs. Jackson, recording secretary of the Albany Movement, is the sixth civil rights leader to be convicted and sentenced as result of a grand jury investigation of the boycott. All were accused of lying to the grand jury which was investigating a boycott of a white Albany grocer who contended that he was driven out of business by the boycott. He claimed it was in retaliation for his vote against a Negro while serving as a juror in a damage suit.

AFTER MASS MEETING — Noted civil rights leader A. Phillip Randolph (r.) pauses to shake hands with Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., (l.) and Mrs. Pearl Henderson after mass meeting in Atlanta on March 8 in which Randolph spoke out against Senate filibuster.

Ministers End Boycott In Philadelphia After Store Hires 92 Negroes

A Negro minister's group of 400 in the Philadelphia area called an end to a selective patronage campaign against Acme Stores after 11 weeks when the food chain agreed to hire 88 Negroes in full-time jobs. The Acme chain is one of the nation's largest chain store firms.

Actually the food chain exceeded the ministers' job request. They hired 92 Negroes in full-time jobs and placed an additional 71 in part-time employment.

3,000 Jobs For Negroes

The selective patronage program against the Acme Stores marks the 25th consecutive success of the ministerial group in gaining more equitable employment for Negroes in the Philadelphia area. Since origination of their program several years ago, they have opened up some 3,000 new jobs to Negroes and have added approximately $10 million to the purchasing power of the Negro community.

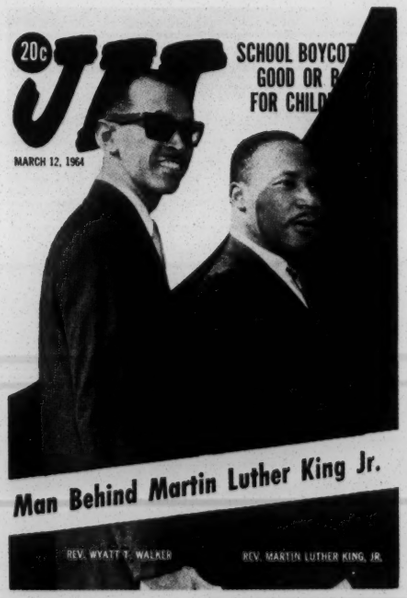
SCLC's Wyatt Tee Walker Featured In Jet Magazine

(*Editor's Note*: *On one of the few occasions when Jet Magazine, the world's largest circulated Negro weekly publication, has used a male on its cover, SCLC's Executive Director Wyatt Tee Walker was accorded this honor in the March 12th edition of the periodical, in a feature story on his leadership with the organization. We herewith reprint the text of the article in its entirety.*)

By John H. Britton

The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker preached his own mother's funeral. He didn't tremble. He didn't crumble, though the impact of her tragic death in an automobile accident was crushing and practically unbearable. He never cracked.

The Rev. Walker went to Monroe, N. C., in 1961 during one of the most violent racial riots in civil rights history. He bounded up the courthouse steps, but a white man stepped in his path and knocked him back down, puncturing his ear drums in the process. Walker got up, brushed himself off, and went back up the steps. Again, he was punched down the steps by a vicious blow. But again Walker brushed himself off and started up. Negro companions, afraid *for him*, grabbed Rev. Walker and restrained his almost suicidal determination.



Wyatt Walker and Dr. King on Jet cover.

Human Dynamo

That's the way it is with this human dynamo. That's the powerful stuff that propels this faithful revolutionary. And that's why the Rev. Walker's world-renowned boss, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., feels Rev. Walker can handle administrative details of his seams-bursting organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

A dashing figure of a man, a natty dresser, a tall, handsome movie-idol type with a flashy smile, a smooth, convincing and wondrous wheeler-dealer, the Rev. Walker incited questioning stares when he joined Dr. King's forces.

When the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, Dr. King's closest associate, began staying home more to tend to his thriving Atlanta church, and when SCLC grew so large that Dr. King required a full-time helper possessed with Abernathy's same loyalty and devotion, Rev. Walker, quietly and unobtrusively, moved in to face the task. Few really knew the man, where he came from, who he was, or where he would take the organization.

Born In Massachusetts

The Rev. Walker was born in Brockton, Mass., to a preacher father, Dr. John Wise Walker (now 94 and still an active pastor), and a housewife mother, Mrs. Maude Pinn Walker, on August 16, a little more than 34 years and six months ago. He was reared most of his life and attended public schools in Merchantville, N. J. He remembers that when he was five years old, a white female playmate sobbed that she could no longer play with him because, he quoted her as saying, "he was colored." He also remembers when he, at nine years old, walked into a movie house in New Jersey and sat down to watch Bette Davis star in *The Big Lie*, even though a movie clerk refused to sell him a ticket. His sit-in led to the desegregation of that theater. And from then on, says Walker, he had freedom—and revolution—on his mind.

He grew up like any other average brilliant boy. In 1950 he graduated, magna cum laude, from Virginia Union University with degrees in chemistry and physics. In 1953, after striking up a friendship with Dr. King through the inter-seminary movement, Rev. Walker graduated, summa cum laude, from Virginia Union's theological school. His first—and only—pastorate was at the 1,000-member Gillfield Baptist Church in Petersburg, Va., for eight years.

Becomes Executive Director

In August 1960, Rev. Walker gave in to the two-year-long pleas of Dr. King and others and agreed to become executive director of SCLC, which then sported a yearly budget of $57,000 and a five-man staff. In three years under Walker's leadership

New Orleans Judge Tongue-Lashes Police In Hearing On Restaurant Desegregation

New Orleans Federal Judge Herbert W. Christenberry ordered the immediate desegregation of a cafeteria in that city's City Hall last month, and sharply tongue-lashed police for their rough-handling of an SCLC affiliated sit-in demonstrator. The judge ordered John-Lynn's Cafeteria, Inc. to desegregate its City Hall basement restaurant after a hearing in a suit brought by SCLC's New Orleans affiliate president, Rev. Avery Alexander, Dorothy Castle and Sandra Nixon. The three were arrested last Oct. 31 in a sit-in at the restaurant.

'Dragged By Heels'

In upbraiding police for their unnecessary rough treatment of Rev. Alexander during the arrest, Judge Christenberry had this to say: "I saw the pictures in the newspaper. The man was dragged by his heels . . . a long distance to a patrol wagon, which could have been brought right close to the building.

"I have the greatest respect and regard for the superintendent of police, Joseph Giarrusso, and for the police department generally . . . but I must say, as a judge, as a citizen, and I might add, as a Southerner, I think the way in which this man was handled was a disgrace to the city, the police department, and everyone concerned.

"If he was going to be arrested, he could have been picked up under the arms and carried out. Instead he was taken by the heels and dragged up two flights of stairs. This amounts to the police officers fixing the punishment and then executing it."

A HEADACHE FOR ROSS BARNETT—Swamped with chain letters containing one dollar checks made out to "Ross Barnett, trustee of memorial fund of family of Medgar Evers," Mrs. Ellsworth Howard, private secretary to the former Mississippi governor, ponders what to do with stack of mail. Barnett, unwilling to serve as such a trustee, later petitioned a Hinds County judge to have a trustee appointed. The court named Marvin E. Collum, vice president of the First National Bank in Jackson, Mississippi, as trustee of the fund.

the SCLC staff has grown to 61, and last year's budget hovered around the $1 million mark.

His Virginia friends were shocked that Rev. Walker decided to join Dr. King. Walker would have to leave a church whose replacement value was close to $500,000, including a modern $40,000 parsonage, one of the largest Boy Scout troops in the world, and a beautiful 100-voice choir. Besides, he had all but decided to take over the pastorate of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Dr. King's old church in Montgomery, Ala.

And then there was that Walker ego. Nobody who knew him was ready to believe that Rev. Walker, who was the Martin Luther King Jr. of Petersburg, would be willing to play understudy to any living man. Walker concedes he is in a No. 2 role now, "but look who I am No. 2 to," he smiles.

'God Is Doing Something Great'

"I've always believed God is doing something great for Negroes through Dr. King. I would never attempt to take his place, or presume that I could. I just don't have the ability, the temperament or the humility. I don't deny I have an ego. I've never been bothered by being No. 2 man, though. In fact, I've never had any kind of medical history resulting from it."

He has a healthy disdain for false flattery. But he is an eloquent speaker, a brilliant organizer, a highly capable administrator and a take-charge guy who gets things done.

Dr. King has publicly bragged more than once of his high regard for Rev. Walker. "He has had a real impact on the total struggle in the South. He is a very able social strategist. He has brains, courage, and dedication. Naturally, he has been of great help to me as my executive assistant because he has been the man who has had the job of executing many of the policy matters of the organization. He's certainly done a very, very competent job. To carry out all the day-to-day minute details is not my area of competence. But I think he does an excellent job on this."

Planned Birmingham Revolt

Rev. Walker seldom misses a dramatic trick, and he proved his mettle in the Birmingham wars, which were his first adventure in planning a major revolt from the bottom up. Since guesswork is not a part of Rev. Walker's nature, he was in Birmingham five months in advance of the big explosion that was heard all over the world. He was mapping streets, plotting strategy, drawing up floor plans of major anti-segregation targets, counting the stools at various lunch counters, counting the time it took to move from a store entrance to the store's lunch counter, and soliciting recruits willing to go to jail for freedom. So, when the forces of Dr. King struck with dramatic impact on April 3, 1963, all "the leader" had to do was push the right button that Walker had already connected to the proper detonators.

Drew Up Atlanta Plan

In Dr. King's hometown, Atlanta, Rev. Walker, also of Atlanta, drew up a "Battle Plan" calculated to shake the "city too busy to hate" out of its smug satisfaction with "tokenism." The plan was so detailed, so hard-hitting and so uncompromising that conservative Negro leaders shied away from it. Later, the young militants took up the plan again and are now busily implementing some of its ideas in the push to make Atlanta an "open" city.

So compatible are Dr. King and Rev. Walker that they have never had a personality clash. Walker's total loyalty to "the leader" seems out of character to those acquainted with his almost flippant personality and his salty, sharp-tongued lectures to subordinates.

Committed To His Role

Walker is so committed to his own role that the spiritual and moral leadership of the civil rights drive holds no appeal for him, he said. "You know," he said, "if something happened to Dr. King, Rev. Abernathy is heir apparent. And if such a thing came about, I would serve Rev. Abernathy in the same way I have served Dr. King. And that's a sincere statement."

Of his future, Rev. Walker reflects: "Being a minister 'called' to preach, my ultimate ambition, of course, is to return to the pastorate of a church somewhere. After all, I didn't just stumble into the ministry as a misfit from something else. I just didn't have a sense of fulfillment until I gave in to the impulse to preach. But I can't see my way clear now to leave the civil rights field. Right now, I'm doing what you might call home missionary work . . ."

Wyatt Tee Walker

Letters To SCLC

Working 60 Years Toward Goal

Dear Friends:

I have never seen, or met any of you in person, yet I am calling you my friends. I do this because anyone, white or black, working to gain first-class citizenship for our people here on earth, and citizenship in Heaven, are certainly my friends.

I have been working toward the same goal, toward which you are driving in the SCLC, for more than 60 years. I am now about 83 years old and cannot do much now, but I am still doing what I can. Since I had to retire because of my health, I can only do a little writing, which I enjoy so much. That you may see that we are working toward the same goal, I will mention just a few things I have tried to do in this same line of work, to help liberate our people. I organized the "Young Peoples Congress," in 1930, here in Sheffield, Alabama, which is a "Mock" Congress, designed to play citizenship thus, getting the true principles of citizenship deeply rooted into their very being and at the same time teaching the young people to handle the machinery of their government. When they become of voting age, they will understand the value of the franchise, and will not sacrifice it as did Esau, for a mess of pottage. In this same Congress set-up, we had a Co-op for both adults and young people, teaching them to bank and save their money. As a result we now see some of these same young people in business for themselves, with nice bank accounts, also living in nice homes of their own . . .

REV. L. W. MICHAEL
Sheffield, Alabama

Assistance For Chicago

Dear Dr. King:

Congratulations to you and your staff on the great work you are performing for the South and the nation.

A great many of us here feel that if our nation-wide struggle for justice is to succeed in depth, areas like Chicago must have the assistance of an organization similar in structure to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

REV. JOHN R. PORTER
Chicago, Ill.

Strength To Love

Dear Dr. King:

I am writing to express my appreciation of you as a truly great leader and personality, one that has been responsible for the beautifully expressed and inspiring *Strength To Love,* which I have just finished reading. It is truly the expression of magnified nobility of thought and feeling, the product of the suffering and intelligence of a great man.

As a white person, I have always been sympathetic with your race problem. Accordingly, I have almost awesome respect for your success in inspiring nonviolent measures against the shameful ruthlessness of some whites. That you have been miraculously successful is evidence that love is strength.

DOROTHEA DAVIS
Brockton, Mass.

What Can I Do?

Dear Rev. King:

I would like to know what I personally can do toward the cause of Civil Rights. I am a junior in a boarding school, and feel very strongly about this, and would honestly like to know how I can best translate this into intelligent and meaningful action. Please be frank.

I am writing to you because I think you can tell me, first as a clergyman, and second as a leader of this movement, what I can do.

PAUL ANDREWS
Groton, Mass.

'Man Of The Year'

Dear Rev. King:

I am a senior in high school. I love my Negro race and want very much to have the segregationists to be my beloved brothers. I must say, I was very proud that you were chosen "Man of the Year" by *Time Magazine.* It couldn't have gone to a better person.

JAMEL COVINGTON
Hampton, Virginia

Want 'Pen Pals'

Dear Sirs:

My class of 5th and 6th graders are now involved in the study of the History of the Negroes in the United States. They would very much like to have pen pals in any southern community.

I thought it would be a good learning experience for them to be in touch with southern white children as well as southern Negro children.

Can you help us? If you can put me in touch with teachers, I can write to them and work out the arrangements.

CLARE RODNEY
The Westland School
10345 West Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

CONTRIBUTIONS

I wish to contribute to the work of SCLC and the social struggle in the South.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....
(street)

.....
(city & state)

Amount of Contribution.....

Send to: SCLC
334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SCLC *Newsletter*

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

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New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RETURN REQUESTED

June 1, 1964

Mrs. Edwina Smith
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Edwina:

Pursuant to your request by telephone today, I am enclosing four copies of the reprint The Businessman and the Negro, and one copy of The City and the Negro, both of which are by Charles Silberman.

We are not sending more of the latter because our supply is almost completely exhausted. If you find that you need more copies, I would suggest that you write direct to Fortune Magazine.

If we can be of further service, please call us.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

October 30, 1964

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
332 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

I wanted to be sure that you saw the enclosed, on St. Augustine.

Maybe it will say how strongly I feel the justice and the importance of your receiving the Nobel Prize.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
m
p

Enclosure

SPONSORS (continued)

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
Herman J. Russell
James O'Hear Sanders
Rev. Robert B. Shorts
Bishop P. Randolph Shy
Miss Celestine Sibley
Robert L. Sommerville
Mrs. M. E. Tilley
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Austin T. Walden
Senator Horace T. Ward
Dr. Clinton Warner
Milton N. Weinstein
Rev. Allison Williams
Q. V. Williamson
Charles Wittenstein
Clayton R. Yates
John Yungblut

File
SCLC

You are cordially invited
to attend a dinner honoring the

1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

AN ATLANTA CITIZEN

on

Wednesday, January 27, 1965
Seven o'clock in the evening
at the

DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL • ATLANTA, GEORGIA

(Please see inside)

R.S.V.P.

Send check to:
Nobel Peace Prize Dinner
1009 First Federal Building
Atlanta, Georgia
Tickets: $6.50 each

In order to assure your attendance, an early reservation is requested. Reservations are limited to 1,000 and will be filled in the order in which they are received.

SPONSORS

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Cecil Alexander
Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
Dr. Wallace M. Alston
Dr. Sanford Atwood
Dr. Paul Beall
H. I. Bearden
J. B. Blayton, Sr.
Mrs. Thomas G. Bockman
Rev. William H. Borders
Henry L. Bowden
Dr. Hilliard Bowen
Wiley Branton
Dr. James P. Brawley
M. William Breman
Miss Helen Bullard
Bishop Randolph Claiborne
Robert Clark, Jr.
Reese Cleghorn
Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Dr. Frank Cunningham
Rev. E. H. Dorsey
Rev. Edward A. Driscoll
Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Mrs. Mary Kate Duskin
C. O. Emmerich
Rabbi Harry Epstein
Rabbi Emanuel Feldman
Edgar J. Forio
Dan Garson
Abe Goldstein
George Goodwin
Elliott Haas
Joseph Haas
Leonard Haas
Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan
Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Granger Hansell
William B. Hartsfield, Mayor Emeritus
Bishop E. L. Hickman
Jessie Hill, Jr.
Donald Hollowell
Sinclair Jacobs
Senator Leroy Johnson
Boisfeuillet Jones
Irving Kaler
E. T. Kehrer
Edward T. Ladd
J. Edward Lantz
Dr. Raphael Levine
Hamilton Lokey
Dr. A. E. Manley
Ben Massell, Jr.
Vice Mayor Sam Massell, Jr.
Charles C. Mathias
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
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Mrs. Earl T. McLendon
Rev. J. A. Middleton
L. D. Milton
Louis Montag
James H. Moore
Rev. John Morris
Mrs. H. S. Murphy
Rev. James Ozment
Rev. Eugene Pickett
Dr. Harry V. Richardson

(continued over)

ATLANTA PRAISES DR. KING AT FETE

Integration Leader Honored for Winning Nobel Prize

By FRED POWLEDGE

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Jan. 27 — The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. received praise tonight from the leaders of a city that once arrested him in a sit-in demonstration.

The Atlantans, many of them white, gathered at a testimonial dinner to give a specially commissioned Steuben glass bowl to the 36-year-old Negro integrationist in recognition of his winning the Nobel Peace Prize last year.

The bowl contained a representation of a dogwood flower and the inscription:

"To Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Citizen of Atlanta, Recipient of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, with respect and admiration, January 27, 1965."

Atlanta has long been known as the "Dogwood City."

Tonight's presentation, and the planning of it, were symbolic of Atlanta's attitude on race relations.

Hesitation at First

At first, members of the city's white power structure were hesitant about endorsing a testimonial dinner for a Negro leader who has been responsible for so much desegregation in the South. There were moments after the planning started six or eight weeks ago when it appeared that the dinner could not be held because of internal conflicts.

Some members of the financial leadership—men who have made many of the city's previous decisions on whether and how to desegregate—met and decided not to become sponsors of the affair. While they were deliberating, however, many others welcomed the opportunity to sign on as sponsors and the dinner became a sell-out.

Some Atlanta integrationists were chuckling today over a well-documented report that several of the companies and individuals who had declined sponsorship had later asked for blocs of tickets for the $6.50-a-plate dinner. There were not enough tickets left, however, and some had to go without.

One concern, Rich's Department Store, was reported to have asked for 20 tickets, but got only four. It was on the sixth floor of Rich's, in an eating place called the Magnolia Room, that Dr. King was arrested on Oct. 18, 1960, when he sought service with a group of Negro students from Atlanta University.

The slight, soft-spoken Baptist minister said at the time that his family had spent $4,500 at Rich's during the previous year and that he felt he should be as welcome in the Magnolia Room as in the clothing department.

An Issue Long Debated

The issue that Dr. King and the students raised in 1960 became an issue that the city debated for many months. In each instance, the city's political and financial leaders agreed that the reputation of the growing city, the largest in the Southeast, would be gravely damaged by racial trouble.

The result was widespread desegregation of most city facilities, from schools to swimming pools. Tastefully dressed Negro women, tired from shopping at Rich's, now stop in at the Magnolia Room for a luncheon salad and few whites raise their eyebrows.

The situation is the same in almost all of the city's other respectable eating places.

Of the 102 sponsors for the banquet, about 75 were white. They included the presidents of Emory and Oglethorpe Universities and Agnes Scott and Morehouse Colleges; leading lawyers, real-estate men, financial executives, and architects; city political leaders, directors of Atlanta-based human-relations groups, newspaper people, and ministers.

Also among the sponsors were the state's two Negro Senators, Leroy Johnson and Horace T. Ward. Senator Johnson was the first member of his race to be elected to the Georgia Legislature since Reconstruction.

The dinner was held in the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, which once had a policy of rigid discrimination against Negroes. The hotel desegregated last summer.

LD ✓
WB ✓ VI ✓
Return to PW

File: SCLC

Martin Luther King, Jr.
332 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

February, 1965

Dear Friend:

The glare of headlines, spotlighting our other desegregation campaigns, has often obscured news of the steadily rising rate of Negro voter-registration in the South.

In the past four years the Negro vote in the South has been doubled.

This achievement is simple to express in words, but in actuality it is the sum of an epic of heroic struggle. It required tens of thousands of registration workers to endure long weary days and nights to make it real. It required the courage to face a grisly death around any corner; it required almost saintly patience to add one name to another, laboriously, until two million names accumulated in registration books in 11 states. Finally, it required the will to go forward after burying our dead because somehow we could never go back.

Now that this is done we begin again, because we must, in concert with other organizations, double the vote once more. Only then will we have the political strength to:

1. Curb the resort to violence of many segregationist leaders in elected posts by shifting the balance of power to a Negro-white coalition which can accomplish peaceful, meaningful change.

2. Send to Congress from the South, forward looking decent minded men, Negro and white, to replace those whose poverty of spirit and want of humanity are a mockery to a national legislative body.

3. Spur the war on poverty where American destitution is the worst -- in the rural South of the Negro - where literal starvation exists today amid the abundance of an affluent society.

Our organization, SCLC, is occupied seven days a week doing our share in this work, as well as other vitally important activities not reflected in headlines. Our salaried staff people are in over twenty Southern cities. We service hundreds of communities from Atlanta. We conduct hundreds of permanently established citizenship training classes to remedy the faulty education Negroes have received. In addition, literacy education is provided for the wholly uneducated. These remarkable schools which penetrate some of the deepest backwaters of the South, are an example of Negro self-help unique in our movement.

The dedicated allies doing this work are committing their lives. Negroes contribute funds and services, but poverty limits their aid. To advance our work they have endured brutality, violence and even death. We ask you to be a part of this moral crusade in the most meaningful way - by contributing sorely needed funds. You will aid one part of the population and yet all of the nation.

With warmest good wishes,

Martin Luther King Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Please make check payable to SCLC.

150

April 6, 1965

Mrs. Edwina Smith
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Edwina:

Enclosed herewith is a check in the amount of $25.00 (twenty-five dollars), made payable to the Southern Regional Council. The check was erroneously sent to us; it should have come to SCLC inasmuch as it designates "for Selma."

Mr. Whitson indicates on the note that he saw your appeal for funds, but could not find IT AT the time of submitting the check. We are confident Mr. Whitson confused SCLC with SRC, and are sure that you will acknowledge receipt of Mr. Whitson's contribution for your good works in Selma.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

Memo from MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT

3-15-65

VJ

We received this morning in an envelope with no letter a check to SRC for $25.00 marked "for Selma".

I asked Les about it--if we were receiving funds, and he said let Ruth hold check and you write to them.

Walter W. Whitson or
Myra K. Whitson
2336 North Boulevard
Houston, Texas 77006

PW
EV
PA
JS

SUMMARY

Of

Ninth Annual Convention

Southern
Christian
Leadership
Conference

Martin Luther King, Jr., *President*

August 9-13, 1965 **Birmingham, Alabama**

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Compiled And Edited By Public Relations Department

Edward T. Clayton, ***Director***
Junius Griffin, ***Assistant***
Van Hall, ***Assistant***

INTRODUCTION

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference's return to Birmingham was inevitable. Therefore, it came as no surprise to our board members and the executive staff when Birmingham was selected as the site for our ninth annual convention.

There were several significant and historical considerations which compelled our return to the city in which the Federal Government learned that it could no longer ignore the brutal fact of segregation. It was the image of Birmingham police dogs and streaming fire hoses that created the atmosphere in which the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 was conceived.

The SCLC Convention was timed to mark the passage of the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, and our convention was held just 94 miles from Selma, the symbolic battleground where the new law was born in blood and toil.

We returned to Birmingham to honor Mrs. Rosa Parks on the 10th anniversary of the Montgomery Movement.

We also returned to honor The Rev. and Mrs. James Bevel, who have left a legacy of dedication and accomplishment across the state of Alabama.

More importantly, we returned to pay homage to thousands of nameless persons who supported our cause during the Birmingham campaign and still continue to support our organization.

Within these pages you will find our convention theme: "Human Rights—Basic Issues—The Grand Alliance," explored by some of the greatest minds of our time.

We have used this convention to chart a new course for SCLC in the realm of human rights and we think the resolutions passed in this conference are some of the most important ever to emerge from a major civil rights organization. The fact that the resolutions were voted upon by a predominantly grass-roots organization makes them even more impressive.

GREETINGS

Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth
SECRETARY, SCLC

Welcome to the Magic City of Birmingham, Alabama. Welcome to the Magic City that acted so tragically just three years ago. Welcome to the city whose official slogan is, *"It is so nice to have you in Birmingham, Alabama."* But I call to mind that in 1963 one of the great businessmen of this city, having met with me for the first time, was so worried as to whether or not there would be demonstrations, said to me: "Now, Dr. Shuttlesworth, all we want to do is get Dr. King in here and out."

I reminded him, "Mr. Smyer, your sign says, 'It's nice to have you in Birmingham, Alabama,' and we think that means Dr. Martin Luther King, too." I reminded him then that Atlanta was not too far from Birmingham, Alabama, and that if the merchants did not carry forth their promises that Dr. King and the SCLC staff WOULD come back.

Well, with some people, it takes a whole lot of things to make them believe. But in 1963 Birmingham started seeing, and after seeing, started believing.

Not What It Ought to Be

Now this Magic City is not yet what it ought to be. All of us have prayed and are still praying, and I don't think any honest American would say that we do not need to continue to pray that not only Birmingham, but that all cities and states in these critical times would rise to face the challenges and changes which must be made as a part of the 20th century.

Birmingham, after the demonstrations, led many people to believe that she was completely changed. But Negroes have learned, even before 1963, that all that glitters is not gold. And yet there are streaks of light. The biggest barrier at this moment is a loose screw somewhere between City Hall, the Personnel Board and the Legislative Committee in Montgomery. There is something drastically wrong with the personnel of the Personnel Board, and there is something unfatherly about the City Fathers. And there is something wrong with the legislating that the Legislative Committee does for Alabama. You see, Birmingham thinks that the least it can do is the best for it. Sometimes they think that all of our rights are coming from somewhere else. But we have found that the goods are here, and here is where we are going to get them.

Now it's very nice, Dr. King, Mrs. King and ladies and gentlemen to have you here in Birmingham, Alabama. Here is where SCLC cut its eye

teeth on progress and became of age in the ranks of civil rights organizations. Here the great field generals and expert field staff of SCLC developed their finesse and proved their ability in arousing a community to positive nonviolent action. Here were developed the James Bevels and the James Oranges and the Andrew Youngs and all those people. Names that will be written about so long as history books are written. Here SCLC took the nonviolent philosophy and used it until the world took note and America had a heart-to-heart talk with its conscience.

Nonviolence Accepted Way

Here nonviolence became the accepted way for a democratic redress of grievances. Even men all over the world are casting a wistful eye, seeing whether or not nonviolence can be used to solve their problems. Here in Birmingham, Alabama, the American Negro proved in this dark, dismal climate that he would no longer take it, that he was through with segregation and discrimination then, henceforth, now and forevermore. Here the bombs have fallen and there is still some loose dynamite around. Here Negroes used to get all of the dynamite, but now the Klansmen are trying to make it a little democratic and give some to the councilmen and the mayor.

Birmingham is not yet what she will become, but there were some changes made. When you were here before the hotel doors were closed to Negroes, but last night millionaires and paupers walked in the same door side by side. Here just two years ago a Negro would start out as if he were going to a restaurant and end up in jail. But you see, that jail house became a music house and the rafters of "Bull" Conner's jail sounded as sweetly as the angelic chorus the night Christ was born. When you were here before, Dr. King, policemen smiled less frequently than they do now and some of them used fire hoses and dogs more than they smiled. But tonight there is a marked degree of friendliness on the part of our police department. The only thing wrong is that there aren't any Negroes in it, but it isn't going to be like that always. And whoever thought that in Birmingham, Alabama, that Dr. Martin Luther King would have a police escort everywhere he goes.

I tell you, some changes have been made!

Loose "Bull" Running Around

Dr. King, when you were here before a loose 'bull' was running around in the pasture having his last fling. But tonight I am happy to report to you that we have retired what used to be a 'bull', and he's now a steer in another pasture. And since he has been retired to that pasture, all the king's horses and all the Klansmen's crosses can't put his horns back on him again.

We have taught the Klansmen and the police that there is something they cannot do. That is that they cannot stop the onward progress of the Negro people, determined to be free.

We had a little light, mild protest today, because we believe that water doesn't get hot all at once. The fire heats up and the water gets hot, and after a while it starts boiling. Soon it just boils over. We would hope that City Hall doesn't want the pot to boil over again, because I think we amply demonstrated that we know how to heat the fire up hot, and in 1963, as hot as hell itself.

So let the gentlemen of the Personnel Board get on with the business of acting right in this day and hour. And let the City Fathers understand that their children just want to be free. And let the men in the state legislative halls understand that we wish them well, but we will give them hell if they won't be nice to us.

Magnificent Organization

And so tonight we salute you, O magnificent organization, for America owes a debt of gratitude which it would be centuries paying, for nothing has happened more beautifully than that which has been robbed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

We may go back and look at what happened in Boston Commons, when they decided way back there that taxation without representation was unfair. We may look at the blood spilled on the plains of Boston, but it is more than matched by those who have died in the black belt where SCLC is creating light. For the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has decided that there's no use cursing this darkness; we might as well work to create light.

And so I say, *"Sail on 'O Ship of State, sail on 'O union strong and great . . . "* for America, with all its promises and all of its hopes, will never be what it can be until the good Negroes and the good white folks get together to make the good white folks better. Then America will forever be the land of the free and the home of the brave.

ANNUAL REPORT — DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Delivered at SCLC's Ninth Annual National Convention
Birmingham, Alabama, August 11, 1965

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We assemble in this ninth Annual Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the year of our Lord, 1965. This year happens to be the 10th anniversary of the Montgomery bus boycott. That action opened a new era in the freedom struggle. It was an historic watershed in the history of the American Negro, marking the date on which he took his destiny in his own hands and began a march which was to shake the foundations of this nation. In Montgomery, the Negroes created the American application of mass nonviolent direct action to achieve social change. He put behind him the exclusive reliance on the courts and entreaties of goodwill as methods of reform. He came out of shadows that had enveloped him for centuries and physically took possession of forbidden streets to lay claim to his rights.

Whites Learn of Injustice

For the first time in American history the white majority as a whole learned how deeply injustice was woven into its social fabric. From Montgomery, in an ascending spiral, nonviolent direct action stimulated courageous action in cities traditionally immune from Negro protest. Cities which had been citadels of the status quo became the unwilling birthplace of significant national legislation. Montgomery led to the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960; Birmingham inspired the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Selma produced the legislation of 1965.

The courage, sacrifice and unity of Negroes led inevitably to the creation of an alliance with white Americans and awoke the somnolent conscience of the nation.

It would be hypocritical indeed if I allowed modesty to forbid my saying that SCLC again, in a large measure, was responsible for some of the most positive civil rights gains of the year and perhaps of the century. Just as SCLC aroused the conscience of the nation in Birmingham in 1963 and set in motion a comprehensive civil rights bill, these same stalwart nonviolent activists within our ranks brought about a coalition of the nation's conscience on the infamous stretch of highway between Selma and Montgomery, Alabama. One can still hear the tramping feet and remember the glowing eyes filled with determination and hope which said eloquently, "We must be free," a sound which echoed throughout this nation, and, yes, even throughout the world. My mind still remembers vividly the ecumenicity of the clergy, the combined forces of labor, civil rights organizations and the academic community which joined our ranks and said in essence, "Your cause is morally right, and we are with you all the way."

ORGANIZATIONAL GROWTH AND EXPANSION

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has had a phenomenal growth and expansion during the past year. Our professional staff has increased from 75 to 200 workers, and our budget, needless to say, tripled over this period in keeping pace with our expanded programs and personnel increases.

It is due to the fine quality of our professional staff that during this period of expansion we have experienced a minimum amount of growing pains.

DIRECT ACTION

The mainstay of SCLC's program is still in the area of nonviolent action. The year began with a campaign of direct action in Alabama. Selma, Alabama, loomed as a city which had sought to completely suppress every semblance of freedom for its Negro citizens. Injunctions had been issued against any assembly of three or more persons and against more than three persons walking together along city streets. These court orders were systematically used by Sheriff Jim Clark to put an end to any civil rights meetings or demonstrations.

Following the experience of Birmingham and the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church, it became apparent that direct action programs had to broaden their scope beyond lunch counters and employment within a single city. The task was too great and the time too short to go from city to city confronting the evils of segregation. In addition to this, the states of Alabama and Mississippi were developing an amazing efficiency in crushing demonstrations through the sheer power of their brutality. Gadsden, Alabama, Greenwood, Mississippi, and the Selma Movement of 1963 were examples of this.

Selma Selected

Our Direct Action Department, under the direction of the Rev. James Bevel, then decided to attack the very heart of the political structure of the state of Alabama and the southland through a campaign for the right to vote. Selma was selected as the starting place for this movement.

The world knows the outcome of this venture. The Edmund Pettus Bridge has become a milestone in the history of the Movement.

But let us not mark this great Movement only by the bloodshed and brutality. We certainly can never forget those who gave their lives in this struggle and who suffered in jail, but let us mark the sacrifice of Jimmy Lee Jackson, Rev. James Reeb and Viola Liuzzo as the martyrs of faith, which they are, and not dwell in any morbid sentimentality over the facts of death and suffering. It is exactly in death that we must reaffirm our faith that there can be no remission of sins without the shedding of blood, and that the suffering of the innocents is truly the way to the world's redemption.

Church Is Reawakened

Selma brought into being the second great awakening of the church in America. Long standing aside and giving tacit approval to the civil rights struggle and then stirring to motion around the crisis in Mississippi last summer, the church finally marched forth like a mighty army and stood beside God' children in distress.

The awakening of the church also brought a new vitality to the labor movement, and to intellectuals across the country. A little known fact is that 40 of the nation's top historians took part in the march to Montgomery.

In conclusion, Selma brought us a voting bill, which was only this past week signed into law, but it also brought us the grand alliance of the children of light in this nation, and made possible changes in our political and economic life heretofore undreamed of. I hope I am not being too chauvinistic to claim that even the repeal of section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Law, the so-called Right to Work Law, owes its repeal to the solidification of this coalition of conscience in Selma, and the placing of the present administration on a firmly progressive course in domestic issues.

But Selma and the March to Montgomery ignited a freedom flame all across the southern black belt. Selma, due to the publicity; but the Movement in Marion, Camden, Greensboro, Demopolis and Eutaw mark a new day in the direct action movement. These are small rural communities which have proven that nonviolent action can be as effective in rural areas as in metropolitan centers. The people have marched, picketed, conducted long and effective boycotts and gained a new respect from their white brothers. Neighboring towns like Uniontown have learned from the lessons of these strife-torn communities and sought to implement the promise of justice without the struggle now raging in other black belt areas.

New Maturity in Nonviolence

It is significant to note that these counties have proceeded without the employment of major staff and financial resources of the organization. This is a tribute to the effectiveness of the field staff and to the new maturity of the nonviolent approach.

Crawfordville and Americus, Georgia, have brought the same kind of campaign to Georgia, and with similar results. In each of these communities, more than half the population has been directly

involved in the action program. With this kind of fearlessness and unity, the liberation of the southland is not far off.

POLITICAL EDUCATION AND VOTER REGISTRATION

One of the most significant developments in the program of SCLC is the work of the Department of Political Education and Voter Registration. The able and dedicated head of this department, Hosea Williams, has launched the most vigorous and devastating war ever conceived against the disenfranchisement of the Negro people. Ultimately, the objective of SCLC's program of political education and voter registration is to rid the American body politic of racism. It is our contention that it was upon the rock of political disfranchisement of the Negro that segregation was built, that the gates of democracy cannot prevail against it, and that this intolerable condition must be alleviated for the redemption of America's soul.

SCOPE Increases Voter Registration

One of the major programs of our Political Education and Voter Registration Department is the Summer Community Organization and Political Education Project, known as SCOPE. At present, SCOPE is operating in six southern states, covering fourteen U. S. Congressional Districts and 125 southern black belt counties. There are more than 1,200 SCOPE workers—650 summer volunteers, representing more than 120 colleges and universities throughout America, 150 paid SCLC staff workers and 400 local volunteers. Since June 22, SCOPE workers have contacted more than one million Negroes across the southland; 600,000 Negroes have been involved in political education; 280,000 in community organization, and 124,000 have attempted to register. Thirty four thousand have been processed, and 26,000 registered. It is important to say here that this was done before passage of the voting rights bill. There are 900,500 Negroes of voting age residing in the selected counties covered by SCOPE and of that number only 225,000 are registered, which leaves more than 700,000 Negroes of voting age unregistered.

Before we meet again next year, it can safely be predicted that this program will have changed the political dynasties of at least 120 of the South's most predominantly Negro counties. Eventually, this will lead to Negro state representatives, county commissioners, sheriffs, city councilmen, police chiefs, and even mayors. This will inevitably result in liberating the political climate of the South.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

At the bulwark of SCLC's program department stands the Citizenship Education Program which continues to play an important part in assisting thousands of Negroes in finding a sense of dignity and worth. Most importantly, the Citizenship Education Program is the firm base upon which the direct action projects of SCLC find ready minds and bodies, with assurances that when the direct action is over, every community is left with leaders qualified to continue the struggle.

Writing Clinic in Dallas County

The major contribution of the Citizenship Education program this year was the establishment of writing clinics in Dallas County headed by Mrs. Septima P. Clarke. These clinics were responsible for teaching hundreds of persons to write their names in order that they could sign an appearance book for voter registration. It is remarkable to note that in acquiring this new skill—to write—many of these persons were motivated to continue to learn.

New SCLC affiliates are also being formed in many small towns and rural communities as an outgrowth of citizenship classes. So in a real sense, the Citizenship Education Program continues to be our most vital and positive program, moving silently across the black belts of the South, teaching, encouraging and inspiring the underprivileged masses of our society with a technique and a vision of freedom.

This program has been under the able and dedicated guidance of The Rev. Andrew Young, Mrs. Septima Clarke, and Mrs. Dorothy Cotton. Through their expert direction, the Citizenship Education Program was elevated from local into national political and economic relevance. Now that Andy Young's brilliant abilities have elevated him to the executive directorship of SCLC, he will be replaced by Dr. Robert Green, whose academic credentials and experience more than qualify him to continue the phenomenal growth and development of this department.

OPERATION BREADBASKET

One of the most dramatic and creative phases of our program has been the development of what

is known as Operation Breadbasket, under the dynamic leadership of The Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Jr. This is a program which has as its aim the securing of more and better jobs for all Negro people. The success of this program grows out of the fact that the Negro is a key factor in the consuming community and that he now has a collective power of about 30 billion dollars a year. This means that the Negro buying dollar can make the difference between profit and loss in almost any industry in our country. So Operation Breadbasket is a program which calls for support of those businesses that will give a fair share of the jobs, and the economic withdrawal from those businesses that have discriminatory policies. The key word in Operation Breadbasket is *RESPECT*. It says in substance, if you respect my dollar, you must respect my person. If you respect my quantitative support, then you must respect the quality of my job. In short, this program says you have a moral obligation to refuse to use your dollars to perpetuate segregation and discrimination.

Jobs Secured from 27 Firms

During the past year, Operation Breadbasket has dealt with some 27 firms and added millions of dollars to the Negro's income by securing new and upgraded jobs which had been previously closed to us.

OPERATION DIALOGUE

One of our newest and most promising programs is the Dialogue Department headed by Harry G. Boyte. The Dialogue Program was established this past year to implement our commitment to seek reconciliation between the diverse and frequently hostile elements within our society and also to bring into alliance Negro and white Americans who share the same aspirations of justice, equality and brotherhood for all mankind. In our quest for such a reconciliation, we have given priority to experimental work in the most economically oppressed white communities. We believe that we can bring these deprived whites into a recognition that their experiences and those of the Negroes are similar, and bring into being a coalition of these forces so that through joint organized effort the causes can be attacked constructively, transcending all racial factors.

"Group Conversation" Instituted

Through Dialogue we also are engaged in carrying on a program known as "Group Conversation." This "social invention," as it is called by Dr. Margaret Mead, has thus far been directed primarily toward middle class white Americans in the South, the Northeast and the Midwest. Frequently, however, this method of self exploration has drawn into its program groups of interracial composition. In Atlanta, where we have carried on our most intensive experimentation with this technique, more than 1,000 persons have attended 57 work shops and other facets of Dialogue.

As our experience grows with this new department, we are increasingly convinced that this movement into the broader area of "human rights" offers tremendous and challenging opportunities of reaching and finding some answers to our basic problems of human misery and crucifying aspirations. We are going deeply into the root causes of grinding poverty, inadequate medical care, slum housing, educational deficiencies and racial prejudice, while simultaneously demonstratting that the strongest force in all the world is the force of love as proven in its validity in active involvement with other human beings.

AFFILIATE DEPARTMENT

The ever increasing proof of the power of nonviolent direct action and the growing prominence throughout the nation of the nonviolent philosophy have resulted in a profound interest being shown in SCLC as one of the organizations best able to represent those interested in our struggle for freedom. Seizing upon this opportunity, our dynamic Affiliate Director, The Rev. C. T. Vivian, during the past year has continually moved throughout the nation establishing new organizations for SCLC. More than this, during the past year not only has Rev. Vivian added new organizations, but his work has gained the necessary support to establish a new pattern for affiliate organization.

The Affiliate office has shown this interest firstly in expansion; secondly, in community services; and thirdly, in community organization and government programs. This plan was projected by the Affiliate Department in the hope of answering our basic movement question: How can SCLC go from movement to organization, and so organize in a manner that the very nature of the organization can, when needed, be converted into a movement, and in so doing strengthen other community organizations. The Affiliate Department has been

training personnel and experimenting in various cities in an effort to solve this problem. Its experiments to this point have proven successful as a result of our tremendous expansion.

New Tutorial Program in Alabama

The Affiliate Program has been servicing its branches in a new way. It has projected a new program in the area of education called project "Vision," a tutorial program in Alabama which has employed more than 90 tutors in 16 educational centers in nine Alabama cities. More than 575 Negro high school students and recent high school graduates have put aside every summer vacation pleasure to devote 10 weeks to intensive academic study. SCLC has tested; now we are teaching, and eventually we will place every child of "Vision" into college who is willing to learn until he passes college entrance exams.

As a result of our "Vision" Program, SCLC has become a recipient of one of the national programs its energy helped write. Due to the continuing drive of the Affiliate Program, SCLC this week received an Office of Economic Opportunity grant for more than $60,000. This is our first government grant, and it is being used to service our affiliates and both Negro and white persons who desire to live above the ignorance forced upon them by cultural deprivation in certain areas.

OFFICE ADMINISTRATION AND STAFF EXPANSION

SCLC continues to expand its program, office space and staff in order to meet the demands of the people we seek to serve. Within the past 12 months our office staff has grown inescapably from 28 to 71. Our field staff has grown from 50 to more than 300.

While we have been engaged in expanding the staff we have, at the same time, worked at building the strongest staff possible. In this regard, we have added three people with the doctorate degrees, two in the Dialogue Program and one in Citizenship Education.

Office Staff Tripled

We have, out of need, tripled our office staff. We have put together a complete printing plant with equipment valued in excess of $20,000. We are now carrying on major civil rights citizenship programs through the channel of printed literature. Since the last convention more than 1,250,000 pieces of related literature have been printed and distributed. A major campaign is anticipated for next year geared to giving back to Negro people their history.

The Atlanta office, apart from the regular program areas, has done an effective job of keeping the Justice Department aware of isolated incidents of injustice.

Already we are moving on the business of helping communities and individuals take advantage of federal social legislation. SCLC, through one of its field workers, was instrumental in getting a poverty program for Gadsden, Alabama. Six other poverty programs are at various stages of development. More is anticipated in this regard.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE

This, in brief, is an account of SCLC's work over the last year. It is a record of which we can all be proud and one that brings all of us closer to the goal of freedom. But we cannot rest contented on the laurels of past achievements. Bright yesterdays must be transformed into brighter tomorrows. With all the struggle and all the achievements, the plant of freedom has grown only a bud and not yet a flower. Negroes in 1965 are freer, but they are not free. Negroes in 1965 have more dignity and self-respect than they have known in their history, but they are still far from equal. They are not equal because they are strait-jacketed in society as its most unskilled, most underpaid strata. They constitute the economic legion of the damned to hold the dirty jobs, the most poorly paid jobs; and, when employment diminishes, to be the first without jobs.

Aliens in An Affluent Society

In consequence, Negroes are impoverished aliens in an affluent society. They are too poor even to rise with the society: too impoverished by the ages to be able to ascend by using their own resources.

The Negro, once principally a small farmer, under the impact of American agriculture has become a displaced, unskilled, unhoused migrant herded into the ghettoes of the cities, themselves unprepared to absorb him. In these conditions of chaotic change his fragile family life has been shattered, his labor wasted or exploited, and thick walls of discrimination crush his hopes and opportunity.

The Negro did not do this himself—it was done to him. For more than half of his American history

he was enslaved. Yet he built the spanning bridges, the grand mansions, the sturdy docks and stout factories of the South. His unpaid labor made cotton king and established America as a significant nation in international commerce. Even after his release from chattel slavery the nation grew over him, submerging him. It became the wealthiest, most powerful society in the history of man. But it left the Negro far behind.

Revolution Still at Hand

So we still have a long, long way to go before we reach the promised land of freedom. We still need some Paul Revere of conscience to alert every hamlet and every village of America that revolution is still at hand. Yes, we need a chart: we need a compass. Indeed, we need some North Star to guide us into a future shrouded with impenetrable uncertainties. What, then, are the basic issues that the grand alliance must grapple with in order to assure human rights?

DEMONSTRATIONS

The SCLC must reaffirm its allegiance to the time honored tactics and strategies that have served us so well in the past 10 years. As long as injustice is around, demonstrations will be necessary. So when it is appropriate, we will encourage sit-ins, stand-ins, kneel-ins, boycotts, picket lines, marches, civil disobedience and any form of protest and demonstrations that are nonviolently conceived and executed.

At the same time we recognize that the right of assembly and protest is a relative right subject to regulations to protect the rights of others. For that reason before a protest can be approved by responsible leadership they must answer the following questions:

1. Do we have a just grievance, or is our purpose merely to create confusion for its own sake as a form of revenge?
2. Have we first used every form of normal means to eliminate the problem by negotiation, petition and appropriate appeals to authority?
3. Having found these channels useless or forcibly closed to us when we embark upon any type of lawbreaking, are we prepared to accept the consequences society will inflict and to maintain, even under punishment, a sense of brotherhood?
4. Do we have a clear program to relieve injustice which does not inflict injustice upon others, and is that program reasonable and grounded in the ethics and best traditions of our society?

Responsibility Must Be Met

In establishing these prerequisite conditions before employing direct action, the civil rights movement meets its responsibility to society and fulfills its obligations to democratic principles.

I am happy to report that, by and large, the civil rights movement has followed this course, and for this reason we in the nonviolent movement have enlarged the rights of all. What advantages have all Americans derived from the growth of nonviolent direct action in civil rights?

When Negroes took to the streets to demand job opportunities for themselves they helped to stimulate a broad war on poverty concept which ultimately will benefit more whites than Negroes. When Negroes by direct action seek to participate in the electoral process they awaken the apathetic white who so took his rights for granted that he neglected to use them. When Negroes boycotted schools they did more than reveal classroom discrimination. They brought to the fore such criticisms as those of Dr. Conant, who had long charged we were seeking to utilize 19th century educational methods in conditions of 20th century urbanization. Pushing through the issue of desegregation, there emerged a new and startling question of paramount importance to the whole population. What is quality education and how is it attained for all, under conditions of population growth, automation and the redistribution of the population in sprawling cities?

Expression of Religious Unity

Sociologists will find much to ponder in the striking fact that after the failure of brotherhood banquets to achieve results, and after the futile efforts to achieve ecumenity by discussion and conferences, in the streets of Selma and Montgomery and at the Lincoln Memorial, there was the greatest and warmest expression of religious unity of Catholic, Protestant, and Jew in the history of the nation.

So we must continue to march when necessary. Our marching feet have caused thick walls of seggregation to crumble before the battering rams of the forces of justice. Our marching feet have resurrected crucified truth and placed bright-eyed wisdom back on her sacred throne. Our marching has taken wounded justice, lying prostrate on the streets of our cities, and lifted it from this dust of shame

to reign supreme in the legislative annals of our nation. Yes, our marching feet have carved tunnels of hope through the dark mountain of despair.

VOTER REGISTRATION AND EDUCATION

When SCLC went into Selma, Alabama, in January, 1965, it had limited objectives. It sought primarily to correct wrongs existing in that small city. But our adversaries met us with such unrestrained brutality that they enlarged the issues to a national scale. The ironic and splendid result of the small Selma project was nothing less than the Civil Rights Act of 1965. For the aid Governor Wallace and Sheriff Clark gave us in our legislative objectives, this convention tenders them its warm appreciation.

With President Johnson, the SCLC views the Voting Rights Act of 1965 as "one of the most monumental laws in the entire history of American freedom."

One Million New Negro Voters

The civil rights movement now has before it a central task: to bring at least a million new southern Negro voters to the polls by next election day. That task is not merely mechanical; however, it is profoundly educational. The Negro community must become fully conscious of its potential political power, of its growing ability to change, through concerted political action, the conditions of life in the South, and, indeed, the complexion of Congress and the major parties. This is an ongoing, and sometimes tedious, job, requiring additional dedicated civil rights workers. But ultimately it is the most exciting undertaking, for it means the dawn of a new day.

Moreover, the Voting Rights Act comes at a time when the "one man, one vote" principle is being deepened. The SCLC is pleased that the week which saw the Act become law also witnessed defeat of the Dirksen Amendment, whose purpose was to undermine the historic Supreme Court decision on reapportionment. This decision, restoring first-class citizenship to urban and suburban voters, will give increased scope and impact to political action by Negroes and other minority groups entrapped in the metropolitan ghettoes.

North and South, Negroes must be registered to vote. The SCLC pledges itself unstintingly to this work. What we have won in blood, toil and sacrifice we must not squander in apathetic complacency.

It is also necessary to say that the bright road opened by the Civil Rights Act is unfortunately not an unobstructed highway to the stars as some press reports imply.

Dynamic Enforcement Indispensable

To become a major turning point in American life, extensive and dynamic enforcement by the Justice Department is indispensable. There has been some swift action but on a severely restricted scale. Our experience with the South compels us to say that if the cautious restraint in enforcement persists, much of the purpose of the act can be defeated. On the other hand, by bold enforcement the recalcitrance of the segregationists can be made as impractical as it is illegal and immoral.

Another weakness lies in certain segregationist devices which the Act does not readily reach. Despite the law, Negroes cannot register in substantial numbers where local and state authorities have established registration on but one day a month as in some South Carolina, North Carolina and Alabama counties. In circumstances such as these it will be necessary to resort to mass marches to the court houses to induce the power structure to observe the spirit of the law.

We now have a federal law which can be used, and use it we will. Where it falls short we have our tradition of struggle and the method of nonviolent direct action, and these too, we shall use.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY

Despite the recent slight decline in unemployment, the jobless rate among Negroes remains more than double that of whites, and there are no immediate prospects for a dramatic improvement in this situation. Indeed, if the staggering unemployment rate among Negro youth—as high as 70 per cent in some urban centers—is any indication of what the future holds, the crisis is deepening.

High unemployment is a main reason why two thirds of all the Negro families in the United States live in poverty and deprivation. Indeed, among all of the American poor, 40 per cent have been victims of unemployment during the past year. The administration's War on Poverty, which the SCLC applauds as a fine beginning, will fail to achieve its objectives if it substitutes a "welfare" approach for much-needed economic reforms aimed at the creation of more jobs. In the absence of such re-

forms, black and white workers at the bottom of the economic ladder will be thrown into fierce competition for disappearing jobs, giving rise to destructive racial tensions and perhaps violence. For this reason alone, unemployment and poverty are civil rights concerns.

Poverty Wages Archaic

The majority of poor families in this country are headed by people who work full time. We reject as unjust and archaic, in an affluent society the notion that a man who toils for 40 hours a week should be paid poverty wages. We join with the AFL-CIO in calling for a national $2.00 minimum wage an extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers. Even a $2.00 minimum wage would not bring an average family up to the level of decent comfort by government estimates. If there are business establishments which are genuinely incapable of meeting even this wage, then government subsidies should be made available.

These measures would not only uplift the working poor, but would also help reduce unemployment. For the increased purchasing power of the working poor would increase the demand for necessary consumer goods, thus encouraging greater production and employment.

Vested Interests of Northern Plants

We in the South have an interest in these demands. We are acutely aware of the important role played in the political power structures of the South by run-away plants from the North who come South in search of cheap labor and who acquire a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Motivated all too often by a desire to avoid union organization and wages, such companies fiercely resist unionization and the benefits it would bring to Negro and white workers. A national $2.00 minimum wage and extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act would go far toward discouraging such exploitative practices and would bring nearer the economic liberation of the Negro and the entire South.

The above measures, even when combined with a reduction of the work week and double pay for overtime, would still probably leave a residue of unemployment, for the technological revolution makes possible the production of increasing goods and services with fewer workers. Left to itself, the private sector of the economy cannot generate enough jobs to match the growth in the labor force and disemployment through automation. In plain fact, most of the new jobs created in the past decade have been on the public payrolls (e. g. teachers).

Rebuilding America

We urge that the federal government recognize its responsibility for carrying out the mandate of the Employment Act of 1946, whose purpose is the achievement of full employment. We urge the federal government to initiate massive public works programs to fill the nation's crying needs for decent housing, schools, hospitals, mass transit, urban renewal, parks and recreation centers. We contend that such a program, undertaken on a large scale, does not constitute "make-work" but the rebuilding of America. It would, at the same time, create hundreds of thousands of jobs for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Combined with a greatly expanded program of education and training, it would lay the physical and moral foundations for the great society. A public works program, moreover, would stimulate the private economy toward more useful investments. And, for the Negro community in particular, such a federal initiative would set the contest in which self-help would be realistic and meaningful.

A full program as all-encompassing as the foregoing would justly deserve the title of a "War on Poverty." It would open opportunity, stimulate hope, and release an abundance of creative energies, all of which are presently crushed under a mountain of disabilities. It would not be a financial burden to the nation but a source of new wealth and purchasing power.

Violence of Poverty

The Negro's nonviolent movement is as much directed against the violence of poverty, which destroys the soul and bodies of people, as it is directed against the violence of segregation.

A society which has sinned has redemptive obligations as urgent as those confronting individuals who have lived immorally. When the government recognizes its duties and rises fully to meet them, its moral stature will grow and its integrity will be strengthened. When that day comes, Negroes will throw their energies into the constructive reformation of American society with passionate zeal and the persistent tensions of today will dissolve into harmony and social peace.

NEGRO-WHITE ALLIANCE

A small but vociferous current of opinion has urged Negroes to shun alliances with whites. It argues that whites as a group cannot have genuine or sincere concern for Negro progress, and therefore their main interest in collaborative effort is to diminish Negro militancy and deflect it from constructive goals.

Undeniably, there are some white elements with these purposes, and no militant movement can afford to relax its vigilance against half-hearted associates or conscious betrayers. Yet, the history of the contemporary movement reveals that Negro-white alliances have played a powerfully constructive role, especially in recent years.

Negro Strength Insufficient

While Negro initiative, courage and imagniation precipitated the Birmingham and Selma confrontations and revealed the harrowing injustice of segregated life, the organized strength of Negroes alone would have been insufficient to move Congress and the administration without the weight of the aroused conscience of white America.

In the period ahead, in seeking the profound changes full integration will involve, Negroes will need the continued support of the white majority. Ten percent of the population cannot by tensions alone induce 90 per cent to change a way of life.

Common Needs with the Negro

The white majority need not be coerced into support. Within the majority there exists a substantial group of white Americans who cherish democratic principles above privilege and who demonstrated a will to fight with the Negro against injustice. Another more substantial group is composed of those having common needs with the Negro and who will benefit equally with him in the achievement of social progress. There are, in fact, more poor white Americans than there are Negro. Their need for a war on poverty is no less desperate than the Negro's. In the South they have been deluded by race prejudice and largely remained aloof from common action. Ironically, with this posture they were fighting not only the Negro but themselves. Yet there are already signs of change. Without formal alliances Negroes and whites have supported the same candidates in many de facto electoral alliances in the South because each, sufficiently, served his own needs.

The alliance of Negro and white based on the solid ground of honest conscience and proper self-interest can continue to grow in scope and influence. It can attain the strength to democratically alter basic institutions. Negro isolation can never even approach this goal.

Alliances a Mark of Strength

The ability of Negroes to enter alliances is a mark of their growing strength, not weakness. In entering an alliance, the Negro is not relying on white leadership or ideology, he is taking his place as an equal partner in a common endeavor. His organized strength and his new independence pave the way for alliances. Far from losing independence in an alliance, he is using it for constructive and multiplied gains.

Every alliance must be studied for its specific features. Negroes may reject some and embrace others. They may walk out of alliances where their interests are in peril of betrayal. All of these experiences are normal in alliance relationships. They do not justify the rejection of the principle of Negro-White alliance.

The oppression of Negroes by whites understandably has left a substantial residue of suspicion by Negroes of white motivation. Some suspicion is healthy and is an appropriate safeguard. An excess of skepticism, however, becomes a fetter. It denies that there can be reliable white allies, even though whites have heroically died at the side of Negroes in our struggle.

Negroes must shun the very narrowmindedness that has so long been the source of their own afflictions. They have reached the stage of organized strength and independence to securely work in alliances. History has demonstrated with major victories the effectiveness, wisdom and moral soundness of Negro-white alliances.

NONVIOLENCE

The SCLC must urge its affiliates and co-workers to undertake programs of education and training to deepen the commitment to nonviolence as a means of struggle for social justice. Our movement's adherence to nonviolence had been a major factor in the creation of a moral climate that has made progress possible. This climate may well be dissipated not only by acts of violence but by the threats of it verbalized by those who equate it with militancy.

The frustration and despair that encourage violent response are no less tragic for being under-

standable. The fact is, neither our numbers nor the opposition's capacity for violence can justify, if only on tactical grounds, our resort to it. Given the objective circumstances in which civil rights workers find themselves, the advocacy or use of organized violence as a method of achieving justice becomes a counter-progressive force. Such a practice, moreover, while producing no progress, undermines the efficacy of the overall movement's dedication to nonviolence. I am still convinced that nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon. It cuts without wounding. It is a sword that heals.

Nonviolence Strained by Bombings

In reaffirming its commitment to nonviolent struggle, however, we must demand that state and national governments afford full protection to individual citizens seeking to exercise their constitutional rights. It is no concession to the proponents of violence to point out that nonviolent discipline is severely strained when racist bombings, beatings and murders go unpunished, or when police authorities withhold protection from civil rights demonstrators.

These, then, are the basic issues which our movement must face. This is the road we must travel from this juncture in our on-going struggle.

Divine Dissatisfaction

Let us, therefore, resolve to be engaged in a sort of divine dissatisfaction until the American dream is a reality.

Let us be dissatisfied until every socially oppressive ghetto and rat infested slum is plowed into the junk heaps of our nation and Negroes and whites live side by side in decent, safe and sanitary housing. Let us be dissatisfied until every vestige of segregated and inferior education will become a thing of the dark past and Negro and white children study side by side in the socially healing context of the classroom.

Let us be dissatisfied until all men will have food and material necessities for their bodies, culture and education for their minds, freedom and dignity for their spirits. Let us be dissatisfied until every handcuff of poverty is unlocked and work-starved men will no longer walk the streets in search of jobs that do not exist. Let us be dissatisfied until wrinkled stomachs in Mississippi are filled, until the idled industries of Appalachia are revitalized and until broken lives in sweltering ghettoes are mended and remodeled. Let us be dissatisfied until race baiters disappear from the political arena; until the Wallaces and Eastlands tremble away into silence; until Brotherhood becomes more than a meaningless word in an opening prayer but the order of the day on every legislative agenda. Let us be dissatisfied until the sacred halls of congress are filled with men who will do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with their God. Let us be dissatisfied until men everywhere will be imbued with a passion for justice until the lion and the lamb will lie down together and every man will sit under his own vine and fig tree and none shall be afraid.

Rocky Places of Frustration

The road ahead will not always be smooth. There will still be rocky places of frustration and meandering points of bewilderment. There will be inevitable setbacks here and there, and the bouyancy of hope will at times be transformed into the fatigue of despair. Our dreams will sometimes be shattered and our ethereal hopes blasted. We may again, with tear drenched eyes, have to stand before the bier of some courageous civil rights worker whose life will be snuffed out by the dastardly acts of blood thirsty mobs. But difficult and painful as it is, we must walk on in the days ahead with an audacious faith in the future.

And as we continue our chartered course, we may gain consolation from the words so nobly left to posterity by a great freedom fighter of yesterday, James Weldon Johnson:

Stony the road we trod, bitter the chastening rod;
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat, have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed.
We have come, over a way that with tears has been watered;
We have come, treading our paths through the blood of the slaughtered.
Out from the gloomy past; till now we stand at last;
Where the bright gleam of our bright star is cast.

City of Freedom

Let this affirmation be our ringing cry. It will give us courage to face the uncertainties of the future. It will give our tired feet new strength as we continue our forward stride toward the city of freedom. When our days become dreary with low-

hovering clouds and our nights become darker than a thousand midnights, let us remember that there is a creative force in this universe working to pull down gigantic mountains of evil and prodigious hilltops of injustice, a power that is able to make a way out of no way, and transform dark yesterdays into bright tomorrows. This is our hope for the future. With this faith we will be able to sing in some not too distant tomorrow with a cosmic past tense, "We have overcome, we have overcome, deep in my heart, I did believe, we would overcome."

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Resolutions . . .

REPORT OF

THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Mr. President, Delegates to the Ninth Annual Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference:

Your Committee on Resolutions wishes to submit the following report for your consideration and adoption:

VIET NAM

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is based on the faith that all men are sons of God and that therefore all men are brothers. This concept of brotherhood knows no national limitations. Men of Asia are no less our brothers than men of Europe. The war in Viet Nam is a serious challenge to our concept of brotherhood, as is indeed any war.

We recognize that Dr. King is one of the world's foremost moral leaders. As Nobel Prize Laureate, minister of the gospel and as an exponent of the philosophy of non-violence his conscience compels him to express his concern that humanity could be brought to the brink of doom through the use of war as a means of attempting the settlement of international conflict. Making these views clear in the open forum of public opinion is a contribution to all of humanity.

We commend him for courageously expressing these concerns and encourage him to continue his forthright moral leadership.

The Ninth Annual Convention of SCLC stands firmly behind our President in his hope that world peace becomes secure, not just because a balance of terror will have paralyzed mankind, but we continue to hope that most of the world's people will realize that nonviolence is life's last chance in this nuclear age.

We must still, however, affirm that the primary function of our organization is to secure full citizenship rights for the Negro citizens of this country and that our major contribution to world peace and brotherhood is to create a truly democratic society here in America. Our resources are not sufficient to assume the burden of two major issues in our society, we would therefore urge that the efforts of SCLC in mass demonstrations and action movements be confined to the question of racial brotherhood.

In the event of perilous escalation of the Viet Nam conflict we respect the right of Dr. King and the administrative committee to alter this course in the interest of the survival of mankind and turn the full resources of our organization to the cessation of bloodshed and war. This we feel to be our bounded duty as Christian ministers and laymen, and as adherents to the way of love and the philosophy of nonviolence.

VOTER REGISTRATION AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

SCLC will make voter registration its number one project from now until the 1966 elections. This crusade aims to add a million new voters to the nation's rolls by that time. SCLC calls upon Negro citizens throughout the nation—especially in the deep South—to flood the courthouses and other registration places and demand that a sufficient number of registrars and time be made available to all applicants.

SCLC calls upon the President of the United States and the Department of Justice to expand greatly the vigor and scope of its implementation

of the new Voting Rights Laws, increasing greatly the number of registrars in all hard core areas.

SCLC calls for the establishment of a minimum voting age of 18 years for all Americans.

SCLC has authorized its staff and Board of Directors to take leadership in this intensive drive.

SCLC commits itself to a grand alliance with trade unions and religious groups for democratic reform and calls upon labor and the church to join in the massive registration of new voters as a giant step in this direction. This projected grand alliance is the outgrowth of the coalition that resulted in the victories of 1964 and 1965.

SCLC, through the grand alliance, will follow up the campaign of voter registration with one of political education toward using the ballot as an investment for making America more democratic and representative of the needs and desires of all its people.

SCLC believes firmly in the principle of *"One Man, One Vote,"* and thus opposes all efforts to violate or dilute this principle as expressed in the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the reapportionment of State Legislatures.

TITLE VII

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act must be vigorously applied against discrimination in employment.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference commends the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO for the speed with which it sought to encourage trade union compliance with Title VII a year before it became legally binding. Also to be congratulated are those businessmen who have cooperated in the spirit of the Act.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference believes that Title VII can be strengthened and urges that it be amended so that:

1. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission be empowered to issue cease and desist orders with penalties against all violators.

2. Enforcement procedures be speedier and that direct access to the Federal Commission be made available without having to go to a state FEPC.

3. The act be broadened to cover all employers or unions with five or more employees or members.

4. To remove the present exemption of state, county and municipal employees from the provisions of the act. Of all the places where we want integration it's certainly in the local governments with which we must work.

In urging these amendments, as in hailing Title VII, SCLC makes clear its conviction that bans on discriminatory employment practices are not sufficient to end the economic blight in the Negro community. Fair employment practices must be combined with education and training, and the creation of movement's dedication to nonviolence.

It is no concession to the proponents of violence to point out that nonviolent discipline is severely strained when racist bombings, beatings and murders go unpunished, or when police authorities withhold protection from civil rights demonstrators. SCLC, therefore, demands that the local, state and federal governments afford full protection to individual citizens seeking to exercise their constitutional rights, the higher level of government answering its responsibility where a local unit has been derelict.

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Because Negro people of Mississippi have been subjected to disenfranchisement by violence, terrorism, economic harrassment and unconstitutional election statutes, and because they were almost totally excluded from voting in the general elections of 1964, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Negro citizens of Mississippi have been unconstitutionally deprived of their right to vote. This fact was also evidenced by the data presented in the recent Civil Rights Commission's report on voting practices in Mississippi.

It is our belief that Congress itself has a duty and the responsibility to enforce the Constitution, and to scrutinize elections at every level of political structure, especially where there is disenfranchisement of large segments of citizens.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference calls upon Congress to act speedily in discharging its responsibility to the people of Mississippi, and to its own integrity by making provisions for a full consideration of debate on the Mississippi challenges this session, and move to unseat the Mississippi Congressmen.

We ask that a copy of this resolution be sent to all members of the House of Representatives, all Affiliates of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and to all the press media.

EMPLOYMENT

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference recognizes that the technological revolution is a complex and irreversible process requiring a variety of approaches and programs (see resolution of jobs), but essential to any solution of this problem is democratic social planning with human needs at the center.

SCLC calls for the President to recommend and the Congress to institute:

1. $2.00 as a national minimum hourly wage and extend this protective floor to all workers.

2. Massive public works that will provide employment for large numbers of workers and at the same time meet the crying need for decent housing, schools, hospitals, playgrounds and recreational centers.

3. A greatly expanded program of basic education and job training—including on-the-job training—for the victims of automation and the technological revolution.

WAR ON POVERTY

SCLC insists that unless the so-called War on Poverty and other programs for disadvantaged Americans increase the economic independence of the mass of under-employed and unemployed people, these measures will be little more than empty and self-defeating charity.

SCLC calls upon the President to issue an executive order:

1. That the poor and disadvantaged people themselves be encouraged and assisted in submitting proposals for their rehabilitation, instead of permitting outside organizations to exploit the fat government contracts in the name of servicing the nation's poor.

2. That will insure that at least one-third of the Board Members of the Community Action Program should come from the people who are to be served by these programs (or from among their chosen representatives).

3. That the staffing of the War on Poverty and other projects for disadvantaged Americans maximum use be made of personnel indigenous to the action area. Also, we view with deep concern the wide discrepancy between wages paid professional and non-professional workers.

4. SCLC calls upon the President of the United States to recommend and Congress to authorize greatly increased funds for the War on Poverty so that these and similar programs will come much nearer to meeting the needs.

HOUSING

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference urges its affiliates and all forces of good will to mount a multi-pronged assault on the deepening crisis in housing supply and housing discrimination that continues to frustrate our determined efforts to open the doors of opportunity for our Negro citizens and to build the 'beloved community' in our nation.

We hereby resolve, therefore, to support the struggle of slum-trapped Negroes and similarly-situated whites against exploitative landlords urging:

1. That the tax structure in our cities and states be revised in order that real estate might be taxed on its *income* value rather than the real property value, thus taking profit out of slums.

2. That rent strikes be legalized where landlords have failed to meet their responsibilities with respect to the housing provided.

3. That city governments assume ownership of dwellings neglected by landlords after due warning.

We resolve, moreover, to press for more effective federal programs that will in fact provide decent, safe and sanitary housing for all our citizens, to act:

1. To prohibit discriminatory practices in mortgage loans by all banks and lending institutions which are subject in any manner to regulation, supervision or control by an agency of the federal government.

2. To cover all federally-aided housing which was built or contracted for prior to November 20, 1962, and which continues to enjoy federal assistance.

3. In addition, the procedural power provided various federal housing agencies to grant exemptions from the scope of the Order should be withdrawn. Under this power FHA has excluded the resale of single family homes. This exemption vitiates the reach of the Order and minimizes its effectiveness.

4. We urge the expansion of the President's executive order on housing discrimination.

5. We urge the development of a massive housing construction program as an object of increased

private and public investment that will stimulate the growth of our economy, the creation of desperately needed low and middle income housing and the expansion of essential employment opportunities.

6. In light of one new and welcomed Housing Act of 1965 providing rent subsidies to encourage the integration of low income families into middle income housing, we urge local communities to enact without delay rent control legislation to consolidate the gains which this legislation will hopefully deliver to millions now languishing in unendurable slums.

7. We urge an all out effort to remove from urban renewal the stigma and tragedy of Negro removal by undertaking such projects only where the population density of the ghettoes can be drained off into new, quality, integrated housing, not where displaceds can be relocated in decent, safe and sanitary housing.

ON CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE COOPERATION

SCLC looks with favor on the area of its heritage undergirded by the religious forces of our country. The foundation principles of the movement drew heavily on Judaeo-Christian concepts of freedom and justice. Church and synagogue leaders, synagogue and church organizations and ministers, priests, nuns and rabbis have played important roles in the continuous development of SCLC, and in the current social, political and economic revolution. The alliance of these religious forces with the forces of labor, business, government and other civil rights groups has brought us where we are today on the road to complete freedom.

We are concerned that the religious support for SCLC would grow and not diminish. We are concerned that it would be sustained and aggressive, and not alert only in time of crises such as Birmingham or Selma.

We therefore call upon the religious forces of our country as individuals, as synagogues, as churches and as local, state and national organizations, to cooperate fully with the activities of local SCLC and the freedom movement affiliates where they exist. And where they do not exist we call upon these forces to give regular moral and financial support to undergird the broad and expansive program of SCLC and the freedo mmovement.

Moreover, we suggest to the churches and synagogues that they continue to find an arena for the legitimate expression of their prophetic mission in the city slums, the impoverished countryside, the lethargic small towns, and in all other areas of discrimination, injustice, poverty and human degredation.

THE NORTH

The recent people-to-people tour of four northern cities taken by our president, Dr. King, and his staff has awakened us to the fact that segregation is on the increase in our nation, that our ghettoes of despair are intensifying, not dispersing. The overwhelming response to that tour and the knowledge which we have gained of the deepening racial crisis in our country compel us, therefore, to resolve here and now to expand our active concern for the breakdown of racial segregation and discrimination to any part of our nation where these twin evils function to destroy the life of our people and the thrust of our Nation toward the beloved community, to wit, we pledge:

1. To continue our people-to-people tours of northern cities where our understanding of the dimensions of the problems of our urban realtors may be deepened and where our visits are sponsored by a broad coalition of the forces of good will in those communities, including civil rights, churches, labor and civic organizations.

2. To commit the full resources of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference into any of the northern cities toured where an effective coalition of conscience invites us and where progress be made in freeing our northern Negro br from the vicious cycle of being born in the infested slums that are exploited, attending de facto segregated schools that are neglected, emerging with inferior skills to compete for dwindling and low paying jobs; thus being forced to return to the segregated ghetto to raise children who go through the same vicious cycle.

3. That this expansion shall not take the form of establishing affiliates or starting organizations, but rather in response to the coalition of conscience that we hope can be effected in all our northern communities between existing civil rights groups and other concerned individuals or organizations.

NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE

SCLC applauds the efforts of the people of Africa to establish their national independence and

free themselves from colonialism, economic and cultural exploitation.

SCLC urges that the government of the United States, through its Department of Health, Education and Welfare and other agencies; universities and colleges and other public and private institutions of learning; and publishers that abound take the lead in correcting the distortions about Africa and the African peoples in text books and courses of study.

That our courses in world history include African and Asian as well as European civilizations.

That the part the black people have played in the building of America and the New World be made a part of the true story of the United States and the Americas; and

That specifically, the part ethnic and cultural minorities have played in the history and development of American society be given its proper attention and emphasis.

PRESIDENT LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

We commend President Lyndon B. Johnson for the strong and forthright stand he has taken on the question of civil rights since taking office:

For his determined leadership in forging the Civil Rights Act of 1964 we thank him;

For his decisive intervention in Selma, Alabama, to protect the rights of Negro citizens to petition their state government for redress of grievances we congratulate him;

For his brilliant, perceptive and historic speeches of March 15, 1965, introducing the Voting Rights Bill and June 4, 1965, at Howard University outlining this country's unfinished business of fulfilling our rights we applaud him;

For the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that he helped to deliver our people, this nation and the free world owe him a deep and abiding debt of gratitude.

BIRMINGHAM POLICEMEN

SCLC has a long standing interest in the City of Birmingham. Our people have suffered and died here in tragic numbers. Our major assault of the system of segregation occurred here two years ago. At that time we joined with the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights to petition the city for the employment of Negro policemen.

Negro citizens proved their effectiveness as law enforcement officers during the strife-torn period of bombings and near riots which followed demonstrations. Now, after two years and many applications from Negro citizens to serve as members of the police force, there are still no Negro policemen in a city of almost 200,000 Negro citizens.

We consider this a blatant denial of the good faith negotiations which brought an end to the 1963 demonstrations and a deliberate attempt on the part of the City officials of Birmingham to discriminate on the basis of race.

We thereby call on Mayor Boutwell and the City Council to take whatever steps that are necessary to desegregate the law enforcement of this city.

In the event that this is not done forthwith, we pledge our full support to our Birmingham affiliate and the Negro citizens of Birmingham to take whatever measures we deem necessary to provide this city with Negro policemen.

Addresses . . .

KEYNOTE ADDRESS — REV. ANDREW YOUNG

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, SCLC

Delivered at Birmingham, Alabama

August 11, 1965

AN EXPERIMENT IN POWER

Mr. President, members of the Board, affiliate leaders, delegates and friends of this Ninth Annual Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. I consider it much more than a pleasure to deliver this keynote address; it is a grave responsibility, one for which I feel dreadfully inadequate. I say this as no empty gesture at humility, but in a realization of the fact that the issues which confront mankind at this juncture of our history are so grave that the very survival of mankind is at stake in the day to day action which grows from this organization.

Therefore I ask you to bear with my chauvinism, both racial and organizational, for both as a people and as an organization, we seem to be caught up in an inescapable network of destiny. For at least the past two years the progress of our nation has stemmed from the work of this organization. The domestic crises of our time have been joined by the people who now gather here and we must humbly face the fact that not only did two Civil Rights Acts grow from our collective action, but the impetus and inspiration for the Coalition of Conscience which made possible the Poverty Program, the actualization of President Johnson's plan for a Great Society, the repeal of the so-called Right to Work Laws as well as the awakening of the academic communities of our nation on the issues of World Peace.

I say this not to claim any special credit for either the race or the organization, for I know too well that there is no special merit in either. But somehow, God in His good pleasure has raised up from the dust of the Southern Black Belt and the suffering of two centuries of slavery a people to whom He has entrusted His Power. We are not a rich people. We are not an especially brilliant people. We are not, God forgive us, even a particularly industrious people. And we are hardly what moralists would call a good people. But somehow, God has chosen us as His people, and called His children from the far corners of the world, the diverse nationalities of our nation, and the myriad religious expressions of our time to gather around us in a glorious procession to a land of freedom and justice.

Seeking Hot Dogs Instead of Jobs

The past ten years have been but our infancy, and like an infant, we have stumbled and stammered as we learned to walk through the valleys and shadows which encompassed us. We have groped for words, and sung songs of faith when we had no word. We have blindly treaded in faith through the injustices of our society, seeking hot dogs when we needed jobs, standing in at movies when we needed education, arguing over bus rides when we needed houses and staging boycotts for jobs which would soon be non-existent when we needed political rights to shape and structure our own destiny

Those days are fast coming to an end, and we must now take the next steps into adolescence and begin to perceive ourselves and our movement as more than a passing fancy to work out our frustra-

tions and bitterness on occasion and then return to the status quo until the following summer of our discontent.

Just as an awakening adolescent becomes aware of the power of his own will, the power in his body, and the power in his soul, if he is lucky, so the movement, and SCLC in particular, must accept the presence of power and learn to understand it and deal with it responsibly.

I liken these experiences of power, as seen in adolescent individuals, to the potential social power we see in the South; the power to have a will of our own in our political life; the potential power which is present in the tremendous bodies of people who gathered around Dr. King in the North; and the power of truth—that beloved soul force about which Gandhi spoke so much, and which we have only begun to explore.

The next phase of the movement must be an experiment in power.

Political Power in the South

The passage of the Voting Rights Bill gives us a new opportunity to reform the political structure of America and make democracy a reality. Already we have begun to see Congressmen change their tunes. Weltner of Atlanta voted with liberals of the Johnson Administration on all but one issue, the repeal of the right to work laws. Talmadge, whose name is synonymous with racism and bigotry, has offered to nominate Negroes to the military academies and entertained Senator Leroy Johnson at his Lovejoy, Georgia, plantation. Mayor Ivan Allen, who ran as a segregationist for Governor of Georgia only a few years ago, was the only elected official to testify in behalf of the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These occurrences and many more fulfill the maxim of Frederick Douglas: that this is a struggle to save Black men's bodies and white men's souls. We are going to see many more Southern Congressmen "get religion" and start thinking about their Black Brothers.

There are also now 10 Negroes sitting in the Georgia Legislature, and the next election will certainly triple the number of Negro elected officials across the Southland.

A Century of Fear

But all of this is dependent upon organization and action on our part. People will not lightly throw off a century of fear and go gaily skipping down to the Court House to register. Civics is not taught in the schools, so they don't know the value of the ballot, and they do know the value of their jobs, their plantation homes and their lives; and in spite of all the good that this Bill will do, it offers very little protection against intimidation and economic reprisal. Only group action and concerted organized effort can overcome these obstacles.

The question remains, how do we organize? Do we simply seek to join a local precinct? Do we organize independent Negro Voting Leagues? And if so, what can we do to keep us from exploitation by Negro politicians? These are the questions which come with the presence of real power. Power corrupts, and therefore some method must be followed to insure a balance of power and checks against the abuse of power.

The Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi has sought to organize the masses under the assumption that there is some inherent purity in poverty. Tennessee Voters Council is essentially a Negro middle-class operation, which while it has done a tremendous job in voter registration, unification of Negro voting power and election of Negro officials, has yet to deliver anything concrete to the masses of people such as a minimum wage law with extended coverage.

A Coalition of Classes

I would think that SCLC would make an effort to avoid both of these extremes and organize a coalition of classes, where representation and leadership might come not only from every geographic area of a state or region, but also see to it that every strata of society continues to be represented.

In this principle we recognize that a man's worth is not dependent on wealth or education, but on the fact that he is God's child and that God has given men integrity, sensitivity, proficiency and dedication regardless of their station in life and the opportunities which society has afforded. The history of the movement thus far is that the "little people" have carried the bulk of the burden. But "little people" can sometimes be more easily tempted by newly-acquired power than persons who have grown accustomed to dealing in power and money, therefore a coalition organization is required to insure a balance of power and checks against its abuse.

The question of the partisan or nonpartisan

nature of this coalition is academic at this point in the South's history. The Goldwater forces ran us out of the Republican Party, but this means that it is even more imperative that we not be considered the captives of the Democratic Party. The coming years must see us as an independently organized force which functions within the Democratic Party but which is capable of functioning independently of that party and even switching whenever the opportunity affords it. We must still find every opportunity to encourage the development of a two-party South.

Newly-Accessible Power

The implications of this newly-accessible power are tremendous, not only for the Negro in the South as he determines the kinds of schools, hospitals, jobs, and sheriffs he will have, but will go a long way toward freeing the nation as a whole from a corrupt and powerful Southern bloc which dominates our legislative halls and impedes every progressive foreign and domestic issue which arises.

Smith of Virginia, as Chairman of the House Rules Committee, determines the bills which come before the House, when and how they come forth. From this position of power, every liberal in the House is forced to pay some dues to the Southern oligarchy in every measure offered for legislation. McMillan of South Carolina cripples a half million Negroes in the District of Columbia, and is in the process of making the nation's Capitol one of the most backward cities in America.

To free the nation from racist domination and influence is the key to the future. Urban Affairs, whether they be urban transit between the metropolitan and suburban complexes, urban housing, expansion of the minimum wage coverage to include service occupations in which minorities predominate or increased educational supports for ghetto schools all tend to be side-tracked or emasculated by the reactionary Southern ax. Our domestic problems, and the future crises of our nation, are in cities. Nothing is more important to our national health than to free our Congress to deal creatively with these problems. This is one of the issues which hangs in the balance of how effectively we do our job in the South.

Costs of War

The international issues of our time also rest on the redistribution of Southern power. Our concern for the war in Viet Nam and the senseless intervention in the Dominican Republic is only natural. As Dr. King says so eloquently, "there is no need in fighting to integrate a society which any day may be blown out from under us." We are also concerned that the national budget is seriously overburdened by the costs of war when the demand at home and abroad is for a war against poverty rather than against people. We can never have the funds needed to make for peace and prosperity so long as we spend so much to make war and the weapons of war.

However, we should not abandon our task and turn our attention to organizing marches on Redstone Arsenal. One of the significant differences between the civil rights movement and the peace movement in this country is that we have taken power and political reform seriously, while dramatizing an issue, while the peace movement has often appealed to conscience in an area where the loyalties and ethical mandates are not always clear and simple.

We are as much against the war in Viet Nam as anyone, but, let us not abandon our tried and tested methods of producing social change in an emotional effort to get on a band wagon that's playing a "square" tune.

The Threat of Nuclear Annihilation

Increasing the Negro vote in an organized manner will rid the South of men like Congressman Passman of Louisiana who has conducted a very effective campaign against the very foreign aid and technical assistance which could make unnecessary the so called wars of liberation which constantly threaten to erupt into a world holocaust as East and West vie for the right of oppression and exploitation. As long as men like Passman and Richard Russell of Georgia have great power in the Foreign Affairs and Armed Forces Committees of Congress we are constantly under the threat of nuclear annihilation. But let's not run to Washington to picket the White House, let's stay here and organize to replace them with men of good will who will understand that "I am my brother's keeper" and be as willing to vote a Marshall Plan for Asia, Africa and Latin America as they were to do so for Europe.

At this juncture, SCLC must cast its resources toward the long haul of building a peace through an enlightened electorate which can look squarely into the 20th Century and not be afraid of Com-

munism or of the miserable, squalid conditions in which Communism flourishes.

The Power of Numbers in the North

The recent Northern Tour by Dr. King and our staff unfolded an additional source of power which we have at our disposal. It is a power so awesome that it frightens me to think about it; and I tremble to think what might happen if it is not organized and disciplined in the interest of positive social change. This is the sheer power of human bodies, massed and committed around a creative program.

In two or three days we were able to gather people by the tens of thousands in Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Washington. I think it is safe to say that with a little planning and effort it would be possible to recruit a nonviolent army of upwards of one hundred thousand in any major city in the country. Can you imagine what it would mean for a hundred thousand persons to hold a week long vigil in the "Spaghetti Bowl" interchange of Chicago's Expressway System? Or let's suppose we decided to organize marches from Newark, Brooklyn, Jamaica, L. I., and Harlem to converge on Wall Street in an appeal for a morally responsible approach to the whole question of automation and unemployment.

These kinds of demonstrations are so well within our capabilities that we must be careful to employ them with extreme caution and with the utmost preparation and responsibility. You might remember that Dr. King took his second team of organizers with him on this past tour and they only worked a few days preparing each community. James Orange, Andrew Marrisett, Jimmy Collier, J. T. Johnson, Eric and Ann Kindberg did a marvelous job along with the others. But just imagine what it would be like to turn Jim Bevel, Hosea Williams and C. T. Vivian loose on a community for a few weeks along with Dr. King and the others. You could truly amass a number that no man could number and commit them to almost any program of action that spoke to their needs.

Cancerous Social Decay

This power could be the answer to the basic issues and structural problems in our society which threaten to breed a cancerous social decay within metropolitan life. I am speaking of unemployment; slum housing; and over-crowded, segregated and otherwise generally-inadequate education. These problems must be dealt with. They are not just Negro problems either. They are flaws in the basic nature of our society which affect the whole society.

SCLC has been gifted with this tremendous power to mobilize and inspire, but we will not use it to attempt to take over the country. Rather, we will be a consultative firm of social engineers which will make its services available to the forces of good will within a community in projects of moral and spiritual urban renewal, redeeming the soul of America and constructing the social foundations of a beloved community.

Before we move in any area, however, we must spend time training a dedicated cadre of informed nonviolent local leadership so that we can insure discipline and control of the demonstrations under any circumstance. We must research issues carefully and call upon the best minds of the community to work out the approach to the community's problems and develop a sound definition of the issues at hand.

There will be problems with political power structures which will be complicated by the fact that there will be Negroes involved and even at the helm of the opposition. There will not be the same kind of press support or financial support that we have received from the North as the movement comes closer to home and threatens vested interests. But if we are true to Gandhi and seek to attack issues rather than people, we can hope to inspire even our opposition to new moral heights, and thereby overcome.

The Power of Truth

Ultimately, any power which God has placed at our disposal is grounded in the fact that our cause is just, our method of pursuit—noble.

Any success which grows out of our efforts must be totally dependent upon the power of truth: "soul force." In this spirit there must be continuous self criticism and self analysis. Even more so in view of the fact that our opposition has grown more sophisticated and subtle. In the past we could count on a Bull Conner or Jim Clark to create such a savage and brutal image that our own weaknesses were ignored amid the blatant horror and injustice which surrounded all our demonstrations.

The future means a more diligent pursuit of the truth, and a more disciplined cultivation of the power within our souls. The tactical nonviolence which was sufficient in the past will be weighed in

the balance and found wanting in the future. Men must begin to learn to love one another, not just restrain themselves from killing one another. The non-violent attitude will be every bit as important as the non-violent action. Our speech must lose the harsh and hostile tones which creep into our negotiations. Our eyes must soften their glances and be free of any residue of malice or resentment. This is not just a necessity for a non-violent movement, it is a necessity for the maintenance of human community.

Learning to Live

One of the blessings of automation will be that it will force us to learn to live . . . simply to *"be"* where we have cluttered our existence with striving and doing.

Unfortunately, there will be more suffering, but the few who are chosen for nonviolent leadership must voluntarily take on that suffering in order that untold millions may live free of that suffering. The brief history of our movement should remind us of the harsh lesson of life that God's way of progress is the way of the cross. There will still be crosses to bear.

There will also be temptations. We have come through the fear of death and the threat of violence. Many have been fired from jobs, but they wouldn't let this turn them around. Homes have been bombed and night riders terrorized our communities. Churches have been burned and children murdered in Sunday School, but this could not turn us around.

Crowded in Jails Like Cattle

We have filled the jail houses of the South. We have been crowded into jail cells like cattle and our jailers have turned the heat on when it was 90 degrees in the summertime, and they have opened the windows and taken away our blankets when it was 16 degrees in the wintertime. We have been carted to jail in garbage trucks, made to sit in the Florida sun for days with no shade and no water in an animal compound, but we wouldn't let this turn us around.

Fire hoses, dogs, cattle prods, sweat boxes and many inexpressible cruelties have been met with courage and determination, and none of these could turn us around.

We have overcome the test of physical violence, now we must face the tests of spiritual trial.

The enemies we now face will not beat us, they will offer us bribes. We will be offered high-paying jobs and positions of honor and perstige. But if we are to work together to continue this movement we cannot sell our souls for a mess of pottage. It will be tempting, for they will be honorable jobs with poverty programs and social welfare causes. The attack will now be made against the spirit, and the weaknesses of our egos will be set against each other. We will be tempted to struggle for the "seats of honor in the Synagogue" and to compete with each other for the praise and acclamation of men. But if we are to overcome we will have to remember that, "he who would be greatest among you, let him be the servant of all," and that, "he who loses his life for my sake and the gospels will truly find it."

The Enemies Within

The enemies we now face are often within. The publicity that we have received may well give us the impression that we are experts and that we don't need to think things through together, read and study the thoughts of others or remain open for new truth.

The enemies we now face will tempt us with comfort and pleasure that we might forget our brothers in the teeming ghettoes of the nation while we langour in air-conditioned comfort. It will be increasingly easy for us to fall into the trap of large scale tokenism for those who have been to college and ignore the hungry millions from Mississippi to Madras.

Only a broadening of our vision can save us from these obstacles. We must see that our work extends beyond the South and into the North, and when we have completed our work there we must go from New York to London and Paris and from there to Brazzaville and Johannesburg until the rights of man are secure the world over.

Not too long ago my daughter asked me, "Daddy, will I have to go to jail when I grow up, or will Negroes be free by then?" I stopped for a minute, for I wanted to say that she wouldn't have to go to jail. I wanted to think that we could complete the color revolution in our generation, but then I remembered that this is a movement against evil and injustice and I said, "Yes, Baby, you will have to go to jail when you grow up, but it may not be for the freedom of Negroes, but somewhere in the world some people will be oppressed, and you may have to go to jail for their freedom."

ADDRESS — AMBASSADOR S. O. ADEBO

PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NIGERIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Delivered on August 10, 1965
Birmingham, Alabama

THE BLACK REVOLUTION

The objective of the black revolution is to secure a square deal for the black man, wherever he may be. It claims for people of colour what the Charter of the United Nations aims to guarantee for all men. Since the claim is for equality of treatment and no more, it could not damage the legitimate cause of any other groups in the world. It is in consonance with justice, and with the moral code of every one of the great religions of the world.

Black people are the victims of prejudice and discrimination vis-a-vis other racial groups, practically everywhere in the world. In some places the prejudice is kept under control underneath a veneer of politeness, it sometimes manifests itself in an attitude of patronizing condescension; in some places the discrimination is open and harsh, in others it is covert and subtle. But it is practically everywhere. The movement to eradicate it must therefore be a world-wide movement. It should be world-wide in two senses. First, we must never allow ourselves to think that discrimination against men of colour exists only in South Africa or in the Southern part of the United States. It just happens to manifest itself in those places in its ugliest forms. We must remember that it exists in other places and other countries, and we must labour to eradicate it in those other places and countries as well.

The black revolution is world-wide in another and equally significant sense, that is, in the sense that all black people wherever they may be must recognize that the movement to eradicate colour discrimination is their battle, that it is one battle, that gains in one area of the battle front advance the prospects of success in other areas, and reverses in one area would, by the same token, prejudice those prospects.

A Battle Half-Won

The home base for the black revolution is undoubtedly and inevitably Africa. The battle there is half won. But it is only half won. A sizeable part of Africa is still unfree. In the areas where Africans have come into their own, the gains still need to be consolidated. Independence only brings the opportunity to show what we can do. The successful demonstration of that capacity is essential for the success of the black revolution—capacity for leadership, for good and stable government, for the securing of a better life for all our peoples, for the maintenance of decency in international relations.

The home base is important. "If Janiculum is lost, what hope is there for Rome"? If we fail in Africa, your battle in the United States, the battle of black men everywhere else would be made the more difficult. We must make Africa a continent

of which you can be proud, Africans in Africa must so conduct themselves that people of African descent can be proud of that origin, so that people with the tiniest of African blood can be glad that it is there. Can we achieve this?

It is going to be difficult but we are determined to meet the challenge. It will be difficult because the problems facing Africans in Africa are so many and so complex, and our resources are so meagre. Very few of these problems were of our own creation or can be solved by our own efforts alone. While engaged in the struggle for independence, we had hardly any time for anything else. Education, health services, the provision of communications, the diversification of the economy, were neglected while the wealth of Africa was carted away for the enjoyment of the metropolitan power. Africa is not only under-developed, it is badly fragmented.

A True Appreciation

It is necessary for peoples of African descent outside the continent to understand the nature of the problems of their home base in order to gain a true appreciation of what has been achieved in the short time since Africans began to control their own affairs, and a true appreciation of what remains to be done.

What about the battle outside Africa? The biggest of this is being fought out in your own country. The USA contains the largest black population outside the African continent. This alone would make the battle here very significant for the destiny of the black man. In addition, the United States is one of the greatest nations in the world, so that what it does with the skeletons in its own cupboard could affect the attitudes and actions of many other countries.

In Africa the securing of independence for our countries was necessary to create conditions in which we can show our capacity to run our own affairs and in time run them as competently as do other racial groups. In the same way, it has been necessary for you to seek the provision of equal opportunities for Americans of African descent, vis-a-vis other ethnic groups in the nation, in order that they can make their just contribution to their country's life and development. That battle for equal opportunities has been going on for a long time. It is still on. I do not have to tell you how much has been achieved, for you know it. Nor do I have to tell you that there is still much to be done, for you know that too. Here, as in Africa, there is much unfinished business for us to do.

You will recall that I said earlier, commenting on our performance in Africa, that, having gained independence, we had to turn to the task of making the most of that victory. The position in the United States seems to me to be precisely the same. As you win the struggle for equal opportunities, you will I am sure be turning your energies to getting all Americans of African descent to make the most of those opportunities. For instance, we must see to it that more and more Negroes stay in schools and colleges to complete their education, so that they can take advantage of the new employment opportunities.

Cooperate with One Another

If the cause of the black man everywhere is essentially the same, if the success or failure of one is the failure or success of the other, it follows that we should cooperate with one another in the interest of our common goal. This need has been recognized from the early days of the black revolution by African and Negro leaders alike. It produced the concept of pan-Africanism, a concept variously interpreted by different groups. Some of our earliest leaders, for instance, on both sides of the Atlantic read into it the connotation that all persons of African origin should be encouraged, if not cajoled, to return to Africa. I think myself that it was unfortunate that this idea did not prevail. The presence of people of African origin in the United States and elsewhere outside Africa does add another dimension to our revolution but it also provides us with a valuable instrument for the pursuit of our objective. It provides us with a bridge of understanding with the rest of a world in which it is no longer possible for any group to live and prosper in splendid isolation from all others.

Our leaders of today are just as aware of the need for the pooling of resources as were our leaders of earlier days. They no longer think in terms of shipping all persons of African origin back to Africa, but in terms of a square deal for all of us wherever we may make our home in the world. Last year (in Sept. 1964), I was privileged to attend and address a conference in Washington, D. C., which was organized by the Negro leadership in this country, including, I am glad to say, your own organization. The subject of the conference

was not civil rights in the United States. It was Africa. The sponsors were concerned to ensure that their country's policy towards Africa was right and conducive to the real interests of their kith and kin back home in Africa.

Never Left in Doubt

This gesture is appreciated and reciprocated by African leaders. The United States Government is never left in doubt as to what African Governments and their peoples feel concerning the treatment of their kith and kin whom destiny has made citizens of the United States. Those of us who represent Africa at the United Nations watch with personal interest the ebb and flow of your struggle for equal opportunities. I venture to submit that the fact of our interest is not without some effect on the progress of that struggle.

Fortunately, for the world, the African revolution is not being furthered only by Africans and persons of African descent. It enjoys the support of peoples of other racial groups everywhere whose conscience or whose religion enables them to overcome the prejudices of centuries of mis-education. For our greatest asset is the justice of our cause, a cause calculated not to cause injury to anyone but rather to secure respect for human dignity for all, regardless of the colour of the skin.

May I pay, in the name of my country, in the name of Africa, as well as on my own behalf, tribute to the great contributions that under the magnificent leadership of one of the greatest descendants of Africa, your organization is making to the progress of the African revolution? The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to him last year was received with as deep a sense of personal satisfaction and joy in Africa as was felt by all of you in this country. May his selfless dedication to the cause continue to inform and inspire and guide your future action.

Long live Africa. Long live fraternal cooperation among all peoples of African descent. God bless all people, white and black, who are working devotedly for the cause of world brotherhood.

MRS. CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY — BANQUET SPEAKER

Remarks by Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, Borough President of Manhattan

At the Opening Banquet at the Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

August 9, 1965, Redmont Hotel, Birmingham, Alabama

First, I want to say how pleased I am to have this opportunity to address the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) on its return to desegregated Birmingham. Your coveted invitation to be the guest speaker at this opening night banquet is, indeed, a high compliment.

No city in America owes more to the SCLC than Birmingham. Your crusade for freedom put Birmingham on the civil rights map and has assured it a place in the history of our fight for freedom.

I am especially proud to be here to honor the movement's most celebrated daughter, Rosa Parks.

We do honor tonight to Mrs. Parks, the freedom fighter whose proud refusal to move to the back of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama, 10 years ago was an act of courage comparable in importance to that of the Yankee militiaman at Concord, who "fired the shot heard 'round the world'." No Emerson has yet given Mrs. Parks' historic act the poetic commemoration which it deserves, but when the history of the second half of the 20th century is written there is no doubt in my mind that Montgomery, 1955, will rank with Fort Sumter, 1861, and Concord, Mass., 1775, as a turning point in our nation's history.

It is, of course, always a great pleasure to see Martin King, but especially on a memorable occasion such as this. The record Dr. King has compiled in the last 10 years has established him not only as America's most widely acclaimed freedom fighter but as spokesman for the entire country. He is an American hero of authentic distinction who has achieved an unprecedented position of respect and prestige throughout the world. His inspiring oratory, his doctrine of aggressive restraint, his sweeping influence for good over the entire American scene, have made him a leader of unique importance—every great cause requires great leadership. We are fortunate indeed that, at this time in history, Dr. King came to us to serve and to lead.

Impossible 10 Years Ago

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, that historic declaration of human equality, would have been thought impossible 10 years ago at the time Mrs. Parks refused to obey the order to move to the back of the bus. Yet, today, we find that momentous act significantly strengthened and implemented by the voting rights act of 1965. The voting rights act will rewrite the history of the southern United States in the next few decades. Nevertheless, its passage through Congress was relatively tranquil. It is a measure of the strength of the civil rights forces that such significant legislation—this pioneer involvement by the federal government in an area previously left to state misrule—was passed with such near unanimity.

Notably, most of the opposition to the new voting rights act came from states where people are denied the right to vote. That opposition, we hope, has been now put down for all time by the passage of this new act. Consequently, we can all well understand the new found fear and trembling on the part of the Jim Crow Governors and legislators as they contemplate the future expansion of their constituencies. Let the new voters of the 1960s remember at the polls officials whose racist appeals kept them in political bondage. But let them never forget those civil rights martyrs who laid down their lives for this new day.

The importance of the voting rights act was illustrated by the historic manner in which it was signed last Friday by President Johnson. The Pres-

ident and the entire cabinet assembled and went to the rotunda of the Capitol. There the President spoke on this second great landmark in Civil Rights legislation passed during the Johnson administration, with unprecedented speed, the Justice Department has moved toward implementation of the Voting Rights Bill by the filing of a suit in Mississippi to bar enforcement of that state's poll tax law.

Vote Is Now The Keystone

I believe that wise exercise of the right to vote is now the keystone to actual equality, legal equality having been won. It is through the ballot that the great social changes which transformed America in the past have been authorized. The voting strength of Negroes does not mean only civil rights legislation and the complete destruction of state supported segregation and discrimination. It means an equal share in the state's revenues for all communities and individuals, regardless of race. It means paved streets in the Negro community as well as in the white community. And it means the harnessing of the power and resources of the state to provide the economic changes required for the elimination of poverty and illiteracy. The gains achieved in the Civil Rights area thus provide hope for gains in other areas. All this will be part of the impact of the voting rights act of 1965.

Another important gain which has been won in recent years is the ruling of the United States Supreme Court in support of that honored but often ignored principle known as *"one man, one vote."* The elimination of malapportionment and rural domination of state legislatures has enfranchised city voters and brought legislators closer to the realities of the 20th century.

In this connection we should be thankful for the recent defeat in the United States Senate of the Dirksen Amendment which would have overruled the Supreme Court's *"one man, one vote"* decision. Yet, we must remember that this amendment, which would have allowed for the reapportionment of one house of the State Legislature, on a basis other than population, actually received a majority of the votes of the Senate. It received 57 votes while only 39 were cast against it. Needless to say, every Senator from the states where Negroes are denied the right to vote supported this amendment. It was only defeated because a two-thirds vote is required for a constitutional amendment. We cannot be secure when, in the most heavily democratic and liberal Senate of this century, such a proposal could come within 7 voters of adoption.

End of Georgia's Unit System

Another result of the *"one man, one vote"* decision has been the end of the state of Georgia's county unit system, under which a candidate who received a majority of votes could actually be defeated by overweighted rural ballots in a state-wide primary. As if it were not bad enough that Negroes were not allowed to vote in Georgia, when they did vote, their votes were not counted equally. But the fact that such an utter perversion of majority rule could have persisted for so long, and the fact that it took federal intervention to destroy it, shows how fragile our liberties are.

Today, in 1965, 10 Negroes sit in the Georgia legislature, two Senators and eight Representatives. Someday the Legislatures of all southern states will contain Negroes in substantial numbers. That day cannot come too soon.

I should say at this time that, as many of you know, I hold the office of President of the Borough of Manhattan. In this, an elective office, I represent 1,700,000 residents in the heart of New York City. My jurisdiction includes black Harlem and Park Avenue, Wall Street and Chinatown. Manhattan's newly created Puerto Rican ghettoes and the famous lower East Side. I am the 20th person to hold the office of Borough President since the position was established with the consolidation of five Boroughs (counties) into New York City on January 1, 1898. In the beginning, most of the Borough Presidents were Irish-Americans. In the 1930s and 40s there was a string of Jewish Borough Presidents. In November, 1953, a Negro was elected to hold this position for the first time.

Candidates Nominated for Ethnic Appeal

When the Borough presidency was held by a member of a white minority group one did not hear racist charges or complaints. Historically, in New York, as in many areas, Candidates had been nominated for office for many different reasons, one of which is their ethnic appeal. The tradition of the balanced ticket in a melting pot society is an old custom that has been adhered to by reformers and traditionalists alike. Yet, when this rotation of office brings a succession of Negroes into a high position, there is an undercurrent of dissatisfaction. The quality of the candidate is ignored and the feeling is piously expressed that

race should not be a factor in the selection of candidates. Where were all these critics when Negroes were excluded from candidacy or public office because of their race? I believe that full equality demands treatment of the Negro community the same way that our society treats its other communities, and that includes the political recognition of the Negro.

I believe in electing people without regard to their race and I am aware that those who cry *"Race"* — on both sides — are often those who have no more worthy arguments to present. But I do not believe that all the merit and all the fitness to govern can be found in people of one color. I look forward to the day when race will be relegated into obscurity as a criterion in the selection of candidates for high office. But until that happy day we must all remain aware of our long standing struggle to prevent discrimination and to gain first class citizenship for the Negro. And I know as you know that first class citizenship means not only the right to vote but the right to run for office and the right to hold public office. In order to do this, it will be necessary for Negroes by the hundreds of thousands to take advantage of the new federal laws and to register and vote.

Failing to Serve Freedom

A Negro who does not vote is just plain ungrateful to those who already have died in the fight for freedom. A Negro who does not vote is not helping to make a better world for his or her children. A Negro who does not vote is lending aid and support to the racists who argue that Negroes will not assume the responsibilities of citizenship. Any person who does not vote is failing to serve the cause of freedom, his own freedom, his people's freedom, and his country's freedom.

The theme of this convention is the "GRAND ALLIANCE." This term is used to denote the alliance of organized labor the church, liberals and intellectuals along with the civil rights movement. This is the confederation which has provided the momentum for much of America's social progress. The grand alliance is the backbone of the fight for freedom. The partners of the alliance believe in human rights not merely in the exaltation of property rights and state's rights.

Under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, the alliance has strengthened and taken shape. Now, more than ever, all its components are becoming involved in the full struggle for equality. That means not only political and social equality, but economic equality which makes possible the full enjoyment of legal equality.

The alliance currently exists in a relatively informal sense depending on relations between individuals. It is under-financed and over-extended. Although noble in purpose, it is a fledgling in operation. It is in need of substantial assistance from all the allies if it is to take its rightful place as the peoples' lobby.

The alliance should support the reformation of American society in a great many areas. It should seek massive Federal assistance for employment and training of the unemployed adult male population especially among Negroes. It must seek such assistance to teach children to read, to integrate our schools, to build decent homes, to provide adequate health care for all Americans.

Time-Honored Methods

In its struggle for the achievement of these social goals the alliance should use all the time-honored methods which Americans have used to seek freedom. I am reminded of a statement made just six days ago by President Johnson, at the White House. The President said: "So free speech, free press, free religion, the right of free assembly, yes, the right of petition, the right to buy ads, and to have teach-ins, and sit ins, and parade, and march, and demonstrate, well, they are all still radical ideas. And so are secret ballots. And so are free elections, and so is the principle of equal dignity, and so is the principle of equal rights for all the sons and daughters of man. But all of these things are what America stands for, and all of these things are what you and all other Americans need to stand up for today."

President Johnson thus encouraged the fullest range of expression for Americans anxious to improve social conditions and to implement court decisions already won. I think we should consider his remarks carefully and be guided by his words. We should not be weary. We must move toward full equality for our children's sake. Let's not forget them.

Finish the Task

In pursuit of this goal, now is the time to finish the task of integrating our schools. In this struggle we have a strong new ally in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare which now has the

responsibility for withholding federal funds from school districts which refuse to desegregate. Tonight we are dining in a white hotel in Birmingham —several hundred of us.

But how many Negroes will go to school with whites in Birmingham come September 1965? How many Negro teachers will teach white children who are now teaching Negro children? The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has its responsibility, but we also have ours. Our responsibility is to secure for our children all of the rights for which the civil rights revolution of the last decade was fought. There are today no more Jim Crow buses—there are only Negroes who are afraid to ride up front. There are no more segregated public recreational facilities—only Negroes who are afraid to take advantage of their rights. There are no more legally segregated schools, only Negro parents en masse afraid to take their children by the hand to a white school in September, 1965. I predict that such a demonstration by Negro parents, coupled with the new Federal determination to require compliance with the school desegregation decision as a condition of Federal financial assistance, will bring a swift end to segregated school systems in the south. Just as Rosa Parks' courageous refusal to be segregated brought about the end of Jim Crow travel in this nation, so every Negro mother has it within her power to end school segregation.

Rosa Parks, we honor you tonight because yours is the kind of courage and determination and nonviolent spirit we all need for the future. Your name will be remembered as long as freedom is abroad in this land. My prayer in Birmingham tonight is that Negro women everywhere will follow your example and hasten the day when all of our hard-won legal rights are secure in practice here, and throughout the land.

EXCERPTS . . . FROM AN ADDRESS BY DR. LEON H. KEYSERLING

Delivered Thursday, August 12, 1965, at 12:00 Noon

(NOTE: DR. KEYSERLING IS FORMER CHAIRMAN, COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS. HE IS AT PRESENT A CONSULTING ECONOMIST AND ATTORNEY AND PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC PROGRESS.)

"The Negro people and their leadership, and all those allied with them, should display a *responsible impatience* in translating newly-won political opportunities into a full measure of economic and social justice for all, regardless of race, color, or creed. Without this full measure of economic and social justice, civil rights and liberties become means which are barred from achievement of a major portion of their legitimate and essential ends. And the achievement of these ends is, in many respects, an even harder task than the recent victories in the field of civil rights and liberties.

"Civil rights and liberties are the main means for achievement of the ends of economic and social justice because the latter require improved public action through government, both legislatures and courts, which in a democracy involves the political process, moreover, improved public action is most important at the national level. The civil rights movement itself should remind us that, while local and community efforts have indeed been needed, the great landmarks of progress have been the decision in a Federal Courthouse in Washington in 1954 and a series of enactments in a Federal legislature in Washington in 1964 and 1965. The war against unemployment and poverty—the two great manifestations of economic and social injustice in a land as rich and productive as ours—is basically nationwide and requires, above all, vast and prompt improvements in national policies and programs.

Imposes New and Wider Responsibilities

"The utilization of civil rights and liberties in the battle for economic and social justice imposes new and wider ranges of responsibility upon those enlisted for the duration. It's easier to define the right to vote or the right to enter a hotel, and easier to define the measures needed to secure these rights than to define and secure the right to a job and the right to an American standard of income. It is relatively easier to attain a concensus among the American people that all citizens should enjoy the political rights of citizens, than to attain a concensus about the specific measures needed to assure that all Americans shall enjoy economic and social justice. For these reasons, those now determined to translate political rights into economic fulfillment must intensify their efforts to:

1. Form and strengthen their alliances with other groups devoted to the same purposes, and

2. Even more important, formulate specific programs for legislative action, not only to confront their enemies, but also to test the adequacy of the programs offered by their genuine friends. It is not nearly enough for those of you here today, and others like you, to know that your people want and need secure jobs, decent housing and medical care at costs within their means, an American standard of pay when they work and an American standard of income when they are too young to work or beyond working age. You here today,

and others like you, must come to expect your own leadership to be their own experts with regard to what programs can bring these happy things to fruition, lest you be beguiled wittingly or unwittingly by those who offer aspirin where penicillin is needed, or tell you that our country cannot afford what it really cannot afford to do without, or who are desirous of gaining victories in the war against unemployment and poverty through an excessively easy concensus without the battles essential to such gains.

High Level of Unemployment

"The responsible effort on the economic and social justice front must also be impatient. It must not be taken in by the soothing statements that unemployment at 4.5 per cent is at the lowest levels in eight years. The proper way to state this is that, for eight long years without interruption, we have had unemployment of 4.5 per cent or higher, and about twice as high for the Negro workers, and three or four times as high for teenagers. This is a disgracefully and tragically high level of unemployment for so long. And the situation will not become really much better until your impatience is made manifest along with your sense of responsibility.

"Impatience is also justified because the war against poverty while meritorious in what it is attempting, misses nine-tenths of the poverty problem in its programmatic content, quite aside from the inadequacy of funds devoted to the one-tenth of the problem which the current war against poverty touches upon.

"Your impatience is justified, when combined with responsibility, because too much of the current efforts against unemployment and poverty are based upon the assumption that these evils are due primarily to 'something wrong' with the individual victims, to be cured by 'training and educating them.' Even while training and education are indeed needed, most of the unemployment and poverty in this fabulously productive land is not due to personal deficiencies but to defaults in our economic system and in our assumption of national moral and political responsibility. If we put into motion the kinds of housing and urban renewal programs we need and can afford, and similarly as to health and social security, minimum wages and welfare payments, and resource development including our human resources, the curse of massive poverty and unemployment would vanish as the snows of yesteryear.

Economic Resources Ample

"Our economic resources are ample for these tasks. The crucial factor is moral—whether we are determined to make the big rich society a just and humane society. But mere statement of these values is not enough. We must forge the programs to implement them, and build the political strength to obtain their adoption. This is not a task for one group alone, but for all committed to translating into reality the full promise of America."

ADDRESS — DR. HARVEY COX

Excerpts from a speech delivered August 11, 1965, Birmingham, Alabama

Dr. Cox is Associate Professor of Church and Society, the Divinity School, Harvard University; author of *The Secular City,* NYC: MacMillan, 1965

"The God Who Changes Things." The Church and the Freedom Movement.

Our theme at the conference this year is the Grand Alliance, how Negroes, labor unions, the churches, community organizations and other groups can continue to work together to win the objectives of the Freedom Movement . . .

My task is to speak about the role the churches can and should and indeed must play in this grand alliance . . .

Does the Church have any business in the Freedom Movement? Many people have suggested that it does not, that preachers and priests should stick with non-controversial topics, should restrict themselves to something vaguely called "the spiritual side," or should confine their participation to words rather than deeds. The same suggestion to stay away from the Freedom Movement has also been heard by laymen.

God's Business

We have all heard that we should be about "God's business" and should stay away from social, economic and political struggle. Therefore we must ask just what *is* the Church's proper business? It certainly is true that the Church's only task is to be about God's business. It is to discern what God is doing, and to participate in God's action.

The real question we must ask is not first of all whether the Church should be involved in the Freedom Movement, but whether God is at work in the Freedom Movement. *Is Freedom God's Business?*

If Freedom is *not* God's business, then the Church has no right to be in it.

But if Freedom *is* God's business, then the Church has no business staying out.

The proper work of the Church is to find out where God is at work in His world and to pitch in with Him in His work.

The Church has no work except God's work. A Church concerned with its own security, its own prosperity, even its own renewal is not really a Church but a fraud. God's interest is in the renewal and redemption of the world; and this should be the Church's interest too.

But where is God at work today? Our clue comes in the Bible. It tells us not just where God was at work, but where He is working.

The *Exodus* gives us a central clue as to what God's business is: "Let my people go, that they may worship me." Notice:

a.) God led his people not into inner consolation for outer oppression, not to some purely religious or spiritual freedom, but to economic and political liberty. They were no longer political slaves and economic thralls to the Egyptians.

b.) But political and economic liberation was not an end in itself. "Let my people go that they may worship me", shows that political and economic freedom are but *means* to a higher end, that man may serve God and love his fellow man.

Restoration of Man

The Freedom Movement does not avoid politics, but it uses politics to achieve an end which goes beyond politics; the restoration of man to his authentic manhood.

Freedom is also the Church's business because it is Jesus' business. ("He has sent me to preach good news to the poor, To proclaim release to the captives . . . to set at liberty those who are oppressed.")

The example of Jesus helps us to keep the Freedom Revolution from deteriorating into a violent reaction. This happened in different ways to the French and Russian revolutions. Jesus helps us to answer the question of Camus, "How can we stop being the victims of the executioners without ourselves becoming the executioners?")

Jesus' vision of the Kingdom of God keeps us from allowing the goals of the Movement to become too narrowly limited.

Even if all racial prejudice, all segregation and bigotry of color completely disappeared tomorrow, there would still be much work with Him.

If all racial prejudice disappeared tomorrow,

. . . we would still face the riddle of automation,

. . . we would still need to come to terms with the threat of nuclear chaos,

. . . we would still have to rebuild our cities of squalor and ugliness.

The church belongs in the midst of the Freedom Revolution, not because it's good sociology but because it's good theology, not because God is sending us into it, but because God is already in it, calling us to join Him there.

Panel Excerpts . . .

TEXT OF DR. KING'S STATEMENT ON VIET NAM

Excerpts of a Speech Delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at a Mass Rally, Thursday Evening, August 12, 1965 Birmingham, Alabama

Few events in my lifetime have stirred my conscience and pained my heart as much as the present conflict which is raging in Viet Nam. The day by day reports of villages destroyed and people left homeless raise burdensome questions within my conscience.

This is indeed a complex situation. One on which even the experts are divided. There is no need to place blame, and I certainly do not intend to argue the military or political issues involved. Neither the American people nor the people of North Viet Nam is the enemy. The true enemy is war itself, and people on both sides are trapped in its inexorable destruction. To look back and attempt to place blame is only to enhance the negative psychological atmosphere that fosters war. What is required is a small first step that may establish a new spirit of mutual confidence and respect a step capable of breaking the cycle of mistrust, violence and war.

On the occasion of my receipt of the Nobel Prize for Peace in Oslo, Norway last December, I said:

> *"It is as imperative and urgent to put an end to war and violence between nations as it is to put an end to racial injustice."*

It is this belief that compels me to speak on this issue, that the conscience of our nation may be aroused to see that war as a means of solving problems is obsolete.

National Passions Rage

So much hangs in the balance of each remote and seemingly insignificant conflict; national passions rage on both sides; reason and understanding are stultified, and violence leads only to more savage violence. Like all Americans, and, indeed, like all the peoples of the world, I pray for the earliest possible peace for the tormented peoples of Viet Nam. My prayer is made all the more fervent by the fearful recognition that the conflict in Viet Nam is pregnant with the risk of an ever-widening war that may imperil the existence of whole continents.

Therefore, I would like to take this opportunity to make an urgent plea for all sides to bring their grievances to the conference table. In order to do this, both sides must go all out to demonstrate their desire for good faith negotiations, and the United States should effect a new diplomatic machinery without giving the impression of appeasement and which would in no way mitigate its national aims, in seriously considering bringing to a halt the bombings in North Viet Nam.

On the other hand, Ho Chi Minh and Chou En-Lai must express unequivocally their desire to alter their position in demanding the unilateral withdrawal of American forces from South Viet Nam.

Creative Solution

I firmly believe that because the situation has become so complex, this might not be possible at this time. However, every effort should be made toward some courageous and creative solution to this potentially catastrophic situation. The American people and our government can find this solution if reason can triumph over pride, and statesmanship conquer condition. I further urge that the United Nations be empowered with the authority to mediate this conflict in negotiations involving all parties, including the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam.

In his speech at Johns Hopkins University earlier this summer, President Johnson called for programs of technical assistance and area development which would enable the people of South Viet Nam to develop a sturdy, independent economy and sound democratic government. The employment of some of our forces in rebuilding some of the villages which have been destroyed immediately would be a solid indication to the people of Viet Nam that our interest is in the development of Viet Nam and not in its destruction.

These tokens of our good faith are an extremely small price to pay when there is so much at stake in the destruction of men, the cost of materials of war and the damage done to our national image by our continuous involvement in this ambiguous conflict.

EXCERPTS FROM PANEL DISCUSSIONS

ELLA BAKER

"We have to do some hard thinking, studying, and reading . . . You cannot delegate to somebody else the responsibility of being your theoretician. Another thing that has to be understood is that those of us who are here today, and all the people in the nonviolent movement and all the people who want social change in a respectable way, don't represent all of the people who are being oppressed. It must be understood, there are a lot of people who are going to continue to react according to the way they feel as exemplified by the reports out of Los Angeles."

* * *

RANDOLPH BLACKWELL

"We are just as much involved in trying to creatively build and guide the United States as we are in trying to bring about a reconciliation and confrontation in the conscience of the American public. And in the area of reconciliation, we are out front of every other organization in the country."

* * *

RALPH HELSTEIN

"When we talk of a great society let us understand that this requires that all men have a decent standard of living with security. Let us understand further that the resources of this planet, first of all the resources of this nation, must be exploited for the benefit of man and not in the interest of property. Let us understand that our goals are *man*. We do not exist for the economic system, the economic system exists for us."

* * *

HARRY BOYTE

"The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has a deep and profound commitment to bring about a reconciled society which must and should be recognized by the larger American society. This is the way to get jobs, income, decent housing, adequate medical care and quality integrated education. We are bringing people together in an affirmative relationship about matters of common concern which transcend the discussion of racial differences."

* * *

WALTER FAUNTROY

"Over the past 100 years we have been denied the traditional means by which we may translate our beliefs into political realities. But this does not prevent us from participating in political action, because in a very real sense we have been engaged in what I call the politics of "creative tension." We stand on the threshold of a new era in the fashioning and the translation of our beliefs with respect to civil and human rights into public policy and practice. Now we have access to the traditional means by which we raise the issues and force the candidates to stand on them and vote to translate these issues into public policy and practice."

* * *

PHIL WEIGHTMAN

"There is a different kind of union today. We are interested in the kind of neighborhood you have, the kind of school you have; we are interested in teacher's pay; we are interested in freedom in the community in which you live. Violence, nonviolence and whatever tactics we must use, we are now at the point where we must have a confrontation on a political basis with the people nearest us in the community where we live. The emphasis that has been placed on direct action must now be channeled into community organization, to organize your neighbors using the same tactics that were used in the labor movement to organize 12 to 15 million workers. Organize and educate—very simple education, the bread-and-butter and human issues that are involved in voting."

* * *

HOSEA WILLIAMS

"An active organized political education program should be the first phase of this program and it should prove to the masses of the coalition our need for legislation abolishing right-to-work laws, obtaining a $2.00 minimum wage covering all unprofessional and unskilled jobs, a maximum of fringe benefits for all laboring people, even the farm day laborers, truancy laws that would assure all children the fullest opportunity of obtaining some skilled or professional occupation and to extend to every worker the benefits of social security."

* * *

JAMES BEVEL

"The question is not getting *to* a governor or getting *rid* of a governor. What I want to do is to create a condition wherein a man can't become governor or mayor unless he can deal with the question of poverty and unemployment. I don't care who the mayor is. I don't care whether he is Republican, Democrat or Socialist."

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

September 28, 1965

Mrs. Janet C. Shortt
SRC
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Janet:

In reply to your letter of yesterday, I am enclosing a copy of the Summary of our Ninth Annual Convention.

Please forgive our inefficiency toward this matter. Although, the copies were not ready for distribution until just this week, a reply should have been made. For personnel reasons, we would like to know to whom the correspondence was addressed. As you may know there are many areas in the office that need straightening out.

I talked with Blackwell today, he's having a wonderful time, I don't know about the rest he's supposed to get. He's expected to return on Monday, October 4. Of course he found your letter amusing, as always. You know the laugh!

Will be talking with you.

Sincerely,

Barbara

(Mrs.) Barbara H. Hicks,
Secretary to Mr. Blackwell

BHH

Enclosure - 1.

File

DR. KING'S COMMENTS AT THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. PHILIP, ATLANTA

June 4, 1966

On Saturday afternoon, June 4th, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., paid a visit to the Cathedral of St. Philip in Atlanta to greet the Rev. Frs. Robert Hunter and Albert Dreisbach, then in their third day of fasting at the Cathedral to protest the use of the diocesan church for the Baccalaureate Services of the Lovett School. Following is a partial transcript of Dr. King's comments to the press at the door of St. Philip's after his conversation with the two priests.

DR. KING: "....This is a most significant witness for the Christian Church and for Christian men. Certainly when evil continues to exist it is the job of the minister, in line with the teachings of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to take a stand... ...this period of fasting and this witness will appeal to the hearts of those who have not yet been moved enough to end the segregation and the complete exclusion of Negroes in a church-related institution. It is quite interesting, I think, to mention that the public schools have had some form of integration for the last four years in Atlanta, and yet we find a church-related school still holding out and refusing to integrate. This is another example of the fact that the Church can be, if it is not careful, the tail-light instead of the headlight in our society; and it would be tragic, indeed, if the Church turns out to be the last bulwark of segregated power."

FR. HUNTER: "I would just like to say that I appreciate Dr. King coming out today, because this points out that this is not just a private thing or family affair.... ...what happens at this Cathedral has effect through the total community. We've also had many Roman Catholic priests and Protestant ministers who have been out to give their support. Dr. King's presence is a symbol that this has community impact and, indeed, national impact."

REPORTER: "Dr. King, you have a personal interest in this, don't you?"

DR. KING: "Yes, I do have a personal interest. In general my interest grows out of my deep ethical concern and my concern to see a relevant church. But, on the other hand my son applied to Lovett School a few years ago and was rejected. And naturally this rejection brought about a personal concern that's still there. This is one of the reasons we are so happy to see committed clergymen taking a stand on this very, very important issue."

REPORTER: "Dr. King, heretofore, you've always had the government, which has the control over the public schools...now how about the parochial schools...what sort of action can you see being taken there? Do you expect to go to the courts or anything?"

DR. KING: "Well, I don't think there is an expected move at this point in the courts. I don't know of any. I think it's going to take action like this...from persons within the Church, and the support that can be gained from persons of good will all over the country, to arouse the conscience of the Trustees of the Lovett School as well as the leaders of the Church in general. I have gone over the list of the names of the Trustees of this institution. It reads almost like a "Who's Who" list of Atlanta....."

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THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

File

NORTH & SOUTH

Southern Christian Leadership Conference Staff News, October, 1967

BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL

AND IT'S SO BEAUTIFUL TO BE BLACK

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PLANS MADE FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AT AIRLIE CONFERENCE

At Airlie Farm near Warrenton, Virginia, the SCLC Executive Staff, some Board members and advisers met day and night September 13 through 17 to analyze "The Movement" and discuss plans for the coming months.

Board members present included Rev. Joseph Lowery, Chairman; Dr. L. D. Reddick, Historian; Dr. Major Jones, Chaplain; Attorney Chauncey Eskridge, Rev. John Thurston, Rev. Virgil Wood, and Robert Brown. Among the friends and advisers were Cleveland Robinson, Rev. C. T. Vivian, Al Raby, Stanley Levison, Harry Wachtel, Randolph Blackwell, Miss Marian Wright, Ira Sandperl, Miss Joan Baez, and Bernard Lafayette.

Major decisions of the conference will be revealed to the public as plans are implemented, but the entire SCLC staff will meet to discuss these plans in detail at a retreat in November, after the Stars for Freedom fund-raising tour. Staff members will soon be notified as to the date and place.

At this time, the following highlights from the Airlie meeting can be reported in North and South:

Staff: Veteran civil rights worker Bernard Lafayette will become SCLC Program Director, and William A. Rutherford, a businessman who served SCLC last summer, will be General Administrator. Both men will assume their new positions in early December.

Civil Disobedience: SCLC is prepared to lead massive civil disobedience protesting continuing poverty, racism, segregation and militarism. Dr. King has said that serious nonviolent disruption of the functioning of cities may be necessary. He will soon announce a concrete action program.

National Breadbasket: The new nation-wide Operation Breadbasket based in Chicago, is now being organized and implemented under the direction of Rev. Jesse Jackson with the help of Dave Wallace.

The South: Through the Citizenship Education Program, Breadbasket, the Department of Voter Registration and Political Education, and the Office of Affiliates, SCLC will continue operating in many areas. The 1968 elections provide new opportunities for the growing black political power in the South. Breadbasket is seeking new jobs in Northern-based companies which expand to the South. An SCLC-led Atlanta movement is a possibility. Special projects such as the Grenada movement and co-operative economic development programs will continue.

The North: SCLC continues to lead projects in Chicago, Cleveland, and Washington. Many more Northern cities are now involved with SCLC through Breadbasket. Our forthcoming civil disobedience campaign should receive support from a number of Northern cities.

More information on some of these activities appears in other reports in this issue of North and South.

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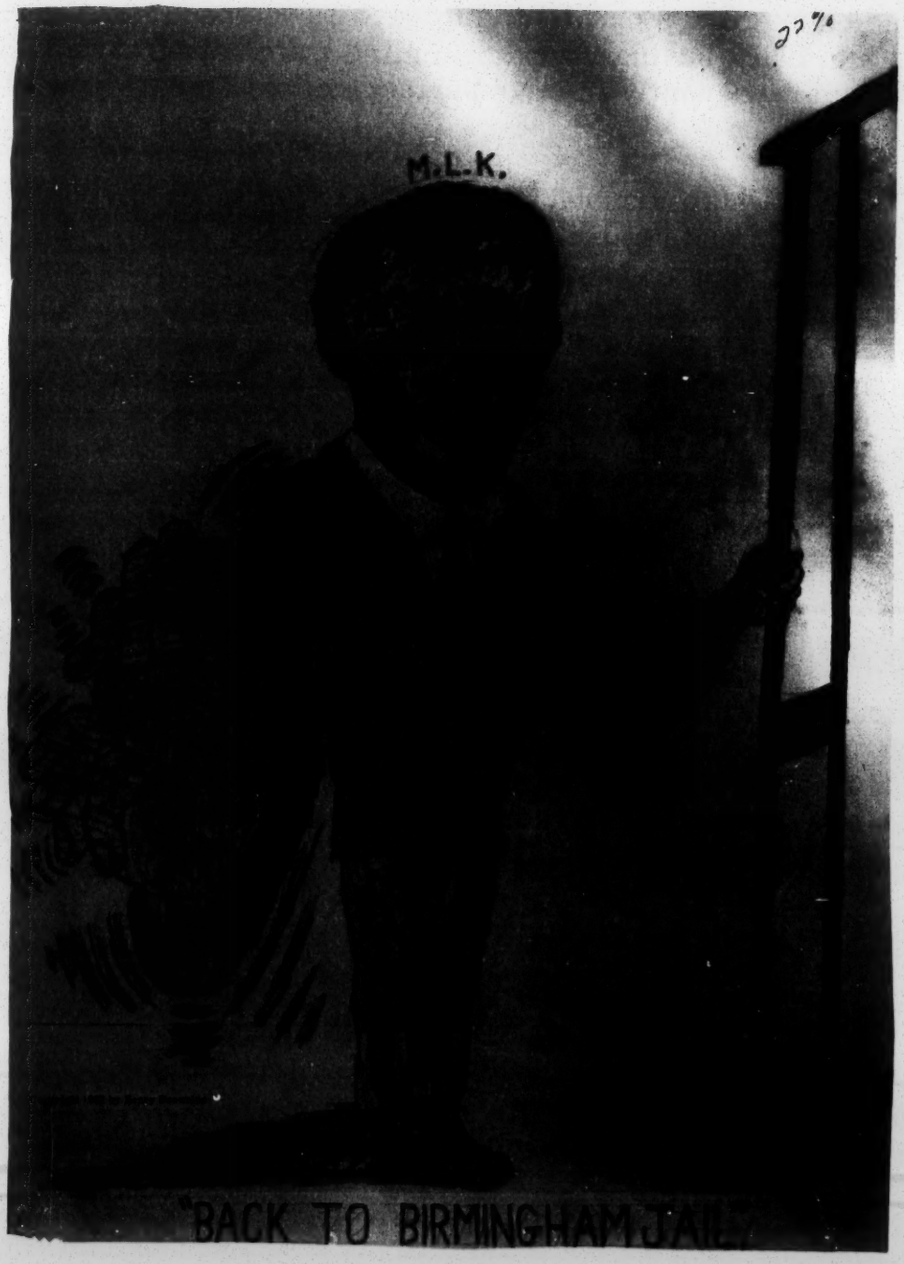
BACK TO JAIL FOR MLK

Within a month, Dr. King and seven other ministers will once again be staying in a notorious Birmingham jail. For five days the 1963 Birmingham Movement leaders will serve their sentences for breaking a temporary restraining order against mass marches on Easter Sunday and Good Friday, issued by Birmingham officials that bloody spring four years ago.

Many were brutalized and 3300 were jailed in the SCLC Birmingham Movement against segregated public accomodations, a massive series of protests which lead to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Convicted for contempt of court shortly after the arrests were made, the eight ministers have argued their case up through the entire court system until last June, when the Supreme Court decided, five to four, to uphold the local Birmingham decision. On October 9, 1967, the Court refused to reconsider its decision.

The other ministers joining Dr. King in jail will be A. D. King, Ralph D. Abernathy, Wyatt Tee Walker, J. W. Hayes, T. L. Fisher, Fred Shuttlesworth, and John Porter. Who knows, perhaps we'll soon be receiving a second LETTER FROM THE BIRMINGHAM JAIL.



CONGRATULATIONS TO THE CLEVELAND STAFF: LOTS OF ACTION, NO RIOTS

Carl Stokes, 40-year-old Negro Ohio State Representative won the Democratic nomination for Mayor of Cleveland in the October 3rd primary, defeating incumbent Mayor Ralph S. Locher in what is described as "the biggest political upset this city has seen in 26 years." And, we are happy to report, our capable staff of A. R. Sampson, James Orange, Mike Bibler, E. Randel Osburn, and Willie Tabb, was quite instrumental in the upset.

The whole story begins with an invitation extended by the United Pastors Association to Dr. King--an invitation to work in the Cleveland ghetto, where summer riots were predicted, and black groups openly divided. SCLC helped form a coalition ranging from Black Nationalists to black businessmen. A united action program attacked the complex of problems which spread malignantly in large northern cities (and Cleveland makes the top charts in terms of size).

The SCLC staff arrived on June 1, and began an all-out voter registration drive ending on August 23, and resulting in over 20,000 new Negro voters. September was devoted to voter education, the necessary follow-up to a registration campaign. Then, in October, Stokes, supported by SCLC's get-out-the-vote drive and Dr. King personally (in addition to the NAACP, CORE, and the Stokes for Mayor group), polled over 110,000 votes. He received a significant 14% of the white vote, and was assured victory by a massive Negro turn-out. If, as expected, Mr. Stokes wins the general election in November, he'll be the first Negro Mayor of one of the nation's largest cities.

After a short, "cool" summer, Cleveland's ghetto areas are more involved in political, economic and social programs, and a Negro man has won the political support of the National Democratic Party, the Ohio Democratic machine, and organized labor.

But that's not all that's been happening . . . Breadbasket, Cleveland style, won a major victory over the Sealtest company, and is now negotiating with the Pick-n-Pay supermarket chain for 300 jobs. James Orange has been working on tenant unions, organizing those good old rent strikes, and much post-election effort will center on the development of a huge co-operative supermarket which should gross over 2 million dollars for its participants in the Gardern Valley Housing Project.

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GRENADA

Our Grenada staff, headed by Leon Hall and R. B. Cottonreader, with the help of Major Wright, has been working on school desegregation and 105 children are now in previously all-white schools. Also connected with the school situation is an attempt to desegregate faculties, based, as is the student desegregation, on an August 22nd court order. The Grenada County Freedom Movement is also working on establishing low rent housing projects and Negro business development (six previously white stores are now Negro owned and run). Along with Rev. B. J. Cameron, acting president of the Grenada affiliate, the staff has also been busy setting up welfare committees to help more people exercise their welfare rights, and has assisted in the establishment of a migrant farm workers program with over 60 peopled involved.

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(Atlanta Movement Continued)

Since then, protests have mounted steadily including daily picketing, mass meetings, and continued sit-ins, which recently lead to a second series of arrests, this time of twenty Morehouse College students.

Tension in the black community is high, and Hosea has brought in field staff from all over to work with the Atlanta community leaders on the problem. Dr. King was asked to "bring SCLC to Atlanta and launch an all-out program" but at the moment is simply lending them the use of some staff and office facilities.

The question now hinges on whether the community-at-large is "together" enough for unified action as, for example, a massive school boycott. . . Field staff presently involved are: J. T. Johnson, Big Lester Hankerson, Phil Goobler, Robert Sims, James Gibson, Sugar Man. . . also, the office people are helping. . . and, Miss Jean Jackson, long-time field staffer, was among those arrested at the initial sit-in -- there's a first time for us all!

INSIDE AGITATORS

Albert Turner and "our men from SWAFCA" have been carrying on that very quiet but extremely important work known as grass-roots organizing, and no one own there even dares to call them "outside agitators."

The South West Alabama Farm Co-operative Association, organized in January, 1967, has been instrumental in a 30% overall income increase for its members as a result of $150,000 worth of sales in cucumbers, okra, and peas. . . Now that the season is over, though, the major effort will be in recruiting for next year. . . SWAFCA has already obtained 70 additional acres for next year's crops.

Meantime, this season's Purple Knucklehead (what city folk know as green peas) crop was light due to a rainy fall, but good news followed shortly in two Alabama counties, where the first food stamp programs have been initiated (Orville Freeman was personally prodded by SWAFCA) . . . Also, three out of five members from Terry County were elected to the Agricultural Stabilization Committee, due to SWAFCA support. . . Along with Albert, Ben Owens has been working with the organization, but is temporarily in Birmingham, helping out with the Tommy Wrenn election.

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NOTE: Any teacher may receive up to 100 free copies of a reprint of the first chapter of Dr. King's new book, WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? The reprint is available from the Sidney Hillman Foundation, Reprint Department, 15 Union Square, New York, New York 10003.

CHICAGO

The West Side Chicago staff, administered by Stony Cooks, worked for two and one half months this summer with Bob Green on an adult education project geared at training the unemployed of the Lawndale area. Classes were held five days a week, a total of 450 adults attended, and the results added up to 134 people receiving jobs, 43 continuing work in other educational programs and countless numbers obtaining jobs for themselves. The success can be measured by the fact that the Daley political machine went to great lengths to get federal funds cut and prevent the program's continuation. Staff members involved were Stony, assistant director of the program, Debra Frankle, program assistant, Herman Jenkins, Meredith Gilbert, Billy Hollins, and Helen Lattimore. Non-SCLC loyal helpers included Dave Jehnsen of the West Side Christian Parish and Jo Freeman who helped out by researching.

Now that the program has ended, activity is slower, but still ongoing because, as it turns out, almost all the West Side staff moonlighted and were involved with other projects throughout the summer. Meredith is now continuing his work on housing rehabilitation with the Kate Maremont Foundation in an attempt to turn 600 units into condominiums. Herman is coordinating staff for the East Garfield Park Community Union. Billy works with the Freedom Development Corporation, a four million dollar SCLC rehabilitation program, credited by the government. Helen is helping Meredith out.

Stony Back From Czechoslovakia

Stony, whose phones are now being tapped took off with 41 Americans to Czechoslovakia on September 3 and returned three weeks later with a great many things to say about the Vietnam revolution and American intervention. He spent day and night conferring with representatives of the National Liberation Front (a revolutionary South Vietnamese group opposed to the present government) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Ho Chi Minh's North Vietnamese Government). One important thing he learned from the Vietnamese is that each revolution should be a genuine experience for its own people--lessons are to be learned from other revolutions but, if, for example, the black man wishes to revolutionize America, he must search within himself and his own community for a way meaningful to black Americans. Certainly food for thought.

THE ATLANTA FREEDOM MOVEMENT

The newest fight which we're involved in happens to be right here at home-base, Atlanta. During the summer, community leaders including NAACP people and many other local organizations, agreed to coalesce to fight the disgusting public school situation. The racist Atlanta school system somehow arranges for most black children to be on double session, while most white children aren't.

Eventually, a series of demands were made to the school board, casually ignored, and a group of ten, including Rev. J. C. Ward, Rev. J. E. Boone, Rev. Howard Creecy (President of the Atlanta SCLC Affiliate), and James Gibson were arrested for staging a sit-in at the superintendent's office.

(Continued on next page)

A FULLER BREADBASKET

Breadbasket is like one of those whiz-kids that gets straight A's on report cards each and every semester--successes in both North and South have continued to mount all summer, but the locus of activity has recently shifted to the North as symbolized by the July Chicago conference at which time the program was made nation-wide.

Since then, with Jesse Jackson as Director of both the national and Chicago programs, and Dave Wallace as Administrator of the two, nine new Northern cities are being invaded and negotiation is under way with the Continental Bread Company which distributes bread in four of these target areas--they might as well give up. Some of the new cities involved are Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, San Francisco, Houston, and of all places, good old Brooklyn, New York, birthplace of the Dodgers.

At Southern headquarters, most of the BB ministers, including Fred Bennette, Joseph Boone, and J. C. Ward, are working in the "Atlanta Movement." In battling the school system, the ministers are not at all surprised that the big business leaders they used to deal with and the Atlanta power structure, are, as they say, one and the same.

CEP KEEPS THE FAITH, BABY

The big CEP news is that citizenship work is going ahead full-blast under the direction of Dorothy Cotton and Septima Clark, with Carl Farris as Field Supervisor, Pamela Gomez (who has left the Georgia Voter's League to be CEP Secretary), and a new and sparkling addition, Harriett Adams, who is replacing long-time staffer Erma Burton (who is now librarian at Paul Quinn College in Waco, Texas), and this is beginning to sound like Hedda Hopper. . .

Carl and Dorothy have just returned from a week long trip through Mississippi where they strengthened prior contacts, made new ones, and "dug the scene" in such places as Clarksdale, Marks, Grenada, and Hattiesburg. . . Mew Soong-Li, who has been an adviser for the anti-poverty program in Wilcox County for about a year now, is presently with Dorothy in Washington talking to anti-poverty people (and they're not poor!). Carl is about to begin a voter registration drive in Hancock County, Georgia. . . The last CEP workshop was a "refresher", held in Frogmore from October 20-22, with 75 people in attendance.

AFFILIATES

According to Rev. T. Y. Rogers, who's been travelling the affiliate circuit, the main affiliate ventures have been in Alabama. Tommy Wrenn, once an SCLC staffer, along with the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (headquarters in Birmingham), has been busy launching a campaign for a city council position. In the recent election, out of 25 candidates, Tommy ranked in the top ten, polling 11,800 votes. The runoff is scheduled for October 31.

The other Alabama news is that a Sumter County affiliate has been chartered with headquarters in North Sumter. This organization has been operating poverty programs under a $500,000 grant from OEO and now a new grant is being sought to take care of farmers who have been de-housed because they registered to vote.

State affiliate meetings are scheduled for Alabama in November; South Carolina in December; Virginia in January; and North Carolina in February.

TWO MEN JOIN EXECUTIVE STAFF

It is finally definite about Bill Rutherford and Bernard Lafayette, and as a result, a major change in the Executive Staff is occurring. As of the beginning of December, Bill Rutherford will be SCLC's General Administrator and Bernard Lafayette will become its Program Director.

Bill, a native of Chicago's South Side, went to Europe some years ago as a jounalist, and, as they say, just stayed and stayed. He presently owns a successful advertising and public relations firm in Switzerland, his residence. Wishing to lend his services and experience to the Movement in any way possible, he contacted Dr. King personally (and you know how hard that is to do) which resulted in his spending most of the summer in Atlanta instilling a bit of order into the convention chaos. He returned to Zurich in August, only to prepare for his next and longer leave of absence. And, might we add, Bill is a charming but EFFICIENT businessman, so be prepared.

Bernard Lafayette, whom most of us know personally already, has been an integral part of the movement from its very beginnings, and has experienced almost every type of workfrom his early SNCC days to the American Friends Service Committee and even government sponsored projects (without any compromise on his part naturally). Soon, more detailed accounts of both men will be available.

OFFICERS AND BOARD

Important changes in the SCLC Board of Directors were made at the semi-annual Board meeting during the recent Tenth Anniversary Convention.

Several new postions were created and filled. Rev. Joseph E. Lowery of Birmingham, formerly Second Vice President, is now SCLC's first Chairman of the Board. Other members filling new offices are Rev. T. E. Kilgore of Los Angeles, Parliamentarian; Mrs. Marian Bruce Logan of New York, Assistant Secretary; and Jesse Hill of Atlanta, Financial Secretary. Attorney Chauncey Eskridge of Chicago is a new Board member and also is one of our two General Counsels.

Rev. Sam Williams of Atlanta moved from Third to Second Vice President, Rev. Curtis Harris of Hopewell, Virginia, from Fourth to Third Vice President, and Board member Rev. D. E. King of Chicago became Fourth Vice President.

Officers continuing in the same positions are Dr. King Jr., President; Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Vice President At-Large and Treasurer; Rev. C. K. Steele of Tallahassee, First Vice President; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of Cincinnati, Secretary; Dr. L. D. Reddick of Philadelphia, Historian; Dr. Major Jones of Chattanooga, Chaplain; and Attorney I. M. Augustine of New Orleans, General Counsel.

New members of the Board are Robert Brown, High Point, N. C.; Mrs. Johnnie Carr, Montgomery; Rev. Stroy Freeman, Chicago; Rev. J. D. Grier, Atlanta; Cirilo McSween, Chicago; Rev. Sandy Ray, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rev. Milton Reid, Norfolk; Rev. Edgar Thomas, South Orange, N. J.; and Dr. Claude Young, Detroit.

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PERSONALITIES

Well, it seems that Brigido Cabe pronounced (Cobay) has had a productive summer in more ways than one; he's not only rejoined the staff (in the P. R. Department), and moved to a new house, but he's also managed to break his leg in a motorcycle accident and have a beautiful baby boy, Ian (with the help of his pretty, petite wife Vera who's another cool Selma chick). . . And Brig is replacing Harkey Klinefelter, who, after long and dedicated service to SCLC, is finally returning to Yale Divinity School. Harkey's mate, Annelies, Dutch to her very heart, predicts, though, that Harkey'll only last out one or two lectures before he begins unscrewing and reorganizing the desk he's sitting at. Did you ever have the privilege of having Harkey explain one of the office machines to you? And really now, all of them have broken down since his departure. . . and that's not all who's leaving. . . the call of the wild is whisking Gloria Fraction, Andy's secretary, back to her home-town Chicago, to get married of all things. She and Joe Ingraham will continue to live in Chicago, and Gloria won't be totally out of touch because she'll be Chauncey Eskridge's secretary (Chauncey is a Board member and General Counsel to SCLC). . . Erma Burton, who was always fun to be with, is going to try her best to jazz up the Paul Quinn College Library, and if anyone can, it's Erma. . . We're also sorry that Debbie Frankle is no longer with us. She's presently living it up in Frisco, but is returning to Chicago eventually to settle down at a new job. . . Newness seems to come in large doses though, and Carl Farris is beaming these days ever since marrying Linda Johnson. . . Henry Brownlee is beaming too, his art work is selling, and the main office has become the Brownlee museum, with his handiwork imprinting every wall . . . Frances Sims, an incredibly efficient secretary, is replacing Gloria as Andy's aide, but we'll miss the mighty G. F. anyway. . . Ben Clarke, digging the Motown sound, is in Detroit on a year's leave of absence, working for ESVID (try and figure that one out). . . Jean Billingslea, responsible for this summer's "Crusaders," is living with Ann Nesbitt, and both are teachers in black schools just outside of Atlanta, and their children are very lucky indeed. . Walter Fauntroy, whom we always vaguely suspected, has truly become an agent. LBJ has appointed him Vice-Chairman of the City Council of Washington, D. C., and although we'll never confide in him again, our heartiest congratulations. . . Ben Mack is the first militant to be on the South Carolina Advisory Board to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Sock it to them, Ben. . . The queen of the office, Lillie Hunter, friend and mother to us all, is out for a month due to a minor operation, but we hear she's doing fine. . . And while we're on royal subjects, the Kings (the whole family) are going to be on national TV on October 26--it's ABC's "Good Company" program, at 10 p.m. And they even interviewed Bunny (3 years old) who answered all the questions, but the taping was mixed up so they had to ask her the same things all over, and it must have annoyed her, all that inefficiency, cause she clammed up for a moment the second time around. . . Also, it seems that Coretta King and Dora McDonald have just led the Atlanta Committee for Cultural Opportunity to a victory in the group's first battle. It seems that the audiences at the Metropolitan Opera's season in Atlanta have always been very pale--no Negroes could get season tickets, Negro college students didn't get blocks of seats like the white colleges do, and it was very hard for anyone to get a ticket to a single performance. The Atlanta group put pressure on the Met in N. Y. and the Mayor of Atlanta. The Mayor got the message, and the Atlanta Negro community, including college students, are now assured of a satisfactory number of tickets. . . Prue Robertson, former field staffer and later Mrs. King's secretary, has returned to college in New Haven, Conn., where she is very active in theatre. . . And Melzenia (cookie) Cook has also joined the "back to school " movement. She's now a drop-in (at Georgia State Night School). . . The Freedom House has died, the bulldozers have left what looks like an earthquake in its place. One of those urban removal jobs, this time a super-duper highway. Ah, those old days and the fights and fun and work and we'll never love another old house the same way. . . As an extra special announcement, the P. R. office has asked us to issue the following

proclamation: Be it known, that the next time Hosea sends someone to jail in Atlanta, he is to leave the P. R. staff intact and send his own secretary (really his boss) Terry Randolph, for otherwise we'll see to it that Mr. Williams' life is as difficult as getting a camel through the eye of a needle. . .and that brings us to the final item of utter silliness which is, that two feminine additions have been made to the main office staff: Mary Ann Williams, T. Y. Roger's secretary, pretty as a picture and smart as a whip, they say, and Jessica Holland, on the P. R. staff, who has been dubbed by Andy Young, "our hippy philosopher in residence."

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Two very tragic deaths should not escape our attention. Ruby Robinson, age 25, has died, and her funeral was held at the West Mitchell Methodist Church in Atlanta on October 14. A fellow fighter for what we all want so desperately, she worked with SNCC from its very inception, and in 1966 was its Executive Secretary. We strongly feel our loss in her death, and extend warm sympathies to her husband Clifford and their two-year-old son. (Mr. Robinson is living in Atlanta, 40 Lynhurst Drive) . . . And, if it is true about Che, fighters for freedom all over the world will mourn his body, seek his spirit.

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Harry Belafonte, in his usual gracious fashion, is producing a concert series to raise some mighty dollars for SCLC. And, as usual, he'll be drawing big crowds in the seven cities on the tour, with the extra added attraction of appearances by Dr. King, Aretha Franklin, Joan Baez, Sammy Davis, Sidney Poitier, and others. Carole Hoover, the series coordinator, is once again getting about two hours sleep a night during the tour.
The schedule:

October 15 -- San Francisco

17 -- Houston

20 -- Chicago

21 -- Cleveland

23 -- Washington

25 -- Philadelphia

27 -- Boston

WHO'S WHO IN SCLC

"LITTLE DYNAMITE"

Be you Stokely Carmichael or Lynda Bird Johnson, you'll always be greeted by an attractive, hip-looking cat named Leon, with a nerve-shattering hello of "Peace, Brother!" And, to be frank, this twenty year old "little dynamite," as he is frequently called, has scared off not a few innocent bystanders with his tough, smart, and quick way of doing things. But that's only until you get to know him better, for actually, Leon Hall is one of those uncanny mixtures of young, militant impatience coupled with a mature sense of responsibility and perseverance.

Leon has been on the SCLC staff for 2 1/2 years now, but was involved with the movement since high school days, when he worked for SNCC (1963) as a community organizer. In 1964, he officially joined the SCLC staff and established an M.I.A. student affiliate composed of 1700 high school students. Working with James Bevel and James Orange, he managed to visit the Montgomery jails nine times and was beaten on a few occasions. Sensing Leon's appeal to students, Hosea Williams sent him north in 1965 to recruit college students for the SCOPE project, and with SCOPE that summer he worked the eastern seaboard, so to speak, travelling between the Carolinas and Virginia.

But Leon's talents are in no way restricted to the younger generation. As assistant project director in Crawfordsville, Georgia, and then Greenville, Alabama, he was in constant contact with the local "power structure."

At the beginning of '66 Leon worked with Hosea on voter registration in Birmingham, and then directed the Bessemer, Alabama project. Since July '66, Leon has settled (as much as possible) in Grenada, Mississippi as the project director. Settling for him, though, means being called away every few months to assist in a difficult situation, so that throughout this last year he has commuted between Chicago, Louisville, Atlanta (where he was executive director of CODCO) and Grenada.

Also talented in logistics and planning, Leon was on the spot and working in both the Meredith and Selma to Montgomery marches. No comment need be made on his flexibility.

With a record like his, Leon Hall has a right to comment on the "state of things" and let it never be said that he's the silent type. His feelings about SCLC are mixed, as is his personality. He feels that SCLC is one of the few civil rights groups left which attempts to offer its people any real "Black Power," because he interprets Black Power as a demand for greater black participation on the political, economic, and social fronts via constructive protest and ACTION PROGRAMS. He downs the slogan, though, when not backed up with responsible programs.

There's little else to say about Leon--you just have to know what a Leon is. Perhaps just a few miscellaneous thoughts: It seems that wherever he has been some cracker has said, "better watch out for that little nigger, he sure can talk." It also seems, if the grapevine is still accurate, that there are girls straight across the south, who've been futiley trying to hook him for years now.

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WHO'S WHO IN SCLC

COTTONREADER AND THE CHINABERRY TREE

Once upon a time, in Greenville, Alabama, there grew a lovely old Chinaberry tree.

Into Greenville one day in 1965, came R. B. Cottonreader, Jr., of SCLC. He wanted to start a voting-rights movement, but he was not welcome at first.

Cottonreader (almost no one calls him R. B.) began by organizing a mass meeting. It was a dangerous time in Greenville, and ten ministers said their churches were not available for the meeting. Finally, one preacher offered his church, but by meeting time that night, he had a change of heart and the freedom fighters were locked out.

A little boy told Cottonreader of a small house with a light on the porch. Cottonreader led a march to the house. There, he spoke from the lighted porch to the mass meeting which assembled under the Chinaberry tree on the front lawn. Then 350 people had a mass march from the tree.

As the Greenville movement grew, outside leaders, including SCLC's Andy Young and Al Sampson, came to speak at the tree and lead marches from it. The tree became the rallying point and symbol of freedom.

That was the year of Selma, when dozens of movements like the one in Greenville compelled Congress to pass the Voting Rights Act.

R. B. Cottonreader went on to work on many projects for SCLC -- Demopolis, Uniontown, Marion and Barber County, Alabama. Today he is in Grenada.

Cottonreader is one staff member who came to SCLC with experience. He arrived in the South in 1965 after working for CORE in San Francisco. Ask him how many times he's been jailed in his work, and he'll laugh and say, "I don't really know." Has he ever been beaten? "Many times."

Cottonreader was born in Dallas, Texas, and raised and educated in San Francisco. At 35, he is one of the old men in the movement. Perhaps his spiritual preparation for his present work came from his four years in a monastery.

And what ever happened to the Chinaberry tree? Well, the Greenville authorities wanted to kill the movement by killing the tree. The white landlord evicted his Negro tenants from the little house, and Greenville policemen cut down the tree and dug out its roots. But the movement lived on, because the spirit of that Chinaberry tree could not be killed.

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THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

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STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Seven years ago, the Field Foundation began its working association with Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Even before then we had come to believe in this gentle yet powerful man.

As at other times of national shame and self-despair, what is at issue now is how well we as a nation shall respond morally and politically. On the day of Dr. King's assassination, Congress was once again voting against the poor, whose lives and hopes he implored us to see and do justice toward. In words he, himself, once used on another terrible occasion, "this must never happen again".

We know how pitifully inadequate on this occasion is a gift of money, yet what each person or organization should do is what can most constructively be done with his or its distinctive resources. The Field Foundation has long supported, to the best of its wisdom, the cause of civil rights and the cause of the disadvantaged. We pledge now that we shall continue to do that as long as these dreadful conditions or our resources last. As an earnest of that renewed resolve, we will contribute within the next few days $1 million toward the civil rights struggle in the South. These funds are being distributed among a few organizations which in purpose and method represent Dr. King's own constant and beautiful loyalty to the ideal of a beloved community, united in and by justice, non-violence, and love.

These funds, which shall come from capital, will be in addition to the Foundation's planned level of giving for this year. Notifications have gone out and been received by the grantees, and any further announcement there may be will come, in accordance with our usual practice, from them.

We hope and pray that there shall be many who by service and by money will want to renew their dedication to the cause of a humane and Godly society, for which our friend Martin gave his life.

The ugly scars of racism and poverty will not be eliminated in this country until the people through Congress wills this be done. Concerned citizens and voluntary groups can, however, tax themselves, and we urge that they do so until Congress can be persuaded to do its duty in the name of us all. We shall do that as individuals as well as a foundation. We urge that others join in this demonstration that private America is awake, if Congress is not.

Ruth P. Field
Chairman

Morris B. Abram
President

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

April 5, 1968

3400 Spreading Oak Drive, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30311
April 8, 1968

Mr. Paul Hemphill
The Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Hemphill:

After reading your column on Sunday about Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., I could not help but be touched by the things you said, particularly those concerning your five-year-old daughter, Lisa.

You see, I also have a five-year-old daughter named Jacquenette, but there the similarity between the two little girls end. My little girl is Negro.

Every Negro parent dreads the day when a child must become aware of what it means to be black. It means, in a sense, that this awareness marks the end of childhood. For Jacquenette, it came one sunny Sunday afternoon in her backyard when two white children between the ages of 10 and 12 began to throw objects at her, and tell her that she was dirty and smelled bad because she is Negro. I had to look at my child with her big, watery eyes questioning and looking to me for guidance and then do what every Negro parent has had to do before me: explain white racism.

When news of Dr. King's death began filling our home through the TV news specials and our eyes filled with tears, our five-year-old knew why we grieved. She listened, heard, understood, and silently grieved along with us, no questions asked.

With your background, you changed. I can only hope that the children who attacked my little girl and the many others like them will change, too. If not, God help us all.

Very truly yours,

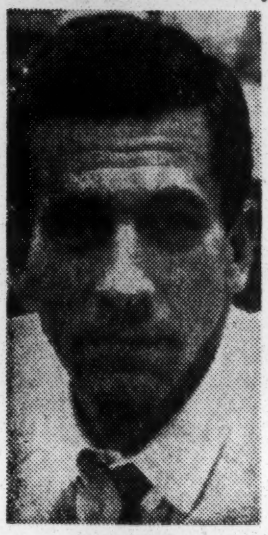
Janet C. Shortt

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt

PAUL HEMPHILL

'Why Did He Die?'

The best way to get into this is to tell you what happened at our place Thursday night when the news came over the television set. For nearly an hour, after hearing that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., had been shot in Memphis, I had been on the telephone to friends there and in Atlanta to find out how things stood and to see about getting myself to Memphis. While I was waiting for a call to be returned, my wife and 5-year-old daughter, Lisa, came into the room. Lisa was sitting on my lap when the phone rang and my wife answered. She cupped her hand over the receiver and said it was her sister calling. "He died," my wife said.



HEMPHILL

"Who died, Daddy?" said Lisa. "Aunt Liz's husband?"

"No honey," I told her. "Dr. Martin Luther King."

"Do you go to him when you're sick?"

They do not understand at that age, of course. Around our place we do not use the word "Negro." Besides, when you are white and live 12 miles out on the north side of this town the only black people your children see are people like J. W., the man who looks after the apartments. It was very awkward.

"You know the people who have black skin?" I said.

"J. W. has black skin," my daughter said.

"Yes. People like J. W. Well, Dr. King tried to help people like J. W."

"Did he have black skin, too?"

"Yes. He helped them, and he was a good man."

Then my daughter said, "Why did he die, Daddy?"

• A Long Way

It is a good thing I did not go to Memphis. I probably would have flubbed the story just like I blew Thursday night and all day Friday. Thursday night I started making notes and planning to go on downtown and talk to Negro people for a

Paul Hemphill's column appears daily in The Atlanta Journal

column on how they were reacting, but I kept watching them run film clips of Dr. King's big moments ("Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," he had said Wednesday night in Memphis, those huge eyes flashing with the determination that always drove the poor whites crazy) and by midnight I was no longer a newsman. I was a 32-year-old white Southerner trying to piece together some things I have seen in a relatively short lifetime.

We grew up in Birmingham, white Anglo-Saxon Protestants in a lower middle-class white neighborhood. As a child I was looked after to some extent by a Negro "mammy" named Louvenia, who looked like Aunt Jemimah and was almost a member of the family. My old man, a good man, has driven a truck most of his life. Over the hill, through a patch of scraggly pines, was a shoddy collection of frame houses we called "Niggertown." We used to have rock battles with the boys from Niggertown, and one day one of our guys plugged one of theirs in the leg with a pump gun and we thought it was funny as hell. I never questioned why Louvenia did not eat with us, or why the Negroes always meekly rode in the

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"Yes. People like J. W. Well, Dr. King tried to help people like J. W."

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• There He Was

With this background I should have the same view of the Negro as my parents, who wrote last week to say they were moving out of the house where I was raised because "the Negroes are taking over." I was 18 before I ever talked man-to-man with a Negro, a baseball teammate in a small town in Kansas, but since then there has been a century of progress in relations between black men and white men. Ten years ago I would not have believed Negroes in Birmingham would be sitting anywhere on a bus they want to, or that Negro faces on Southern college campuses would be common, or that blacks and whites would be eating together at Woolworth's. Or that one of the stars of country music, the last outpost of the WASP, would be a black man.

All of this, of course, is about Martin Luther King. I do not believe I realized just how far we have come in our understanding, between blacks and whites, until the television screen was filled with him and his works Thursday and Friday. There he was in Birmingham and Selma and Atlanta and Chicago and, yes, in Stockholm for the Nobel Peace Prize. There he was, showing the Negro how to pull himself up with pride and self-respect; being a much bigger man than the whites like Bull Connor and George Wallace who opposed him. If there is any one reason why those of my generation are going to solve a crisis our parents could not, that reason will be Martin Luther King. He not only talked about the color of a man's skin being unimportant, he showed us.

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Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

April 22, 1968
(dictated 4/18/68)

John Lewis
Southern Reginnal Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe St. NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear John:

This is just a brief note at this sad time to wish you well and to tell you how much I appreciated SRC's statement on the death of Dr. King. Clearly, your statement was the best thing I have seen.

I had hoped to see you in New York before you got away, but obviously did not. At this time I have no specific plans to be in Atlanta but I do hppe to be able to see you again sometime.

Sincerely,

Arthur M. Dye
mj

Arthur M. Dye, Jr.

AMD;mj

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November 5, 1968

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Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

My visit to the Southern Regional Council last Friday morning was informative and profitable. I was considerably enlightened as to the organization of clippings and pamphlets. The subject heading and category lists which I received have given me a much better idea of how to set up our files here. I will be making use of the serial and newspaper lists, and of course will be ordering from your publications. I could go on and on elaborating on the various ways in which I was helped. Instead I'll ask that you relay my sincerest gratitude to Mrs. Morgan, Mrs. Bartley, and Mrs. Morris. Also offer my congratulations to your staff for efficient and impressive work.

I look forward to communicating with you in the future and only hope that at some time I can be a fraction as helpful to you as you have been to me.

Sincerely,

Joyce Lawrence

(Mrs.) Joyce Lawrence
Librarian

JL/mlj

THE READER'S DIGEST
200 Park Avenue • New York, N.Y. 10017
Telephone: 972-4000

May 28, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The enclosed outline has been submitted to us in the hope of persuading us to do an article on the organization. However, it is a little difficult for us from this distance to assess their accomplishments.

Are you by any chance well enough acquainted with the work of The Citizenship Education Program to give us an off-the-record assessment of their achievements? It does, indeed, sound worthy, but could you tell us if the results have been meaningful? If so, I would be most grateful if you would call me collect (215-972-3743, direct dial) at your earliest convenience.

Thank you very much for any assistance you can give us.

Sincerely,

Greta Jones

Greta Jones

from Jean Vanden Heuvel
787-9375
135 Central Park West
9/12

THE CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROGRAM:

CHALLENGE TO THE "NEW EDUCATION"

by Dorothy Cotton (Director of S.C.L.C.'s Citizenship Education Program)

If "Education is the concept of removing the prohibitions from the minds of people so they can act out their true nature" it is imperative that attention be given to the millions who see themselves and are seen as being "beyond school age." Among these are ten million functionally illiterate adults. They are black and white. These members of our society cannot be left to while away their lives in despair, useless pursuits or blind lashing out at an enemy they cannot define. They cannot be written off as irrelevant "non-persons" influencing nothing. Indeed, they do influence--if only through the legacy of low aspiration passed on to their offspring. As we in this decade speak of meaningful social change and restructuring our value system, we must be mindful of the need to remove remaining prohibitions and inhibitions so that those of us on the bottom can act out our own true nature in meaningful community.

Such an educational innovation occurred eleven years ago through Myles Horton's Highlander Folk School with Septima P. Clark and Esau Jenkins at the helm. They realized that an enormously large segment of our people suffered injustices and indignities because they were not motivated to challenge the system that perpetrated the crime of subjugation upon them. Many did not understand the system nor that their deprivation was indeed systematized. The Citizenship Education Program (CEP) now under the auspices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the United Church Board

for Homeland Ministries seeks to help people realize that they have within themselves the stuff it takes to bring about a new order.

Who are these people? Where do they come from? They are the ones who have been shut out of the mainstream of the life of the country where they were born--shut out through legal and extra-legal means politically, socially, economically, and educationally. There is a direct correlation between the economic and educational level and the hope-aspiration level of most of the adults reached through this effort. In this, the richest country in the world, there are 187 counties where the annual per capita income is under $750. Of these, 182 are in the southern and border states. Within this area there are numerous counties where three fourths of the occupied dwellings are still without flush toilets, and numerous counties have no inside running water.

Those so deprived--forced to eke out a "living" for their families with annual incomes less than one fourth of what many individuals spend on a seasonal wardrobe for one, are not only ill-housed, ill-fed and without fundamental education, these adults have little knowledge of the basic rights, services and responsibilities involved in developing a total viable community. They do not see themselves as relevant entities in the community with the right to help direct its development. Often the political process is alien to them and the relationship between those who set policies and their plight is not understood. (The Citizenship Education Program also works with people who serve as community leaders. Since the Albany, Georgia movement many young people have come to the workshop. Now it includes young militants who return to their communities dedicated to non-violence after confronting the participants and staff of the CEP for five days.)

During the movement of the last decade many black folks have had a great awakening, and this Citizenship Education Program, though largely unpublicized, has been the base upon which much of the action for social change has been built. The CEP has played a critical role as bus loads came from the black belts of the south to learn to analyze their situation--to discover their personhood. But present and past success, ever increasing demands on the few who see the issue clearly and the constant reminding that laws on statute books do not automatically bring in the disinherited bespeak the need to broaden the "educational" outreach to the down and out.

To help people come to a point of "acting out their own nature" demands, what would still be in most schools, unfortunately, highly unorthodox methods of teaching. It is as simple and as complicated as saying finally to the woman who complained constantly about the manner in which the welfare agent humiliated her: "Well, then why aren't you the welfare agent?" It is as tedious as helping folk who never voted organize to send a man of their choosing to the legislature who will represent their interest. In this education program adults memorize not the dates the U.S. Constitution was signed but rather discover what it means when the First Amendment says a man has a right to petition for redress of grievances; or that no state may take away one's privileges as a citizen in the Fourteenth, or that a man has a right to the franchise in the Fifteenth or they discover what it ought to mean! And they go out with a determination to be.

That racism is institutionalized in America is a truism. That ethnic groups have been pitted against each other should also be too obvious to mention. Nevertheless, there is another large segment of our population that is leaderless and equally excluded. These are working-class, or poor

whites. For generations they, too, have been brainwashed; told that "Negroes are your enemies." They are equally hungry, ill-housed, ill-fed and without educational opportunity. Even in 1968 politicians such as George Wallace played upon their fears, misguided hatred and ignorance. Who will "educate" them? Who will help them come to know that they are being "had"; that their tables still do not display balanced diets; that their children are not being educated; that they have no meaningful political power; that they are wallowing in the mud of ignorance and stupidity--that they are, in fact, in the same boat as working-class or poor black folk!

The education program of which I speak would bring together and minister to all those who have a common problem. The social attitudes of racial prejudice in the end, are superficial differences, and should take a back seat to basic human needs such as the opportunity and the confidence to develop to one's full potential and the sharing in decisions affecting one's life. Hatred, fear and distrust have been dispelled between black and white when on a one to one basis these formerly powerless people have come to know each other in workshops studying problems of the poor. They realize their common plight and see the larger power of people moving in concert.

This does not negate positive black power. Black folk must and will have power--economic, social, educational and political. But see the "People Power" of all those who are deprived working towards the same goal. A true shared power is possible. "A good education" will see that this power is based on the fundamental issues. Our education must focus on the political, the economic, the educational--and together, for all those excluded. "The end is pre-existent in the means." And a reconciled society, in which our children may live without struggle, cannot emerge in separation. Out of separation or separatism, the vicious cycle of

fear, distrust, suspicion and self-hatred continues.

The new challenge for the "new educator" is to bring people together to dispel myths--of inferiority and superiority. The assumption is that from this new reconciled position the masses of people will be able to move with greater effectiveness toward utilizing the resources of this world for all people.

A CEP training workshop is held once per month with 50 to 60 persons participating. (Since 1961 the staff has worked with about 4,500 people.) For five days there are dialogue and planning in the following areas: New Trends in Politics; Consumer Education; Organizing Cooperatives and Credit Unions; Basic American Documents--How to make them work for the people; Reading for a Purpose; Writing for a Purpose; Methods of Problem Solving; Planned Parenthood; Assessing the Needs of a Community; Structural Local Voter Registration--Education Programs; Workers: Their Need for Unions; Federal Programs Available; History of Black Americans and Other Minority Groups.

At the close of this training, grassroots leaders return to their homes and organize classes of adults who range from the illiterate and poverty-stricken to those who simply never thought of themselves as making a difference. The CEP graduate does not teach in a vacuum, but gets his students to register and vote, to run for public office, to confront the power structure and make demands.

An early participant of the Citizenship Education Program was Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, later evicted from the Mississippi plantation where she had lived and worked for 18 years as a sharecropper because she tried to register and got others to do the same. She became a candidate for Congress on the Freedom Democratic ticket in the Second Congressional District, and

a delegate from the same party to the Democratic National Convention at Atlantic City in 1964.

The Citizenship Education Program, through helping people learn to look at their community, enables parents to analyze the schools and determine their relevance to the educational goals we set; goals whose emphasis is on awakening, and stimulating the minds of our children. Parents may not read and write but they care as much for their children and can discover such concrete ways to show their concern.

The following are some of the specific activities resulting from Citizenship Education training:

- Writing clinics for illiterate adults for voting purposes
- Citizenship Education classes for adults studying:
  - Credit union and co-op organization
  - Social services and how to participate in them
  - Federal programs, such as housing development
  - Agricultural policies
  - Local government
- Organization of community groups, such as:
  - Civic Clubs
  - Community Improvement Associations
  - Good citizenship clubs
  - Organized recreational groups
- Planned parenthood sessions
- Selective buying campaigns (Many CEP class participants have changed their shopping habits. Where they had accepted dirty markets and inferior food, selective buying campaigns sprang up.)

- Protest activity directed toward specific discrimination
- Running for public office and clinics for same
- Petitioning for services such as: paved streets, sidewalks, street lights, recreation facilities, better schools, etc.

The essence of this education program can be felt in the words of Mrs. Topsy Eubanks who said at the close of a session, "I feel like I been born again." Indeed, she had been. It can be seen as she returned to work in Macon, Georgia, and registered a majority of the voters, then took her place (she dared not take before) in the court house as a poll watcher. The need for this education program can be seen in the words of a 60-year-old man who when he saw the doorless shack of another Negro family said, "He lives like that 'cause he don't want to do no better," and in the words of a woman in a recent session, "Next time I am going to run for city council!"

SCLC PROGRAM AREAS

Contact our office for information and help in any of the following areas:

VOTER REGISTRATION AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

Political know-how is mandatory as we move into the second step of our struggle for freedom. Every person of voting age must become enlightened in the use of the ballot. Every community can and must ORGANIZE to reach the people. Information on workshops, aid in local drives, voter registration materials, etc., are available.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

You may send persons from your community for training to our 5-day Citizenship Training Workshop. They can return to the community equipped with the know-how of teaching adults. They can teach adults to read and write using text material pertinent to Citizenship; voter education; new trends in politics; organization; securing public services; leadership, and many things to help adults help themselves.

OPERATION BREADBASKET

Designed to fill the breadbaskets on the tables of Negroes through better jobs. We can help you establish this program in order to tap every major business establishment to determine whether we are sharing equally in the opportunity for a decent livelihood. We can and must work where we spend. (In Atlanta, two million additional $'s are flowing in the Negro community because of this program.)

DIRECT ACTION

In order to dramatize the injustice of segregation; to force the people of our communities to come to grips with the problem and begin to work for a solution, direct action is a vital phase of our program. SCLC has a trained, experienced staff available to help you conduct workshops, plan and direct nonviolent direct action campaigns.

OPERATION DIALOGUE

One of our nation's greatest needs is to keep lines of communication open between the races; to constantly talk together in order to build understanding, heal breaches and win support for the cause of justice. There is also great need to have right thinking white persons talk to other white persons to help them have a change of heart. Experienced SCLC staff is ready to help you get dialogue going in your community.

NONVIOLENCE (workshops for the study of)

For understanding the philosophy by which we labor and to labor more effectively, workshops for nonviolent education are basic. SCLC staff are devoted scholars and exponents of this great moving force. Let us train leaders for you!

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Leaders are not necessarily born! Some are made! Through SCLC, discover and develop vitally needed leadership. The "one-man-show" isn't effective any more.

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334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta , Georgia 30303
Phone: 522-1420

Randolph T. Blackwell,
Program Director
C. T. Vivian, Director
of Affiliates

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A Banquet in Honor of Dr. King Is Set for Atlanta Wednesday

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Jan. 23—A hometown banquet honoring the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., which provoked behind-the-scenes controversy in Atlanta business circles when it was proposed, has won overwhelming public endorsement.

A week after the tickets were offered, principally through the mail, to about 2,000 people, more than 1,400 tickets had been sold and about 200 requests had been turned down because no seats remained.

The banquet, honoring Dr. King as Georgia's first winner of a Nobel Prize, is scheduled for 7:00 P.M., Wednesday, at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel.

Dr. King, who is a native of Atlanta, first attracted national attention when, as a minister in Montgomery, Ala., he led a bus boycott there. In 1961 he returned to Atlanta to assume direction of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and to become co-pastor of Ebenezar Baptist Church. In October he was named winner of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize.

After plans for the dinner were disclosed, just before Christmas, it appeared to have the sponsorship of a number of religious, educational and other Atlanta leaders. Opinions varied, however, among leading businessmen who had been asked to be sponsors.

A spokesman for the planning group said today, however, that although a number of these had declined the use of their names as sponsors many had purchased the $6.50 tickets to attend.

Although the public was aware of plans for the dinner, there was no push to sell tickets except through the use of mailing lists obtained from several cultural and civic organizations. Response was immediate.

The banquet planners had hoped to sell about 1,000 tickets. Although the banquet hall ordinarily seats only about 1,200 people, plans are being made for as many as 1,400 places. Checks for tickets continue to come in but are being rejected.

"We are absolutely delighted with the way it has worked out," said Don McEvoy, Georgia executive director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Mr. McEvoy, who is coordinating arrangements for the dinner, said that 101 Atlanta citizens had agreed to serve as sponsors of the event. About three-fourths of these are white, he said. He estimated that at least 800 of the 1,400 ticket purchasers were white.

The sponsors' list includes many of the city's most prominent people, with a stronger representation of political leaders than some observers had expected.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. and William B. Hartsfield, a former Mayor, are on the list.

So are Representatives Charles L. Weltner of Georgia's Fifth District, which includes most of Atlanta, and James A. Mackay of the Fourth District, which includes part of the city and a large suburban area. Both are Democrats.

The list also includes Vice Mayor Sam Massell Jr., a Democrat; two city aldermen, Rodney Cook and Richard Freeman, both Republicans, and Mrs. G. Ray Mitchell, a member of the Atlanta Board of Education. All are white.

No state-level political figures are among the sponsors, although the list includes two Negro State Senator from Atlanta, Leroy Johnson and Horace T. Ward.

Plans for the dinner were revealed when letters went to prospective sponsors for the Most Rev. Paul J. Hallinan, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Atlanta; Ralph McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution; Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College; and Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, of The Temple.

A STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF DR. KING

(Issued by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, April 6, 1968)

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. once again reveals the psychosis of violence and the cancer of racism in American society. Once again, America is stained with the blood of a courageous and noble leader, with the tragedy of a husband and father senselessly destroyed. His murder violates the ideals for which he stood, ideals which express the great tradition of America.

This is not the time for bitter and unrestrained recriminations against the society which killed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., but rather the time for all of us to pay heed at last to all that has already been said to the conscience of the nation in the grim, ghastly past -- at the murders of John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, of the four little children in a Birmingham Sunday School, and so many others.

This is the time for white America to forego lecturing black Americans against violating the non-violent philosophy to which Dr. King's life will stand as a memorial for all time. Let white America for once concede to black America strength and dignity sufficient to make that decision without advice or admonishment. Let white America acknowledge that black Americans, as Dr. King has proved, have equal moral personality as human beings and have the qualities of

leadership and courage and dignity which all Americans need.

The life of Dr. King transcends the violence done throughout his career to the American ideals for which he stood and the final obscene violence to him. His leadership during his life and the pangs of conscience white America feels in his death give all Americans the chance -- and perhaps the last chance -- to make the choice between the kind of society for which Dr. King lived and died, and the kind of society which denies equal opportunity and relies on force above justice and equity. If America cannot produce leadership toward the society that Dr. King saw in his dream for America, then America is finished.

Let white America look into its own heart.

SCLC

BIRTH OF SCLC

On January 10, 1957, more than 100 Southern leaders gathered in Atlanta, Georgia, to share and discuss their mutual problems of the Southern struggle. By unanimous agreement, the body voted to form a permanent organization that would serve as a coordinating agency for local protest centers that were utilizing the technique and philosophy of non—violence in creative protest. Two months later, close on the heels of the successful Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott, SCLC came into being, in New Orleans, Louisiana. Martin Luther King, Jr., was elected president.

SCLC AND CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM

SCLC's basic program fosters nonviolent resistance to all forms of racial injustice, including state and local laws and practices, even when this means going to jail; and imaginative, bold constructive action to end the demoralization caused by the legacy of slavery and segregation — inferior schools, slums, and second-class citizenship.

In its bold new program, SCLC has undertaken one of the difficult tasks so vital to the present-day struggle in the South. The Leadership Training Program is directed at the organization of communities at the "grass-roots" level. It is believed that the great success of the Negro community's struggle for full citizenship will be determined by the training of this second-line leadership.

AIMS AND PURPOSES OF SCLC

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has the basic aim of achieving full citizenship rights, equality, and the integration of the Negro in all aspects of American life. SCLC is a service agency to facilitate coordinated action of local community groups within the frame of their indigenous organizations and natural leadership. SCLC activity revolves around two main focal points: the use of nonviolent philosophy as a means of creative protest; and securing the right of the ballot for every citizen.

The ultimate aim of SCLC is to foster and create the 'beloved community' in America where brotherhood is a reality.

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HARRY BELAFONTE - MIRIAM MAKEBA

FEATURED WITH MR. BELAFONTE IS THE SOUTH AFRICAN SINGER AND DANCER, MIRIAM MAKEBA, WHO HAS WON NATION-WIDE ACCLAIM IN THE FEW YEARS THAT SHE HAS BEEN IN THIS COUNTRY. MISS MAKEBA IS A PERSONAL PROTEGE OF THE MANY-TALENTED MR. BELAFONTE.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SCLC Newsletter

Volume II July-August Number 8

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Randolph Blackwell Joins Staff Of SCLC

Mr. Blackwell

Randolph T. Blackwell, a civil rights worker for the past 13 years, has joined the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta and will serve as Program Coordinator for the organization. He formerly was associated with the Voter Education Project in Atlanta before becoming a full time staff member of SCLC.

Born in Greensboro, North Carolina, Mr. Blackwell brings to SCLC a rich and varied background in the social sciences, law and business and economics. He received a B.S. degree in Sociology from North Carolina A & T College in 1949, and was graduated from Howard University School of Law in 1953. Additionally he has studied at Syracuse and American Universities.

Authored Four Books

The 37-year-old executive formerly taught at Winston-Salem Teacher's College and at Alabama A & M College. He is credited with being

(*Continued on Page 11*)

SCLC Dispatches Anti-Riot Team North; Finds Teen-Agers Hostile To Everyone

By Andrew J. Young

"We're not here to tell you not to fight, we're here to teach you *how to fight*." This was the slogan of SCLC's team of community organizers as they moved North for the first time in an attempt to deal with Negro discontent in a hostile riot-torn Negro community.

As the National Guard pulled out of Rochester, leaders in the Negro community feared a repetition of the events of previous weeks and asked SCLC for help. A staff team, led by Andrew Young and James Bevel, moved immediately into the city and began work with the teen-age clubs which initiated violence in the city. Young and Bevel were accompanied by SCLC staffers James Orange and Richard Boone from Alabama, Willie Bolden and Lester Hankerson of Savannah, and Bernard Lafayette of the American Friends Service Committee, now working in Chicago.

Immediate Success

The team began to work in Rochester's 3rd Ward, along with 3rd Ward Supervisor Constance Mitchell, a social worker at the Montgomery Community Center, and perhaps the only person in Rochester who had established any rapport with the city's errant teen population. At noon on August 7th, SCLC's team divided into smaller groups and began to comb the streets of the Negro community. Several were dressed in bib-front overalls the *work clothes* of the Southern movement, so we were easily identified as strangers in the community. In spite of an open hostility to the idea of nonviolence, the group had amazing and almost immediate success.

Young (l.), Bevel (r.).

(*Continued on Page 2*)

Dr. King Tours Mississippi; Is Seen And Heard By 20,000 Persons

Philadelphia, Mississippi is a hot dusty town in the middle of the summer. The SCLC caravan found it's way up the red clay hills to the "community center," a small barn-like structure outfitted with a pool table, juke box and soft drink machine. When the word began to spread through the streets that Martin Luther King was in town, a beautiful, warm black crowd began to flow from the small houses and lawns toward the Center.

In a matter of minutes, more than 100 persons gathered, and Philadelphia, Mississippi began its first Freedom Rally. Dr. King began to speak in calm measured tones, but the warmth aroused the "preacher" in him and soon the spirit of freedom rang through the streets of this oppressive village.

Death And Danger

Dr. King spoke of death and danger. Rev. Ralph Abernathy led

(*Continued on Page 5*)

Dr. King on door-to-door Mississippi tour.

Owens (l.) and Coulter after victory.

Aided By SCLC Workers; Negro Is First To Win Petersburg City Council

A concentrated voter-registration drive by SCLC workers in Petersburg, Va., coupled with a grass-roots election campaign resulted in the first Negro being elected to city council since Reconstruction Days. The victor was Joseph H. Owens, who in his first try for public office, successfully overcame a run-off contest on June 22 to win one of three vacant seats on the five-man city council.

Sparking the campaign was SCLC Field Secretary Herbert Coulter. Petersburg is a city of about 36,000 population, of which 17,000 are Negroes. Only 8,000 among them, however are eligible to vote, and of these only some 1,700 actually have qualified to vote.

Owens' campaign was waged against a negative "whispering" scheme which tried to convince Negroes that "he can't win." Previously, six others before him had failed in successive trys.

The ruse did not work. Owens polled 1,426 votes on the June 9 election day to enter a special run-off election two weeks later against Mayor Marvin Gill, Jr. The result was 1,794 votes for Owens and 1,585 votes for Gill.

ANTI-RIOT TEAM

(*Continued from Page 1*)

We found the youth where they were, joined them in their pursuits, and began talking with them about the riots. Some were playing basketball on the playgrounds, "tonk" on the school steps, or shooting dice in an alley. Much to their suprise, these nonviolent "soldiers" managed to beat them at their own games. The youth's humiliation was matched only by their respect and amazement when they discovered that half of the team were ordained ministers.

Talked Over Riots

By four o'clock in the afternoon, we had managed to gather persons from six of the "youth clubs," as they prefer to be called, and were sitting down in Constance Mitchell's back yard talking over the riots and attempting to let the youth analyze what happened and why.

It was surprising how well these youths articulated their grievances. Police harrassment was the main complaint, but it was obvious that the complaint was not merely against Rochester police, but against the lack of protection under the law afforded Negroes all across the United States. They were angry that the FBI could not find the Birmingham bombers, or the murderers of civil rights workers in Mississippi. From incidents such as these, they developed hostility toward police in general. Once this was in process, any warning or word from the police set off a chain of inner hostility and antagonisms which could erupt at any moment.

Hostile To Everyone

They also spoke of crowded homes and schools, joblessness and the fact that they were ignored by *everybody*. In this they were as hostile to indifferent Negro leadership as they were to whites. In fact, one Negro was almost mobbed because they thought he was president of a local civil rights group. Only when they were convinced that he was not did they refrain from over-turning his car.

Poverty loomed as the main factor in the looting. We heard of Negroes and whites looting together. In fact, 158 white persons were arrested, along with Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Together, the poor seemed to rebel against the establishment. Mothers stole food, put shoes on childrens' feet and left other luxuries untouched in many instances, so Mrs. Mitchell reported.

Once the contact was made with youth, the team began to work with ministers and other adults, trying to put together a unit of persons of good will to really get to the root of the problem and force some action from the city government. Daily meetings began to bring the adult community into some common understanding of the situation to permit action and decision together. In many ways this proved more difficult than working with the youth.

Begin Workshops

In an attempt to teach youth how to fight we began afternoon workshops on how to fight in a democratic society. "You don't throw bricks, you get votes", we told them. "Right Now," a movie on the Savannah, Ga. voter registration drive became a key tool in helping the youth to identify with the more

Dr. King Asks For 'Bill Of Rights For Disadvantaged' In Dem's Platform

(*Editor's Note: When Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. appeared before the Republican Platform Committee on July 7 in San Francisco, he urged that body to give serious attention to a three-pronged program which he hopefully wished would be incorporated in their platform in the 1964 presidential election campaign. They were: I. Compliance with the newly-enacted Civil Rights Bill; II. An end to police brutality and harrassment of persons seeking to remove racial discrimination barriers from our society; and III. A positive program to deal with automation and unemployment. Unfortunately, his pleadings were coldly unheeded. During the August Democratic Convention, Dr. King again was heard on these urgent matters, a portion of which we print herewith as concerns his proposed "Bill of Rights for The Disadvantaged.*")

The struggle for rights is, at bottom, a struggle for opportunities. In asking for something special, the Negro is not seeking charity. He does not want to languish on welfare rolls any more than the next man. He does not want to be given a job he cannot handle. Neither, however, does he want to be told that there is no place where he can be trained to handle it. So with equal opportunity must come the practical, realistic aid which will equip him to seize it. Giving a pair of shoes to a man who has not learned to walk is a cruel jest.

Today, special measures are needed to alleviate the economic conditions of Negroes and all other persons in a family unit which earns less than $3,000 a year.

During World War II, our fighting men were deprived of certain advantages and opportunities. To make up for this, they were given a package of veterans rights, significantly called a "Bill of Rights." The major features of this GI Bill of Rights included subsidies for trade school or college education, with living expenses provided during the period of study. Veterans were given special concessions enabling them to buy homes without cash, with lower interest rates and easier repayment terms. They could negotiate loans from banks to launch businesses, using the government as an endorser of any losses. They received special points to place them ahead in competition for civil service jobs. They were provided with medical care and long-tern financial grants if their physical condition had been impaired by their military service. In addition to these legally granted rights, a strong social climate for many years favored the preferential employment of veterans in all walks of life.

Compensation Approved

In this way, the nation was compensating the veteran for his time lost in school or in his career or in business. Such compensatory treatment was approved by the majority of Americans. Certainly the Negro has been deprived. Few people considered the fact that, in addition to being enslaved for two centuries, the Negro was, during all these years, robbed of the wages of his toil. No amount of gold could provide an adequate compensation for the exploitation and humiliation of the Negro in America down through the centuries. Not all the wealth of this affluent society could meet the bill. Yet, a price can be placed on unpaid wages. The ancient common law has always provided a remedy

A Reminder . . .

SCLC's 8th Annual CONVENTION

Where?
Savannah, Ga.

When?
Sept. 29-Oct. 2

organized and disciplined Southern struggle. Votes were related to police brutality, housing, jobs and self-respect for Negroes in all of these workshops. Effective protest was begun when a committee of the club members made an appointment with the Chief of Police to discuss the question of police brutality. Youth were placed on the board of a Center to which they had previously been denied access. TV and news media began to probe the community tensions in depth, and youth began to voice their hostilities through democratic channels.

Thus, it was our intention to learn from work in a Northern community. SCLC hopes to remain close to Rochester. The job has only begun. Oil has been poured on troubled waters, and things are quiet for the present, but unless there is some serious effort to face the problems which caused the rioting, there will again be disturbances in this progressive city.

From The Pages of Negro History

The first American casualty against the British in the American Revolution was a Negro—Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave, killed in the Boston Massacre of 1770.

St. Augustine Balks At Desegregation; Businesses Fear Ku Klux Klan, Violence

St. Augustine, Fla., the nation's oldest city, from which Dr. King announced a civil rights victory on June 30, showed signs in July of becoming the nation's most recalcitrant city in the area of human rights. After only five days of compliance to the new Civil Rights Law, St. Augustine restaurant and hotel owners were forced by white racist terrorists to resegregate, returning the city to as much segregation as it had before SCLC first arrived three months ago.

File Five Major Suits

With the help of eight lawyers from the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, five major suits immediately were filed in federal courts in Jacksonville. The first two were against restaurants which had never desegregated. Another was against 16 restaurants which had resegregated. The fourth suit, seeking to get federal action to improve law inforcement in St. Johns County, was dropped at the request of the Federal Judge Bryon Simpson. An effort to secure a federal injunction, enjoining those policemen and organizations from obstructing desegregation efforts constituted a fifth procedure.

Attacks Continue

Although large scale demonstrations were renounced in the churches in general, white racist attacks against Negroes continued throughout July. In one of the worst outbreaks, four Negroes fishing off a bridge at the edge of the city, were surrounded by 30 Klansmen and severely beaten. The Negroes were admitted to the hospital with injuries inflicted by ax handles, tire chains, and knives. Another incident later in the month, involved four Negro youths who went to a previously segregated restaurant to eat. An angry white mob met them at the door, blocked the path to their car, and chased them to the highway. Two of the Negroes escaped in a passing car. Another, after being pursued for several hours through a heavily-wooded area, finally found a state trooper who took him back to town. The fourth was beaten by the mob and taken to a hospital. Later the same evening white racists gathered outside the hospital and over-turned the car of the Negro nurse who was caring for the injured youth.

Smash Windows, Bomb Motels

Local white businessmen also were victims of racial violence. The drug store owner who refused to resegregate had his windows smashed. In a similar incident later in the month the window in a bakery was smashed when the owner refused to fire his Negro help. An unsuccessful effort was made to blow up an integregated hamburger stand. Finally the month of sporadic violence was culminated by the night-time bombing of a motel whose owner had announced on the previous day that he was going to re-integrate his establishment.

With racial tensions ready to explode and shatter the uneasy truce at any moment, a previously appointed grand jury reconvened in St. Augustine on August 1 in an effort to set up a functioning biracial committee which could, in turn, begin working out long range solutions to the troubled racial situation in this city.

From The Pages of Negro History

West Point graduated its first Negro in 1877 (but no Negroes got through Annapolis until 1943).

for the appropriation of the labor of one human being by another. This law should be made to apply for American Negroes. The payment should be in the form of a massive program by the government of special, compensatory measures which could be regarded as a settlement in accordance with the accepted practice of common law. Such measures would certainly be less expensive than any computation based on *two centuries of unpaid wages* and accumulated interest.

Proposes Gigantic Bill

I am proposing, therefore, that, just as we granted a GI Bill of Rights to war veterans, America launch a broad-based and gigantic *Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged,* our veterans of the long seige of denial. I am specifically proposing that the platform of [this] party include an endorsement and support for the broad plan of such a Bill.

A *Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged* would immediately transform the conditions of Negro life. The most profound alteration would not reside so much in the specific grants as in the basic psychological and motivational transformation of the Negro. I would challenge skeptics to give such a bold new approach a test for the next decade. I contend that the decline in school dropouts, family breakups, crime rates, illegitimacy, swollen relief rolls and other social evils would stagger the imagination. Change in human psychology is normally a slow process, but it is safe to predict that, when a people is ready for change as the Negro has shown himself ready today, the response is bound to be rapid and constructive.

While Negroes form the vast majority of America's disadvantaged, there are millions of white poor who would also benefit from such a bill. The moral justification for special measures for Negroes is rooted in the robberies inherent in the institution of slavery. Many poor whites, however, were the derivative victims of slavery. As long as labor was cheapened by the involuntary servitude of the black man, the freedom of white labor, especially in the South, was little more than a myth. It was free only to bargain from the depressed base imposed by slavery upon the whole labor market. Nor did this derivative bondage end when formal slavery gave way to the de facto slavery of discrimination. To this day the white poor also suffer deprivation and the humiliation of poverty if not of color. They are chained by the weight of discrimination, though its badge of degradation does not mark them. It corrupts their lives, frustrates their opportunities and withers their education. In one sense it is more evil for them, because it has confused so many by prejudice that they have supported their own oppressors.

Forgotten White Poor

It is a simple matter of justice that America, in dealing creatively with the task of raising the Negro from backwardness, should also be rescuing a large stratum of the forgotten white poor. A *Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged,* applicable to white and Negro families alike with annual incomes of less than $3,000, could mark the rise of a new era, in which the full resources of the society would be used to attack the tenacious poverty which so paradoxically exists in the midst of plenty.

SCLC *Newsletter*

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AIMS AND PURPOSES OF SCLC

1. **To achieve full citizenship rights, and total integration of the Negro in American life.**
2. **To stimulate nonviolent direct mass action to remove the barriers of segregation and discrimination.**
3. **To disseminate the creative philosophy and techniques of nonviolence through local and area workshops.**
4. **To secure the right and unhampered use of the ballot for every citizen.**
5. **To reduce the cultural lag through the Citizenship Training Program.**

Editorial

From Chicken To Ax Handles

The first test of the new Civil Rights law quite properly has been upheld in a ruling against Atlanta restaurant owner Lester Maddox, who specialized in serving fried chicken to white customers only. Maddox vowed that Negroes would never eat of his chicken thighs and drum-sticks, and rather than comply with the law as ordered, chose to shut down his business "for good."

By some queer method of reasoning, Maddox claimed that "communists put me out of business," when, in truth, he made the announcement himself after two Negroes presented themselves as proper customers. It was his decision to discontinue his food business, and no one else's.

But what is more disturbing is his immediate entry into another seemingly full-blown business from what once was a side-line. He set up shop outside his restaurant and began selling ax-handles of the same variety he used to do violence against the three Negroes who sought to eat at his restaurant to bring the case to a test. Business, of course, was brisk, and he disposed of some 3,000 of these instruments of violence at $2.00 each in the first day or two of operation.

Obviously, the intent of Mr. Maddox and his ax handle buyers is quite clear. Such out-size pieces of wood doubtfully can be mistaken for tooth picks, and he already has demonstrated to what purposes he believes they should be put.

Let us pray that in the free enterprise system of competition no one will take a notion to compete against him —with larger ax handles.—*ETC*

An Example of Courage

(Editor's Note: The following editorial is reprinted by permission from the Atlanta Constitution of July 28, 1964.)

Martin Luther King Jr. took a praiseworthy and courageous step Monday in speaking out against the racial disturbances now wracking large cities of America.

It is important for white Americans to recognize just how much courage that required, and how much good it can do.

Dr. King had made his place among his people as a folk hero. He could have stood aside, secure in his own place in Negro history, and abandoned the Negro people to their extremist betrayers in places like New York and Rochester.

By stepping out of his own shell of security to denounce "impractical and immoral" conduct among members of his own race, Dr. King laid his reputation with his own people squarely on the line.

He laid himself open to charges that he is an Uncle Tom.

He gambled that his voice, so often raised for Negro rights, could now rise above the storm of Negro irresponsibility and calm it.

If the power of his example can still take hold of the great, responsible Negro majority, the senseless aberrations of Negro protest can be quelled and the cause of civil rights can be restored to a rational plane.

It was enormously important that Dr. King speak, and he did. He is the foremost emotional leader of American Negroes, and he has joined battle against betrayal of the Negro revolution by extremists and false leaders.

In strongly urging "cessation of the violence and lawlessness presently existing" among people of his race, Dr. King also turned and asked for help from white Americans, "not merely shallow rhetoric condemning lawlessness."

"We must vigorously condemn the violence and lawlessness of the Negro community," he said, and he did. He has set out to handle that.

But, he added, "we must be as concerned about getting rid of the environmental conditions that cause the riots as we are in condemning violence." This is a burden the white man must share.

Dr. King is moving into the Harlem inferno to demand a return to law and order. He has accepted the risks of being called traitor by his race as his duty in the cause of racial peace. He is asking only that white Americans, for their part, give "an honest, soul-searching analysis and evaluation of the environmental causes which have spawned the riots."

The Cartoonist's View

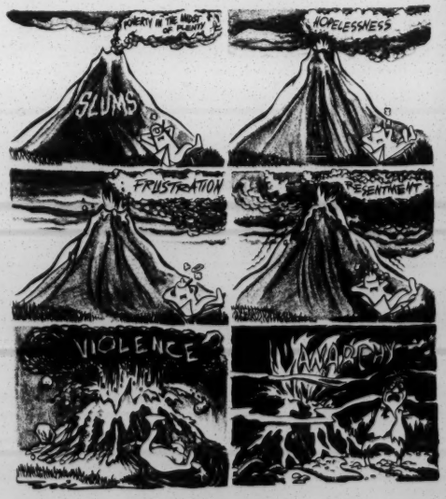
'It's Unanimous. We're Still Going To Call You "Boy" . . .'

Baldy In The Atlanta Constitution

Message For Americans

Eric In The Atlanta Journal

'I Didn't Know It Was Loaded'



Eric In The Atlanta Journal

ed clayton

Of Mississippi And Missing Persons

There is something darkly sinister and tragically prophetic about the *"Miss"* in Mississippi. By now it has become synonymous with murder. Those who live there know this. And those who visit there fear this. For to be reported "missing" in Mississippi is like having your death notice posted and published before the body actually can be located for a proper burial.

In time of war such tragedies are to be expected. A soldier missing in action may not, in all cases, be presumed dead. There is always hope, no matter how faint, that he will return.

Not so in Mississippi. A "missing" person is usually a dead person. It is a kind of grim game that is played there between the hunter and the hunted, the fearsome and the fearful. The results are always tragic and sorrowful.

539 Negroes Lynched

For the record, there have been 539 lynchings of Negroes in the state of Mississippi in the 81 years between 1882 and 1963. This is according to figures compiled by the Tuskegee Institute Research Department which places that state at the top of the list with its unchecked slaying of Negroes. Their research says nothing of the countless numbers of persons reported "missing," who simply "dissappear" and are never heard from again. Some say that the Pearl and Tallahatchie Rivers are watery graves for these hapless victims, and that ever so often an average of one or two a month is coughed up from the murky depths of these silent streams.

Now comes the sad and final scenes in the shortlived drama of three civil rights workers on a mission in Mississippi. Missing since June 21, the trio, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, were dug up from their shallow graves on the hot mid-afternoon of August 4. Their absence had stretched into 45 days while searchers combed Philadelphia, Mississippi for their whereabouts. The grim hunt became even more grisly when, in the midst of the bush-beating and river-dredging, the mutilated torsos of two other "missing" persons bobbled to the surface of the Pearl river near its Louisiana outlet. Some theorized that these might have been sawed in half in being put to death.

'A Way of Death'

Such stories probably could go on endlessly. For this is Mississippi, where death, violent, horrible, unbelievably brutal, is regarded as casually as cotton, catfish and magnolias. This, to them, has become a way of life, or perhaps more correctly, a way of death. The violators of the law are never punished for the crime of murder against a Negro or sympathizing whites. To do so, it seems, would mean a rejoining of the Union and an obligation to uphold law, right and justice.

Such progress would be unthinkable in Mississippi. It would tend to violate a *perfect* record of lynching and a *flawless* history of non-convictions.

Moreover, who can deny that missing persons in Mississippi almost always turn up in a matter of time. Dead, of course, but they do turn up.

From St. Augustine

The Song Of A Jailbird

Mrs. Boyle

I would rather have the voice of a Civil Rights jailbird than the voice of a mockingbird. That is why I announce with pride that I was one of those who went to jail for freedom in St. Augustine.

I cannot boast with Dr. King that I have come of age with my 21st trip to jail. And I certainly stand in awe—a long way off—when the Rev. Shuttlesworth nonchalantly announces that after his 30th time in jail he stopped counting. But although I am not a well-seasoned jailbird, at last, at least *I am a jailbird*. Although I cannot sing of coming of age or of losing count, I do by God's grace have a song. It is this:

As a Christian, an American and a Southerner, I am filled with humble joy for the privilege of going to jail for my Christian faith, for a better America and a better South.

My heart aches that such drastic action as going to jail is necessary to make America what she claims to be—a land where there is freedom and justice for all. But since it is necessary I am proud to take full part in it. I regard my arrest as an *honorary degree* in the struggle to implement the principles in which I so deeply believe.

To suffer is not the worst thing that can happen to us: the worst thing is not to believe in anything worth suffering for.

DR. KING TOURS

(*Continued from Page 1*)

"Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Roun," while the FBI agents and Press representatives squirmed anxiously out front as a car and truck carrying hostile men circled the block for the third time.

This was a typical day in the People-to-People Tour of Mississippi.

Dr. King, Rev. Abernathy, Rev. C. T. Vivian, Rev. Bernard Lee, Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, Miss Annell Ponder and Rev. Andrew Young, toured together through the cities and towns of Greenwood, Jackson, Vicksburg, and Meridian, Mississippi in behalf of the Freedom Democratic Party and the Council of Federated Organizations. The purpose was to encourage and inspire the people of Mississippi with the possibility and change in their situation through a concerted political effort.

Response Tremendous

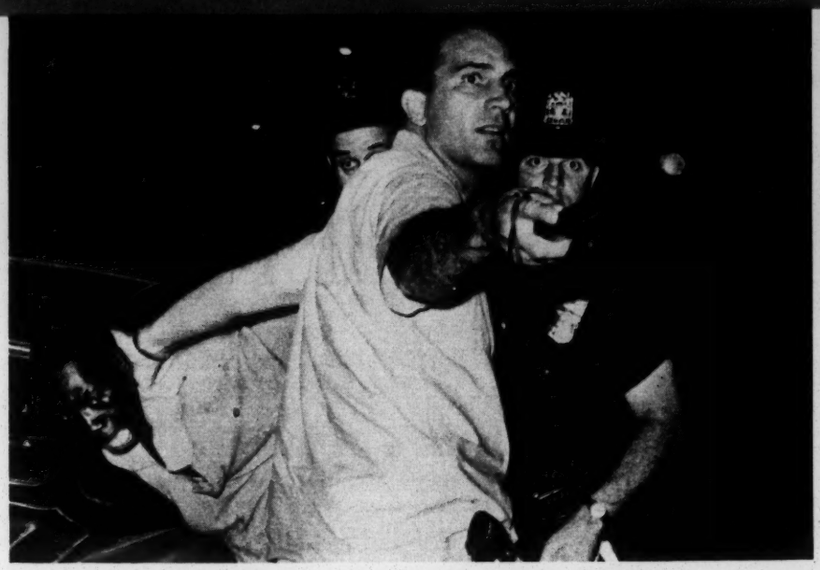
Everywhere the response was tremendous. Never have so many Negroes gathered together for anything in the State of Mississippi. Crowds packed churches and the Masonic Halls where mass meetings were held. Everywhere Dr. King went in the course of door-to-door visits, flocks of local people followed along, eager to hear his message of hope for a new day in Mississippi. Estimates of the tour are that some 20,000 persons saw and heard Dr. King in person, while others tuned in on a half-hour TV Show on the Democratic Party shown on Jackson and Memphis TV stations.

FROM THE PAGES OF NEGRO HISTORY

In World War II, the Red Cross at first refused to accept blood from Negro donors, and later took it only on a segregated basis. Ironically, it was a Negro, Plasma Expert Dr. Charles R. Drew, who set up U.S. blood banks. He himself had to be given plasma following an auto crash on April 1, 1950, near Burlington, N. C., when the car he was driving overturned. He died 45 minutes after the accident, at the age of 45.

VOTE FREEDOM IN '64!

Cameras Tell Story Of Rioting, Lo



WINDOW SMASHER NABBED

Arrested after he was observed smashing bottles and car windows in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn during New York riots, a youth is taken in tow by a plain clothes policeman. Incident occurred night of July 23 as racial violence began to subside in New York area.

LOOTING WAS PREVALENT

As rioting turned into window smashing and looting in Rochester, neighborhood stores fell victim to raiders who hauled away items and packaged goods thrown onto sidewalks. Here, a camerman surprises group of women.

GUARDSMEN CALLED OUT

Assigned to keep peace in Rochester, New York after violence began to spread in state of New York, National Guardsmen go through bayonet drills at camp site. During three days of rioting water hoses were brought into play (below) as police sought to put down disturbances in Negro neighborhoods.

TAKEN INTO CUSTODY

Apprehended by police during second night of disturbances in Rochester, one participant is overpowered by officers as he is taken into custody. End of rioting came after several days when National Guardsmen moved in.

oting In New York

MEETING WITH MAYOR

Invited to New York by Mayor Robert F. Wagner (r.) SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr., is greeted by Mayor before meeting to discuss rioting and racial unrest in Harlem, first scene of northern violence. Meeting with Mayor continued until wee hours of morning.

RIOT AFTERMATH

Litter and wreckage on Rochester streets followed in wake of rioting and looting of stores (above), until authorities invoked an 8:30 P.M. curfew to clear streets (below) as one of several measures to bring an end to violence and strife in riot-stricken city.

Northern Riots

A Need For Soul-Searching

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

The last few weeks have seen a racial cauldron boil over in the streets of Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Rochester, New York and Jersey City, New Jersey. These racial riots have risen to ominous proportions. I am sure that all people of good will join me in deploring these outbreaks of violence. Lawlessness, looting and violence cannot be condoned whether used by the racist or the reckless of any color. We must not advocate the use of immoral means to secure the moral end of racial justice. It is my basis philosophy of faith and history that social change can be achieved and Democracy advanced precisely to the degree that we adhere firmly to non-violent action and resistance in pursuing social change and justice.

On the other hand, it is necessary to affirm that the important question confronting our nation and the riot-infested communities is not merely that there be shallow rhetoric condemning lawlessness, but that there be an honest soul-searching analysis and evaluation of the environmental causes which spawned the riots. Nonviolence does not exist in a vacuum. If law and order are to be maintained in any city of our nation, it can only be done when there is an ever-increasing measure of justice and dignity accorded to all persons.

As long as thousands of Negroes in Harlem and all the little Harlems of our nation are hovered up in odorous, rat-infested ghettoes; as long as the Negro finds himself smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; as long as the Negro feels like an exile in his own land, and sees his plight as a long desolate corridor with no exit sign; as long as he has to attend woefully sub-standard schools and use grossly inadequate recreational facilities; as long as the Negro is daily victimized with de-humanizing squalor and depressing congestion; as long as the Negro finds his flight toward freedom constantly delayed by strong head winds of tokenism and small handouts by the white power structure, there will be an ever-present threat of violence and rioting.

In short, it is necessary to be as concerned about getting rid of the environmental conditions that caused the riots as it is to condemn the violence. To deal merely with effects and not with causes will be socially and morally suicidal. Until the Harlems and racial ghettoes of our nation are destroyed and the Negro is brought into the main stream of American life, our beloved nation will be on the verge of being plunged into the abyss of social disruption. No greater tragedy can befall a nation than to leave millions of people with a feeling that they have no stake in their society.

The time has come for an honest and forthright initiation of a massive program to free the Negro from the long night of economic deprivation and social isolation. Such a massive program will require millions of dollars. It cannot be launched purely on a local basis. The full weight of the federal government must be employed to grapple with problems of joblessness in this age of automation and cybernation.

It must be stressed that if such fundamental problems are to be solved, they cannot be solved by the Negro people and government officials alone.

Negroes and whites must band together and work arduously and nonviolently to remove the cause of frustration and despair that have led to the tragic outbursts of recent weeks.

Quote & Unquote

The Atlanta Constitution, in an editorial on the New York riots: "*. . . In New York, even if there prove to have been no Communist fuses, there would have been no explosion without the dynamite of Negro poverty, lack of opportunity and frustration.*"

* * *

Rev. Connie Lynch, after joining in a St. Augustine mob attack on Negroes: "*Violence like tonight? I favor violence to preserve the white race, any time, any place, any where. Now I grant you some niggers are gonna get killed in the process, but when war's on that's what happens.*"

* * *

Father James Marshall of St. Louis, in a letter to the St. Louis Globe Democrat: "*The hatred gushing forth on our city streets is not happening by mere chance. We are now paying the big price for years of planned segregation.*"

* * *

Rabbi P. L. Boodblatt, of Vancouver, B. C.: "*Men need to break down invisible walls that separate them because of prejudice. The worst wall of all is the glass wall that separates those who are segregated from others—the wall men of color have to look through.*"

* * *

John A. Williams, a novelist, reporting in Holiday Magazine of his trip through the South testing public accommodations: "*There was an air in Louisville (Ky.) that seemed to say, 'By God, this is going to work!' In places of public accommodation I found no hesitation, none of the scanning looks to see if I was the 'right kind' of Negro. People looked you right in the eye. And I liked that.*"

* * *

President Johnson, deploring violence and lawlessness in America: "*American citizens have a right to protection of life and limb—whether driving along a highway in Georgia; a road in Mississippi; or a street in New York City.*"

* * *

John G. Field, Executive Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities: "*The employment predicament of the Negro is worse now than it was in 1954. Through miscalculation, ignorance or misplaced optimism, the impact of automation upon Negroes has been allowed to reach crisis proportions. Greater governmental initiative is needed.*"

* * *

Dick Gregory

Dick Gregory, the comedian, after Senator Goldwater's nomination: "*That's the best thing that has happened to this country. That will bring the filth of prejudice into the open.*"

Mrs. King in concert pose.

Mrs. King To Resume Concerts In October

Mrs. Coretta Scott King, wife of SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr., has agreed to an extended series of concert-lecture appearances this fall at the invitation of numerous churches, clubs and other organizations across the U.S., it was disclosed in Atlanta. The talented soprano launched her concert career nearly nine years ago, but has had to limit her appearances in recent years because of intensified involvement in the civil rights struggle along with her husband.

In the past, she has appeared mostly in concert as a singer, and since 1958 as a lecturer and a speaker. Her tour this year will take on the unique format of a combination of both. It will offer songs of and related to the freedom movement, together with appropriate dialogue tracing today's social revolution from its dramatic beginnings in Montgomery, Ala., to the present.

Begin In Mid-October

A product of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, and the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, Massachusetts, Mrs. King previously has appeared in dozens of cities around the U. S. as well as in Europe, Africa and India.

At present, Mrs. King has made committments for at least a half-dozen appearances beginning in mid-October, but her entire tour has not yet been completed. Churches, clubs and other organizations interested in engaging her for an appearance may do so by writing direct to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 334 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

DIS 'N DATA

HAVE YOU HEARD . . . Those reports from **Mississippi** that Negroes there regular-pay utility bills that are **twice the amounts** paid by whites although they live in only two and three-room houses and are away from home long hours doing the menial chores in the big eight and 10-room homes of their white employers where such appliances as washers, dryers, air conditioners, television sets and record players are in constant use? . . . And did you hear about the **cross-burning** by Alabama's Klan on the lawn at the home of SCLC officer, **Mrs. Erna Dungee** of Montgomery, Alabama? It was set ablaze after the SCLC Assistant Secretary returned from addressing a **mass meeting** in Selma, Ala. Her only concern: police "wouldn't let me keep it for a souvenir."

• • •

DID YOU KNOW . . .That the hectic and rigorous travel schedule for SCLC prexy **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.** has come to be so accepted as routine that his constant cross-country jaunts are almost regarded as commuter flights. Even quick trips abroad no longer raise eyebrows in the home office. For example, he is set to be in **Amsterdam, Holland** for two days in mid-August to address the **European Baptist,** then return again to Europe in mid-September as a guest of West Berlin **Mayor Wily Brandt** to open the **West Berlin Culture Festival** . . . Such constant travel might have led to the confusion of this letter writer who was trying to reach him. His letter was addressed thus: "Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., NAACP Headquarters, 1820 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill." The address, of course, is that of **Ebony** and **Jet** magazines in Chicago. . . . And did you know that Comedian **Dick Gregory** has a new book due out next month. The title is simply *Nigger*. He says he hopes it will take the "sting" out of the word.

• • •

HAVE YOU SEEN . . .Those advertisements in southern dailies seeking buyers for novelty license plates which are replicas of **Confederate battle flags?** Among other things, its virtues are extolled as being ". . . a fine tribute and a memorable gift," and goes on to say that "your car will wear it with pride." It can be purchased—not in any of the 11 southern states—but from a post office box number in guess where —**New York, New York!**

The SCLC *Bookshelf*

New & Current

» *Why We Can't Wait* by Martin Luther King, Jr. In his third book, Dr. King articulates the logic of the Negro's dissatisfaction with well-meaning but futile "due process," step-at-a-time plans for achieving Freedom that is 100 years overdue. The negligible progress since Emancipation is reviewed and shows how irrational it is to expect the Negro to derive hope from that historical record. Dr. King also answers the question "Why 1963?"—discussing the past forces and outlining the developments that can now be anticipated. Harper & Row Publishers.

» *Mississippi: The Closed Society* by James W. Silver. Dr. Silver, a history professor at the University of Mississippi who witnessed the entrance of James H. Meredith, describes the state's commitment to the white supremacy doctrine. His warning: "Mississippi has no more chance of retaining her present folkways, including outmoded segregation and the conscious debasement of the Negro, than she once had of holding on to slavery." Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc. Publishers.

» *Black, White and Gray,* edited by Bradford Daniel. The thesis of this book states that the race problem is not one question, but a complex of questions and that these questions are best raised by a complex of questioners. Twenty-one points of view are presented in the voice of the Southern lawyer and the voice of the Negro moralist. Sheed and Ward Publishers.

Available At SCLC

» *Why We Can't Wait* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Row. Price: $3.50.

» *Strength To Love* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Row. Price: $3.50

» *Stride Toward Freedom* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publisher: Harper & Brothers Co. Price: $2.95

» *The SCLC Story In Words & Pictures,* edited by Ed Clayton. Publishers: Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Price: $1.00.

» *Echo In My Soul* by Septima Poinsette Clark. Publishers: E. P. Dutton & Co. Price: $4.50

» *The Desegregated Heart* by Sarah Patton Boyle. Publishers: William Morrow & Co. Price: $5.00

» *The Day They Marched,* edited by Doris Saunders. Publishers: Johnson Publishing Co. Price: $1.00

Ebony-Jet Writer Authors New Book On 'Revolution'

Simeon Booker

The Negro's fight for equality has engulfed the United States in a social revolution. In *Black Man's America,* Simeon Booker, prize-winning Washington correspondent for *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines, explains the significance of this revolution both in his role as close observer of national affairs and as one of the nation's leading Negro journalists.

The book, just published by Prentice-Hall, examines the Negro's 100-year battle against social, political and economic hardships, and shows how this period of turmoil resulted in the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's.

Booker tells the "inside" story of the "churning cauldron of bitterness, ambition, struggle, and politics" which caused the Negro Revolution of 1963. He describes the role played by the late John F. Kennedy, and reveals much about the average Negro's feelings toward Kennedy and other government leaders.

From his experiences during the 1963 revolution, Booker provides an account of how Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. won the battle of Birmingham.

Booker, a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, was previously with the Washington Post and the Cleveland Call-Post. He is a native of Youngstown, Ohio.

NAACP's Roy Wilkins To Write Book In '65

NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins is scheduled to write a book for McGraw-Hill publishers which will cover his more than 30 years of activity and experiences in the civil rights movements. The book, not yet titled, is set for publication early in 1965.

Mr. Wilkins, a former managing editor of the Kansas City Call, a Negro weekly newspaper, joined the NAACP in 1931 as assistant secretary. He has served as Executive Secretary since 1955, following the death of the late Walter White.

Norwegian Magazine Urges Nobel Prize For Dr. King

A Norwegian religious magazine, "Varr Kirke" (Our Church) has joined in the proposal that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. be given the Nobel Peace Prize for 1964. Previously, he had been proposed for the honor by a group of Swedish Legislators. The winner of the award, which carries with it $50,000 in cash, is chosen by the Norwegian Parliament and the announcement is made between October and mid-December.

The Lutheran magazine, commenting editorially, said: "it would be difficult in today's situation to find a more deserving candidate."

The publication pointed out that Dr. King should be awarded the prize for his role in the nonviolent struggle.

The Poet's Pen

Concession

I will not call you Negro,
The word is dignified,
Dignity on such terms
I cannot abide.
Nigger is a gross word,
One I will not use,
I, a southern gentleman
Do not condone abuse.
Since I must address you,
Neither Sir nor slur,
A masterpiece! My hybrid word
Negra, I confer.

LEWIS H. FENDERSON
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

WHY WE CAN'T WAIT

MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

An explanation of the events and pressures behind today's and tomorrow's quest for civil rights.

The most lucid appraisal to date of all the complex circumstances that have surrounded today's nonviolent revolution, Dr. King writes with critical candor of the Negro's contained discontent and his determination to have "NOW" his long-denied rights.

$3.50

Harper & Row, Publishers

SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

☐ Please send me.....copies of WHY WE CAN'T WAIT at the regular price of $3.50. I enclose $.....in.....cash.....check.....money order.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....Zip.....

The Next Frontier

By Wyatt Tee Walker

With the civil rights bill now the law of the land, it is apparent that in the foreseeable future, we shall see its implementation and enforcement. Thus, the Negro community, particularly, can realistically expect in the next few years, that which Dr. Benjamin Mays calls the equality of *citizenship*—the right to develop individual capacity without the external and obvious obstacles of law and custom that buttressed segregation and discrimination. For the most part, the present bill eliminates (with rigorous enforcement) a great deal of what has bedeviled the Negro for the last three generations.

No Final Panacea

Now it must be said, to the consternation of many liberals, black and white, that it is folly to accept passage of the civil rights bill as the final panacea to the Negro community's thousand and one ills. It is a step in the right direction—perhaps a stride—but *only* that!

What value, precisely, does the civil rights bill hold for me if psychologically and emotionally I have adjusted to my Negro provincialism and do not genuinely feel that I *belong* in America? As difficult and as brutal as it is, we must confess that many, many Negroes in search of an ethnic historical context, now or earlier, looked toward Africa. The salient fact that we must believe and accept is that Negro Americans are Americans, that we are products of Western civilization and have contributed significantly to this culture *in spite* of the slave experience.

'Cultural Blackout'

This is the point at which the next frontier looms. The apprehension and hesitancy that now besets the hearts and minds of Negro Americans is the product of a "cultural black-out"—the intentional and premeditated exclusion of the Negro's significant role in the American experience.

How am I to gain confidence and assurance in an integrated school in Birmingham, Alabama, when I can find no record of my people save that they were once slaves? This "cultural black-out" is not only ominous in portent for the present and next generation of Negro children, it has its dire effect in distorting the minds and experience of all of America's children. It is as important for a child of Italian ancestry to know that blood plasma was developed by Charles Drew (a Negro) as it is for him to know of Christopher Columbus. His father or morther or someone he loves might be granted a new lease on life through the use of blood plasma and he will be able to relate directly to his experience that many kinds of people, early and late in history, contributed to making this nation a land of greater fulfillment.

VOTE FREEDOM IN '64!

For the last ten years, my life and career have been intertwined with what is properly called the Negro revolution. When the news was circulated that I was leaving the South and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to accept another position in the publishing industry, over and over again, I was bombarded with the question, "How can you leave the movement (revolution)?" My answer from the beginning has been and remains the same. As a Negro, I could never leave the "movement". It seems now that the revolution, as does all revolutions, has created new dimensions. Over the past few years, I watched the "solid South" crack and then disintegrate. Yet the pace of *integration vs. desegregation* reflected a wide disparity. This is more noticeable now in the North where for years overt segregation and discrimination have been taboo. The frustration and despair of having apparent opportunity and not being able to seize it, ultimately degenerates to a Harlem and a Rochester. Unless the "cultural black-out" is lifted, unless we develop within ourselves a sense of history that is transmitted to all America, we may risk all that we have gained.

Four Million Dollars Invested

The critical importance of diminishing the "cultural black-out" was again demonstrated by the fact that Dr. King himself, granted me a two-year leave of absence to aid in the development of what is now called the Negro Heritage Library. Under the aegis of Educational Heritage, a Yonkers publishing firm, nearly four million dollars in the last four years have been invested gathering and codifying historical data on Negro life and culture. Noel Marder, the creative and brilliant young president of Educational Heritage envisions within the next two years a 20 to 24 volume family home reference library on the Negro that will meet the test of historical and literary criteria as well as the most modern technical processes in form and design of the publishing industry. The first eight volumes will be marketed in September, 1964.

Provide Sufficient Information

It is in this project that my energies and resources are now invested. The ultimate goal of the Negro Heritage Library is to provide sufficient finger-tip information on the Negro, that before many years, facts about the Negro community's contribution to the American experience will find its way naturally into the history texts of the nation's public schools.

This is the new frontier—waging an intensive campaign against the "cultural black-out" imposed upon the Negro—and only those with the enthusiasm and the patience for hard work dare join our ranks.

FROM THE PAGES OF NEGRO HISTORY

The first Negro to serve a full term in the U. S. Senate (1875-81) was able, cultivated Blanche K. Bruce, son of a white Virginia planter and a slave, who was educated by a tutor, escaped to the North, studied at Oberlin College, and after the Civil War became a Mississippi planter.

AN ODD COMPARISON OF LINCOLN & KENNEDY

Lincoln	Kennedy
1.) Civil Rights Advocate	1.) Civil Rights Advocate
2.) Elected in 1860	2.) Elected in 1960
3.) Assassinated on a Friday in the presence of his wife.	3.) Assassinated on a Friday in the presence of his wife.
4.) Succeeded by Vice-President Andrew Johnson	4.) Succeeded by Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson
5.) Andrew Johnson was a Southerner	5.) Lyndon Johnson was a Southerner
6.) Andrew Johnson was born in 1808	6.) Lyndon Johnson was born in 1908
7.) John Wilkes Booth who assassinated Lincoln was a Southerner	7.) Lee Harvey Oswald who assassinated Kennedy was a Southerner
8.) Booth was born in 1839	8.) Oswald was born in 1939
9.) Booth was slain before his trial	9.) Oswald was slain before his trial
10.) Lincoln had a child to die while he occupied the White House	10.) Kennedy had a child to die during his presidency
11.) Lincoln's Secretary, Kennedy, advised him not to go to the Ford Theater.	11.) Kennedy's Secretary, Lincoln, advised him not to visit Dallas.

JOINS SCLC STAFF

(*Continued from Page 1*)

author and co-author of four books. They are: Leadership Training Handbook, 1955, A & M College; Public School Law— Alabama Cases and Materials, 1956, A & M College, Normal, Alabama; Principles of Economics, 1958, Pitman Publishing Co., New York, N.Y.; and College Business Law, 1960, Pitman Publishing Co., New York, N.Y.

Besides these, he has also written and had published several articles in the related fields of his formal training.

Mr. Blackwell is married to the former Elizabeth Knox of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and they are the parents of one child, a daughter, Blanche, age six.

Ghana Opens First Meat Factory

The first meat canning factory in Ghana was scheduled to begin operation in July at Bolgatanga, 650 miles north of the Ghanaian capital of Accra. A daily production schedule of 15,000 tins of corned beef has been set.

VOLUNTEER REGISTRARS, A GEORGIA FIRST—Part of the reason why voter registration in Atlanta, Georgia has risen to record numbers was the employment last spring of Negro volunteers for the first time to register new voters. A total of 94 worked without pay in SCLC-assisted voter registration drive which has brought registration of Negroes to upwards of 70,000 in Fulton County and 275,000 over state.

From The Pages of Negro History

The first American who *actually* reached the North Pole (1909) was the late Matthew Henson, a Negro who accompanied Admiral Robert E. Peary.

From The Pages of Negro History

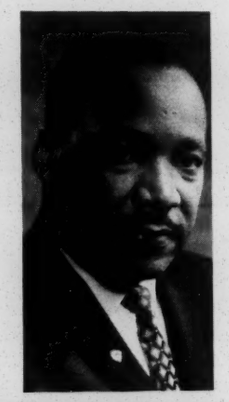
In the Civil War, more than 210,000 Negroes fought in the Union army and navy. Among them, 20 were awarded Congressional Medals of Honor. More than 38,000 Negro soldiers were killed in 449 battles.

From The Pages of Negro History

George Washington barred Negroes from the Continental Army until the British began recruiting slaves. Alarmed, the Americans then enlisted more than 5,000 Negro soldiers and used them in integrated units.

Of Riots And Wrongs Against Jews

By Martin Luther King, Jr.



Dr. King

The recent riots in New York City and Rochester were a cause of dismay and disappointment for me. We have for many years preached and practiced a policy of nonviolent peaceful protest, and with this technique we have made substantial gains. More important, we have insisted that only just means be used in seeking a just end. We had hoped to establish a high moral plane for our cause, and I believe that in the main we have succeeded.

The riots, with their attendant destruction of property and looting, may be explained, but immoral conduct for any reason can never be justified.

In my judgment, the role of the Negro leaders in such a crisis is two-fold. On the one hand we must vigorously condemn the violence and lawlessness in the Negro community. On the other hand, we muust be equally vigorous in appealing to the white power structure to work passionately and unrelentlessly to get rid of environmental conditions that caused the riots. By this I mean the elimination of ghettoized housing, discriminatory barriers to jobs, and inferior, segregated schools.

Pained At Looting

While the outbursts in New York City and Rochester cannot be considered expressions of anti-semitism, I am particularly pained to learn that a large percentage of the looted stores were owned by our Jewish friends since as a group, the Jewish citizens of the United States have always stood for freedom, justice, and an end to bigotry.

Our Jewish friends have demonstrated their commitment to the principle of tolerance and brotherhood in tangible ways, often at great personal sacrifices. Can we ever express our appreciation to the Rabbis who chose to give moral witness with us in St. Augustine during our recent protest against segregation in that unhappy city? And I need not remind you of the awful beating suffered by Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld of Cleveland, Ohio in Hattiesburg, Miss. (*see photo below*) as he joined civil rights workers there in July.

Great Contribution

And who will ever forget the sacrifice of two Jewish lives, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, in Mississippi this past June? It would be impossible to record the contribution that the Jewish people have made toward the Negro's struggle for freedom — it has been so great.

I solemnly pledge to do my utmost to uphold the fair name of the Jews. Not only because we need their friendship, and surely we do, but mainly because bigotry in any form is an affront to us all.

Rabbi Lelyveld

Letters To SCLC

Lester Maddox And His Chicken

Dear Sirs:

I was very glad to see that Lester Maddox got what was coming to him as I read in today's *Springfield Union* that a three judge federal court had ruled against his discriminatory practices. Earlier in February I remember reading a column by Ed Clayton in your *SCLC Newsletter* about Lester Maddox and his Jim Crow Chicken.

I believe that the culmination of this Civil Rights struggle will come very soon. I have fought for this cause in Williamston, North Carolina under the competent leadership of Mr. Golden Frinks, and there I was put in jail. However, I would do this many times over in order to have my dark-skinned brothers free to live the way I do.

JAMES L. STEVENSON

Springfield, Mass.

Walls Of St. Augustine

Dear Dr. King:

I am sorry you are in jail again. Isn't it odd that people like you, ,who are doing right, are placed in the company of those who have done wrong? Do you know for what you were arrested? I don't, and probably, neither do the peace officers who arrested you. The seven people arrested at the seventh try on the beach at St. Augustine, they were just trying to bath at a public beach. I was overjoyed that anyone was allowed on that beach at the eighth try. Before, it was just a beach; now it is a step forward.

The first thing I ever learned about St. Augustine was that it was the oldest city in the world. I pictured it as a walled fortress, but with no one inside. My idea was true. St. Augustine is a walled city, self walled. It may prevent others from coming in, but it also locks those inside forever inthin the walls of hate. The people who have walled themselves in are the same as the people outside, yet through their ignorance they have imagined otherwise. Only they suffer. They do not exist.

Mr. King, this letter will probably never reach you, but someone will read it and know how I feel. I'm afraid the people of St. Augustine would not agree with me but I shant [sic] fret, I know they are wrong.

JENNIFER STONE

Indianapolis, Ind.

Independence Day

Dear Dr. King:

My thoughts have been with you so much since President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Bill and it became law. If any one person can be credited with passage of the bill, I think you are the one. God and millions of human beings have been with you, however, and I am sure countless human beings, regardless of the color of their skins, are deeply grateful for what has happened this *Independence Day*.

There is much for all of us to do before our country is the truly great Democracy we all want it to be. I hope I can continue to support your work for a long time to come.

God bless you, your fine family, and the future of your great work. Today has been a thrilling *Independence Day* for many of us, I suspect, as well as for you.

BEATRICE S. ROSSELL

Phoenix, Arizona

Shares Desire For Victory

Dear Mr. King and my dear Negroes:

It is with deep concern and a sharing of your desire for victory that I have watched your civil rights struggle. It is this that has prompted me to write to you, to encourage you and give you in written form my full support knowing what is has cost you and will yet cost you to continue. My prayers and understanding also to your wife and children who in many instances must wait out the tense days and hours at home hoping for victory and yet equally anxious for the welfare of their husbands, fathers, sons, and daughters; brothers and sisters.

I need not tell you not to give up, for I know, thank God, that you will not. But I believe in a time of crisis it is good to support our leaders again and again, confirming them in their stand and letting them know their efforts are appreciated and their ideals true.

May God bless you, your families, your efforts.

SISTER TERESE ANGELINA MOREAU

Carmichael, California

100 Years Of Cherished Hate

Dear Dr. King:

On the 13th of this month, I will be 97 years old. I was born and reared 25 miles west of Clarksburg, West Virginia, where Stonewall Jackson was born and reared. Both my father and grandfather voted for Secession for many, many years. My sympathy has been with the colored people of the United States. One hundred years is a long time to cherish hate and I hope the day will come soon when the Negroes will have absolutely equal rights.

GERTRUDE COLLSON

Richmond, Ohio

CONTRIBUTIONS

I wish to contribute to the work of SCLC and the social struggle in the South.

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December 26, 1961

Mr. James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Moss:

The Southern Regional Council already has bought and paid for "Facts on Film" covering the period May, 1954 through June, 1961. The 1960-61 supplement should be ready for delivery very soon.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

December 22, 1961

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Ninetbbnth Avenue, South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

Is it possible that the 1960-61 Supplement to "Facts on Film" may be bought at a later date, or will this be our only opportunity to secure this resource?

Sincerely,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:nm

Southern Education Reporting Service

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December 8, 1961

Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
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Dear Librarian:

Microfilming of the 1960-61 supplement to Facts on Film has been finished, and the prints now are being made. Your copy should reach you by Christmas, and in no event later than January 1.

This completes the microfilm that you contracted to buy. It reproduces our library collection from its beginning in 1954 through June, 1961. Southern Education Reporting Service will continue to function at least through June 30, 1963, but our Board of Directors has yet to decide (1) whether to continue the annual supplements to the microfilm for these two years and (2) the price to be charged for each supplement, if produced.

In making these decisions, it would be helpful to know whether you would be interested in purchasing supplements to the microfilm for the years 1961-62 and 1962-63. The price would be set as near cost as possible, probably at $250 or $300 for each supplement.

For your convenience, I am enclosing a blank on which you may indicate whether you probably would purchase additional supplements. A postage-paid return envelope also is supplied.

Your reply will in no way commit you to purchasing the microfilm. Your expression of interest in it, however, probably will be the determining factor in our decision about continuing the microfilm project.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Enc.

I think yes, at least I don't know how much it will be worth JAM LWD

My library would be interested in purchasing annual supplements to the Southern Education Reporting Service library for the years 1961-62 and 1962-63 at a probable price of $250 to $300 for each supplement.

Librarian

W. L. SNELL

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JM -

I think it would be helpful, in making a decision, if you would write Reed & ask whether the supplements could be bought later, if not ordered in advance

July 11, 1963

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

Like everyone else concerned with the civil rights crisis, we are desperately trying to keep abreast of the latest developments. It is particularly important for us to get the most up-to-date information since we are planning to release periodic supplements to the enclosed publication, "The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments."

As you will note, this synopsis ran through June 24, and we are hoping to issue a supplement covering events since then next week. The SERS clips should be a principal source of information for us. Unfortunately, however, they are running more than two weeks behind time.

For example, this morning we received two batches of clips, both were mailed July 8. But the news stories in them are dated June 21 and June 22, respectively; we have yet to receive clips covering the period between June 24 and today.

I am writing, therefore, to ask if your office can close the gap between the date of the news clips sent and the date they are mailed. I realize, of course, that your office is as hard-pressed as ours these days. But if you can possibly provide us with more current clips, we will be most grateful. Otherwise, we simply won't be able to keep current and comprehensive our record of events in the bubbling and boiling civil rights crisis. I'm sure you can understand our dilemma, and I hope it will be possible to speed up the flow of valuable information from your office.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

September 18, 1963

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

Many thanks for sending us your guide to the subject headings used in indexing materials for the SERS library. The guide seems very impressive, and I am looking forward to reading it. While we may not want to adopt your system in total, we may find in the guide useful ideas for improving our own system.

I guess you've had your hands full the past fortnight with the annual school opening crisis. Thankfully, this year, it has been confined to Alabama and the machinations of the man some Alabamians are now calling "crazy George Wallace."

Incidentally, for some reason we never received our copies of the August issue of Southern School News, and would appreciate it very much if you could include that issue with your up-coming issue.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

Southern Education Reporting Service

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Sept. 11, 1963

Dear Staige:

Our librarian has just completed a guide to the subject headings used in indexing materials for the SERS library. Sometime ago Janet Smith expressed an interest in obtaining a list of our subject headings. Although I realize that you would not want to adopt our system, you and your staff may find it of some interest and value in handling the Xerox materials that you receive from us.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Staige Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enc.

Southern Education Reporting Service

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VJ

Please handle we need to revise

VJ: Note the attached revised list done by MM + RHA

M. Ildred + Ruth have handled — the list totals 96 VJ

Feb. 25, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The group subscription by the Southern Regional Council for Southern School News expired with the February issue.

It is obvious from a glance at the list that these people are among those with significant need for SSN, and of course we are keeping them on the mailing list for the March issue pending receipt of your renewal order.

We are sending you again the 87 names and addresses for your convenience in making corrections or changes. May I suggest that perhaps there are additional people whom you might see fit to provide with the pertinent coverage available only through SSN.

Of course we'll be glad to bill you later, as you may request. A postage-paid envelope is herewith for your convenience in ordering.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Tom Flake

Tom Flake
Director of Publications

Enc.

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When placing your renewal order, please return this list with any additions or corrections you may wish to make.

April 7, 1964

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

We have received the 1962-63 microfilms but as yet, we do not have the index for same.

Would you please check for me and see if it has already been mailed, or if it is still in the process of being made. An early reply would be highly appreciated.

Thank you for your attention in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

April 10, 1964

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

Many thanks for your letter. We received the index this week and with the new breakdown on demonstrations, it will be most helpful to us, particularly since we are having to rely more and more on microfilm.

Incidentally, I have another favor to ask. At the present time we are receiving five copies of Southern School News, but this has meant that Paul Anthony and Mrs. Tilly have had to share a copy. Since Paul travels so much and could use SSN on the road, could you please up our number of copies to six and bill us accordingly.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

Southern Education Reporting Service

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Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
291-1262

April 9, 1964

Dear Staige:

After receiving your letter, I called our microfilmer to learn why the index to the 1962-63 supplement to "Facts on Film" had not reached you. He told me that the indexes were mailed on April 3. I trust that yours has arrived by now.

Thank you for calling this to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION
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291-1262

April 13, 1964

Dear Staige:

I'm glad you received the index to the microfilm. Incidentally, if you have any suggestions for improvement of our indexing system, we would welcome them.

We will increase the number of subscriptions to Southern School News from five to six, effective immediately.

You are not the one I should write, but I'll appreciate your placing in the proper hands my request for another copy of "New South" for January. We have one for our library, but I want one for my personal files.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

April 14, 1964

Mr. Jim Leeson
Director of Information
and Research
Southern School News
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Jim:

At the request of our Field Director, Paul Anthony, we are preparing a state-by-state report on the present school desegregation status. Needless to say, SNN is an invaluable source for recent developments involving school desegregation.

I am writing, however, to ask if you have any later figures on the "Segregation-Desegregation Status," since your report in the December 1963 issue of SSN. I don't imagine there have been many changes, but we would like to know about it if any have occurred. Can you help us.

I hope this is not asking too much. Any information you can give us will be most appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

May 1, 1964

Mrs. Eugene Deal
Circulation Manager
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Deal:

In compliance with your request for the correct address of Dr. Ralph Dreger, the following is submitted.

Dr. Ralph Dreger
Professor of Psychology
University of Jacksonville
Jacksonville, Florida

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

/nm

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION, NASHVILLE, TENN. 37212

Publishers of Southern School News

April 30, 1964

Southern Regional Council:

We show the address for Dr. Ralph Dreger as 2867 Justin Road, Auburn, Alabama. The Post Office says there is no such street. Will you please send us the correct address so we can remail Dr. Dreger's paper.

Thank you.

Mrs. Eugene Deal, Cir. Mgr.

Professor of psychology
Univ of Jacksonville
Jacksonville, Florida

May 28, 1964

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
Post Office Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

I am enclosing herewith our revised Board list for your use in sending to them the Southern School News. This will replace the one you are presently using.

If you have any questions or problems, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

June 3, 1964

Mr. Jerry Miller
Southern Regional Education Board
130 6th Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Miller:

I am enclosing, as per your telephone request, copies of clippings which reflect actions on the part of colleges and universities in the area of civil rights.

You will note that these actions relate to the admission of Negro students for the first time, or some program to aid Negroes financially for college training. It would appear that few schools have issued policy statements, per se. Rather, their policies are indicated in their action as related to the admission of Negro students.

This material does not exactly comply with your request; however, we hope it approximates, to some extent, what you are looking for.

If we can be of further service, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

June 11, 1964

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
Post Office Box 6156- Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

This is to confirm our conversation earlier this week, and our agreement that you will send, beginning June 10 and ending July 10, the SERS clips to Mrs. Sue Rusche, at the Cornet, 200 C Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.

We also look forward to receiving a list of the newspapers from which our clipings come.

Thank you kindly, for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

P. S. Reed the list of newspapers just came in.
Thanks a lot.

VEJ

LWD ✓
✓✓

Southern Education Reporting Service

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PRESIDENT
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NASHVILLE, TENN.

June 9, 1964

Dear Vernon:

Here is the list of newspapers clipped in our library. The Council receives reproductions of the materials we clip from all these papers.

Following your instructions, the Xerox reproductions will be sent to Mrs. Rusche in Washington during the period June 10 -- July 10.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LWD-
BP✓

Southern Education Reporting Service

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June 15, 1964

Dear Vernon:

The mailings to Mrs. Rusche in Washington started on June 10, as scheduled.

You scared me momentarily when you said you had not received the list of newspapers we clipped for you. I'm relieved to know that the list arrived and hope that it serves your purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

June 23, 1964

Mr. B. Griffitts
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Griffitts:

We appreciate your bringing to our attention the fact that you have "The Negro in Chicago: 1963," series beginning with the article you sent us, through August 31, 1963. We would very much like to have the complete series xeroxed, and forwarded at your earliest convenience.

Thank you for your attention in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

/nm

February 24, 1965

Mr. Walter Schatz
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Mr. Schatz:

In compliance with your request, we are enclosing three copies of "What Happened in the South," for the SERS library.

SERS is on the Southern Regional Council's mailing list and receives, for the most part, all of our publications. The publication, "What Happened in the South," was sent out not as part of a general SRC mailing, consequently, SERS was left out. Our applogies for the omission.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

Feb. 17, 1965

To: VJ

From: MA

Vernon, about a month or so ago I gave you a similar letter (to the attached) from SERS requesting a copy of a publication we had just sent out a few weeks previously. It was the second one, and they still said they were not on our mailing list.

What is wrong that they can't receive everything we publish and mail out?

I'm just too embarrassed to write them again and say how sorry we are and from now on they will receive our stuff.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION
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February 15, 1965

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NASHVILLE, TENN.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We have seen recent reference to a report on Southern Negro voting in the November 3 election and would like to obtain a copy for our library.

A tear sheet describing our organization is enclosed for your information. We will be glad to remit if any cost is involved.

Very truly yours,

Walter Schatz
WS:irb

Walter Schatz

WS:irb
Enc.1

March 24, 1965

Mr. Walter Schatz
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Schatz:

In compliance with your request, we are enclosing one copy each of the first and second annual reports of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

Rec'd 3/22/65

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✓ Yes please

March 19, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are interested in obtaining the first and second annual report on the Voter Education Project published by your organization.

We will be glad to remit if any cost is involved.

Very truly yours,

Walter Schatz
(SKB)

Walter Schatz

WS:mac

July 13, 1965

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar has asked that I reply to your letter of July 2 requesting our plans for using your services.

As you know, SERS has been invaluable to this agency and we naturally are reluctant to say no, not knowing what your new service entails. I think we would prefer a second look at it before making any final decisions.

Your letter stated that the cost for obtaining a copy of the typewritten report "would be high, but not prohibitive." Organizations like ours must be budget conscious, so please give us some idea of the actual cost.

John Edgerton of the University of Southern Florida tells me that he will begin working with you in the near future. Congratulations on landing a talented, dedicated young man.

Glenda Bartlett and other friends of yours here--and that includes me, since I met you in May when you came to SRC's office to report discontinuance of SERS clipping service--send their warmest regards.

Good luck in your new adventure.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

Rec'd 7/6/65

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NASHVILLE, TENN.

SA ← file
reply
(you may want to confer with Paul)

July 2, 1965

Dear Les:

Your comments on Southern School News prompt me to let you know about a recent development. I have just signed an agreement with the United States Office of Education under which SERS will supply to USOE monthly reports on developments in the desegregation of education in the Southern and border states. In effect we will continue to produce Southern School News each month, but it will not be printed for general distribution.

The cost of compiling these reports will be borne by the Office of Education. Would you be interested in obtaining a copy of the typewritten report? The cost would be high, but probably not prohibitive. ?

You are lucky to have Glenda Bartley coming to work for you. Please give her the greetings of the SERS staff.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

July 20, 1965

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Reed:

Thank you for your letter of July 15 concerning the cost for obtaining a copy of the typewritten report.

As you must know, we are highly interested in receiving a copy of this report, but will await word of the frequency and exact cost before commiting ourselves.

We have read that you are to soon be in Atlanta, and welcome you, with your wonderful abilities, to our fair city. Who is to replace you there, or is this information publishable yet?

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

GBT
BPV
BM

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212

NM — answer this. We'll award word of the frequency & exact cost before deciding. But it seems that we're interested. Welcome him to Atlanta & say we read of his coming. Ask who is replacing him there.

July 15, 1965

Dear Sam:

Thank you for your interest in pursuing the possibilities of obtaining the copy of our typewritten monthly report on developments in school desegregation. The cost of compiling the information and producing the first copy of the report is very high indeed. We are doing this under a contract with the United States Office of Education, which in effect is making it possible for us to continue to produce Southern School News each month in typewritten form.

At this point it is impossible for me to say precisely what the cost to us would be of producing additional copies of the report. It would be very small relative to the cost of the original copy. What mainly is involved is Xeroxing, labor and materials. My rough estimate is that this will run around $50 a copy. This is what I had in mind when I said the cost "would be high, but not prohibitive."

If this price is within range and is commensurate with your interests in obtaining the kind of information that has been published in Southern School News, let's keep the dialogue open. Within another week or so I will have more precise information about our costs than I have now.

Thank you for your comments about John Egerton. I agree that we are fortunate in having him come to work with us.

I can reciprocate by saying that you have an exceptionally fine new employe in Glenda Bartley. We were sorry to see her and her husband leave Nashville. Please give her my regards -- and if she's going to be clipping papers, my sympathy.

Perhaps the word has trickled down to Atlanta by now that I soon will be following in Glenda and Bud's footsteps. Soon after Sept. 1 I will be leaving SERS for Atlanta. I'm going to be director of a new project of the Southern Regional Education Board to provide opportunities to Southern newspapermen for advanced education. I hope I shall be seeing more of you and my other friends at SRC.

Sincerely yours,

Reed

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Sam Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

July 30, 1965

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

Yes. We would certainly appreciate a "loan copy" of the final typewritten report. This would definitely put us in a better position to make a decision on purchasing it.

Again, let us welcome you to Atlanta. We look forward to receiving the "loan copy" soon.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. BOX 6156
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212

July 26, 1965

Dear Sam:

This morning I reached an agreement with the United States Commission on Civil Rights under which the Commission will buy our monthly report on School Desegregation in the Southern and Border States. The Commission agreed to pay the price of $50 a copy. As I indicated in my earlier letter to you, this represents the direct cost to us of reproducing and assembling the report. It covers none of the substantial costs of collecting the information, writing the reports and having them retyped.

Each monthly report is in essence a typewritten copy of Southern School News. It will present factual, objective comprehensive accounts of developments in school desegregation. Each report will be complete for the month preceding its date of issue. That is, the report assembled in July covered the month of June. This report is being compiled under a contract with the United States Office of Education. Except for this basic contract, the report ~~will be~~ would be unavailable, since we had made no plans to continue this phase of our operations. The agreement with the Office of Education specifies that the report must be completed and placed in the mail no later than the 20th day of the month. We beat the July deadline by four days, and it is my hope that we will be able to repeat this performance as a general rule.

Would you like to have us send you on loan a copy of the first typewritten report? You could examine it to determine its value to you.

Thank you for your kind words about my coming to Atlanta. I shall expect to move sometime between Sept. 1 and Sept. 15.

You ask about my successor. No decision has been made yet, but I am hopeful that someone can be named while I still am here.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Sam Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

September 8, 1965

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

Please accept our apology for keeping this sample copy of your monthly report on school desegregation so long. I have been traveling extensively, consequently, my being able to examine the copy was delayed.

I am returning the copy to you, because presently, we will not purchase it. If, at some future time, we should decide to do so, we will certainly let you know.

I can thoroughly understand your not giving the report away, it is very valuable.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

LWD ✓
PA ✓

Cost is $50 a copy

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212

August 2, 1965

Dear Sam:

The sample copy of our monthly report on school desegregation in the Southern and border states has been mailed to you. You will note that this picks up where Southern School News left off. The report for July now is in preparation and will be completed on or before August 20.

After you have examined the sample report, you may keep it if you decide to buy it. Otherwise I shall appreciate your returning it to me. I'm sorry that it is too valuable a document to give away.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Sam Adams ✓
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

file

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Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta Daily World
Baltimore Afro-American (Weekly)
Baltimore Sun
Baton Rouge State Times
Birmingham News
Charleston Gazette (W. Va.)
Charleston News and Courier (S.C.)
Charlotte Observer
Chattanooga Daily Times
Chicago Defender (Weekly)
Chicago Sun-Times
Crimson White (Univ. of Ala.)
Christian Science Monitor
Daily Texan (Univ. of Texas)
Dallas Morning News
Delta Democrat-Times
Florida Times-Union
Greensboro Daily News
Houston Post
The Hustler (Vanderbilt Univ.)
Jackson Daily News & Clarion-Ledger
Knoxville News-Sentinel
Louisville Courier-Journal
Los Angeles Times
Macon Telegraph
Montgomery Advertiser
Nashville Banner
Nashville Tennessean
New Orleans Times-Picayune
New York Times
Norfolk Journal & Guide (weekly)
Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
Pittsburgh Courier, Southern ed. (Weekly)
Raleigh News & Observer
The Plainsman (Auburn Univ.)
Providence (R.I.) Journal
Richmond News-Leader
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Roanoke Times
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times
The State (Columbia, S.C.)
Washington Post
Wilmington Morning News
Winston-Salem Journal
Memphis Commerical Appeal
Miami Herald
The Mississippian (Univ. of Miss.)

File

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PA
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Return PW

Atlanta, Georgia
July 24, 1965

Representative Charles L. Weltner
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman:

During the week of July 6 through 9, my wife and I had the opportunity of visit-with your staff on occasions and had the opportunity to view all the debate on HR 6400, the Sellar Voting Rights Bill.

The occasion, of course, was historic and very crucial in the struggle for equal rights for all the citizens of our country. The debate was, as expected, with the emotional and memorable additions by Representative Hale Boggs of Louisiana, and Representative Charles E. Bennett of Florida. The speeches of those men, in addition to the support of many other southerners, is a sign that there may be hope for our Southern Congressmen to take the leadership responsibility in speaking out on and acting on progressive legislative matters in the areas of social and political change. On several occasions, I have discussed by feelings with Wyche Fowler about this and have expressed that I believe there is a very eminent burden of responsibility on you for speaking in favor of additional measures to ensure the Negro equal rights and privileges in all areas of legislative concern. The coming months in Georgia, are going to produce the potential for changes we have never believed possible in a state which has not lived up to its responsibilities as it should have. The fact that Negroes and many white people in Georgia are going to have their first voice in the state legislature since Reconstruction, is nothing to be considered without extensive awe. This fact coupled with the personalities of these new legislatures will bring demands on our congressional representatives to act and work for legislative measures, commensurate with the needs and desires of their constituency.

The record of your voting is public. Many people have respected your representation from both the Negro and white population of Fifth District. I feel sure that this will continue. The record has shown again that you have voted with James Mackay, and 21 other Southerners (and not to forget 310 other Congressmen) in favor of the Civil Rights Bill of 1965. What the record does not show is: (1) your absence from the floor approximately 90% of the time from July 6 through July 9; (2) your absence at every initial quorum count which necessitated additional delays in the passage of this bill from July 6 through July 9; (3) your frequent absences from the floor on the critical day of the vote, July 9; (4) your absence for every vote of closure for debate on the various amendments proposed on July 9; (5) your absence from the floor during the initial tell vote for the Gilbert Amendment (although you were present for the second teller vote); (6) your absence from the floor during voting for the Whittner Amendment, and (7) (8);(9); (10) your affirmative vote for every weakening amendment, except the McCulloch Substitute, whenever you were present, which was presented to HR 6400. This includes the Boggs Amendment which would have taken all the effectiveness from this bill.

I believe that there are numerous members of your constituency which are watching your actions on the floor concerning the Civil Rights measures considered. I also do not believe Wyche's statement that "we vote for all civil rights measures" is completely valid. In the count you have represented your district, but I don't believe you have represented it to the degree that you possibly could have in civil rights issues during the House debate, or in the small side room caucuses. My concern is that there are also numerous people who remember that you voted against the 1964 Civil Rights Bill the first time it was called to a vote on the floor of the House. Upon reapportionment of your district, which demanded that you represent the majortiy of the Negro population of Atlanta, you switched your vote on the affirmative. This fact coupled with your failure to actively support HR 6400 in Washington prior to July 8th, the demands eminent with the future vote on the Mississippi Challenge, additional regulations to strengthen Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, and your presence on the most controversial and infamous committee in Congress, cause to make me questioning.

Fifth District could not be better represented in our state legislature than with the new nine who will be there on reconveneing. This will serve to inform the community of the potential for the solving of their problems. They will have a very loud voice within the state and they need an effective one in Washington. Your chairmanship on the subcommittee to investigate usury displays this potential, your mediocre support of HR 6400, and your presence on the House Un-American Activities Committee does not.

I urge that you consider fully the discrimination prevelant in Georgia as well as in all other Southern states. We still have county and state politicians who are infringing on the rights of citizens in this country simply because they happen to be Negro. We have school teachers being fired upon desegregation and consolidation when many of our classrooms within Georgia (the majority being within your district) are unbelievably overcrowded. We still have thousands of Negroes within the South unrepresented in Congress because they were not allowed to vote. We have employers who should be included under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act not complying. We have school boards and administrators who are trying every manner possible to avoid compliance with HEW regulations demanding school desegregation. This is within the state of Georgia, in addition to the majority of the other Souther states.

Denial of the right to vote is an injustice which must be overcome before either you or I can be justifiably proud we are Southerners. This must be overcome prior to any bragging concerning the representation within Georgia, or North Carolina, or Tennessee, or Florida, or Louisiana. Georgia's voting registrars are now registering citizens without regard to race. But what the records do not show, is the economic pressures brought on Negroes within our own state and the other forms of intimidation to prevent voting by Negroes.

It is a matter of lengthy public information and record that there is almost complete voter discrimination in Mississippi. The Congressmen presently representing the citizens of this state in the House of Representatives were elected by a small portion of the eligible voters of that state. You have a responsibility to your

constituency and to Georgia to urge that these Congressmen be unseated and to demand new elections.

I urge your voice for complete civil rights justice in the South and in this country.

Very sincerely yours,

/S/ Richard L. Stevens
Richard L. Stevens
Assistant Project Director

Southern Student Human Relations Project, USNSA
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

RLS:nfb

NOTES ON TENTATIVE PROPOSAL FOR SOUTHWIDE SEMINAR IN LATE SUMMER

In viewing the two previous SSOC conferences and the numerous questions as to the reasons why no additional program was brought out and why there was no more definite organizational structure I submit the following ideas. I also wish to include my ideas concerning the proposed southwide seminar in late summer.

In the formation of a new organization with the hopes and aspirations seen through the first few SSOC organizational meetings, there was great pressure on the organizers of the first conference to satisfy the desires of the conceptualization as well as please those already experienced in the struggle for Negro rights.

Initially, I would like to deal with these two groups of people. Those students who first had the ideas and hopes for SSOC, had their ideas ahead of the organization and the organizing of such a group. A large group of people were searching frantically for new opinions and more liberal issues to rally a cause for. Another group were so estatic with their newly found enclave, it was all they could do to tell additional students. Even a third group did not believe in the optomistic hopes of the majority, and withdrew all except lip-service and criticism. And an additional group were those of the semi-professional and somewhat experienced field workers who did not attempt to evaluate these students as to where they were, in social philosophy now, but were eager to inculcate the injustices of the society, the corruption in the American political process, etc. Each of these has its definite advantage and the eagerness and excitement on the part of numerous students should be applauded, but with some reservation. This is coupled with a lack of living up to a responsibility--the actual logistics of forming an organization of

the type envisioned.

Those who had the responsibility of the formation of the conference had to present it to all the students who had indicated a desire to be encompassed into an organization of this type. These few could not forsake the great hopes of the moderates who were coming along with the more militant students.[1] Consequently, these two great tasks were assigned to them: To program the conference so as to impress experienced human relations and civil rights people as well as those with financial ties; and to create a conference so as not to alleniate any one segment of the present following. The question may not have been one of a fear of alleniation, but there was a strong desire to make the conference relate to all these students. In the last respect both of the conferences were successful. But it is necessary to explain what contex the word "relate" is used. I am using it in an emotional contex referring to two groups of people who see in each other at least one thing in very predominant commoness--that of speaking out for progressive race relations.

The group of people referred to in my second paragraph which included professional and experienced civil rights and human relations people, were looking very strongly for familiar rings to the conference, the actions of the students, and the reaction on the part of the participants.

Numerous people were looking for an organization which they could pigeon-hole into a presently existing slot. Other people were hardened by watching the

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[1]Since this organization both had no historical prespective and was totally unique in that there was no other place for a person to express his opinion in this area, it immediately encompassed <u>all</u> those students in the South no matter what their present level of involvement was. This main desire was an urgent need to speak out and to inform people that there <u>were</u> students in the South who were Southerners who were advocating racial justice.

formation of SNCC and were looking for things they saw in Raleigh, in 1960. this was totally impossible from the very beginning. First, these students were predominantly white students and it was at that time mainly an all-white organization. These students came at a different era in time than any other civil rights organization and they were spawned for a reason no Southerner had ever experienced previously. As students, they did not follow SNCC's formation, if for no other reason than they were not black and they did not know discrimination first hand. These students who were forming SSOC had joined the Struggle for numerous different reasons, at various different levels of involvement, and at various stages of the civil rights movement. They did not have a multilateral area of association and identification with those who sat-in at Greensboro. They had no chance of forming a similiar organization--their goals and reasons for forming were different and the different end necessitated a different type of organization.

These students forming SSOC could not have fit into the structure of any other organization for several simple reasons: These students came together for a reason no one had ever, in anyone's history, come together before. Their consequences were different than anyone else would suffer. These student's bonds were still in their family, the community, the Southern societal structure, and their college. The latter reason again is a totally new and unique experience. Again, if for no other reason, there could not have been an organization formed which would have fit into any previously arranged pattern.

The main problem was that this was not realized by anyone in open committment during, or following, any of the conferences. An attempt was made to fit SSOC into a pre-formed (although loose) pattern. It would not go and consequently,

could not be defined in any existing terms. Wonderment went hot and heavy as to in what way to define this organization which no one understood--except those students who attended the meetings. The organization until that time was the "experience and the potiential," simply and easily explained to students, but difficult for anyone out of this generation and without a student's ties and background. This was proven in the people who were asking time and time again: "Who is SSOC? Where are they? Who do they represent?" At that time, there was no need to answer these questions. No need, because these students were forming a group which felt a demanding responsibility upon themselves to speak out, but did not feel the necessity or the eminent call for a membership issuing bond.

Those forming the organization had very strong pressure to attempt to satisfy each of the different types of idea factions present. This goes without saying that it is an almost impossible job. There was a very good appreciation for the students attending and the speaker choice was aimed, correctly, at these students. The choice alleniated numerous people who were fearful of the "image" these students would receive in their first attempt at a large meeting of this type. This fear proved somewhat unnecessary and was rightfully unheaded by the existing SSOC staff people.

The previously established organizations who spoke in the manner of students at the first meeting was totally and unequivocally unavoidable. The demand had been for a conference-type meeting of the type experienced of numerous other newly forming liberal organizations. It could only have been met, and was only met, in the arrangement of the conference--speakers, panels, workshops, etc. But these students,attending were different. They had their own reasons for being at this meeting and they should have been given the

opportunity to tell others why they were there. But too many other organizations and observers were present in an observor status which the initial founders of SSOC felt too strongly.

My present fear and apprehension concerning SSOC is, from here on out, how do we proceed. There have been a great many things realized and numerous valuable experiences gained. Experiences have ranged from a greater understanding of the existing approaches to civil rights to a more knowledgeable background on the existing issues. There are still several things lacking in those students who are the leadership within the Southern student movement (I, either humbaly or boastfully, include myself in the following comments.) These students have not a philosophy or a series of ideas as to what they want at the end of these protests.

Let me labor this one point a minute. This general southern student leadership commands a fairly professional understanding of the deep philosophical implications as well as the practical political maneuverings of the present civil rights movement. I truly believe this. But my apprehension is that these people are forgetting those students who are at the bottom of the progressive latter; those students who may have a religious committment, etc., but no politicalor sociological understanding of the general workings of the present movement. It is these students I am concerned about first,and second the remaining portion of the potentially radical southern student. Whenever SSOC has experienced a student who has transferred over into the liberal column, after the student becomes tried in civil rights struggles, he leaves the campus. He may not leave it physically, but the majority of the time his interests aim toward the community. We see first hand SNCC's experiences with students. As soon as SNCC field workers developed into informed radical protestors, the

patience exerted towards the bourgeois Negro campus was expelled. SNCC left the campus because they felt they could be doubly effective in even a shorter period of time,more so than they could working on a paternalistic Negro campus. This may have been a justifiable move, I believe. My complaint is that everyone cannot leave the campus and the atmosphere ought not to be that, in order for a worker to be "respected" he must work on direct action within the community. An aim of the role of SSOC has been a conserted effort to keep the student protest on the campus for its major concentration.

The Students who are in the present leadership role have in some manner avoided (at least to a major degree) some pitfalls I have seen the less worldly and astute student fall into. Most initially naive students have the potential to fall into extreme radicalism without thoroughly understanding the reasoning or understanding why this particular political philosophy was necessary to accomplish the initial end which was desired. Throughout history the Southerner has not been exposed to both sides of controversy in an equal and unbiased manner. It has been ingrained into the social structure that one must conform with the existing mores and ethical values of culture as well as right and wrong. This is predominant in southern communities to a larger degree than in other areas. This conformity goes into and through community as well as to family and church. The chance and opportunity for discussion of several opposing issues was an extremely rare thing in more than the majority southern communities. This was evident in the family. It is evident in the church almost to a demandingly autocratic position. And the community demands a similar lack of controversial and divisionary topics.

In a historical perspective the radical student has no point of reference. There is no person to which he can relate to in the same manner that existing northern radicals can relate to the labor movement or other people in prog-

ressive movements throughout the North. I do not see anything in common between Southern students and reasons, causes, and effects viewed within any radical or protest movement. Again, reasons for entering the movement are different, repercusions are different, bonds which must be broken between student and family, church, and community are much harder for a southerner to sever than for students from a less paternalistic background.

Because of these facts and ideas I believe that a new and unique method of approach has to be developed for the southern student. I am opposed to the idea of an extensive number of speakers at the third SSOC Seminar and I believe that southern students have to sit around a table and work out a "Port Huron Statement". They have to evaluate the things they have learned within the past year and see how they can be directed to apply to a larger number of students.

A number of ideas and programs have been developed in the South and are a direct carbon copy of Northern urban programs. It is my contention that if these programs (tutorial projects, community organization work, general protest movements, and the like) were taken and then evaluated in respect to a Southerner's background a greater number of students would respond. If the program has to be modified in its initial effectiveness in order to be applicable to Southern students I am afraid to say that it just may be necessary.

Students who have been active need to re-evaluate where they are in relation to where they were in this protest a few years ago, and where the bulk of the students are in relation to where they were a few years ago. The severance within the right and left wing groups has filtered into the student groups.

I am not calling for a coalition, as I see every necessity for protest groups to maintain a pure radical philosophy as well as other groups to organize a

human relations institute. My contention is that both these organizations, within the student sphere, are filtering off students who are the prime of the masses. The masses or anyone within the masses are not responding. There is a potential for them to respond and I don't believe it has been tapped.

I do not know how we can alter these programs and have no real idea or series of programatic suggestions to offer. But I do propose a seminar type session with absolutely no outside people -- no resource people, no observors -- just southern students doing their own effective evaluation and planning.

Rick Stevens
Southern Project, USNSA
July 24, 1965

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19104 • CABLE: NATSTUD
NATIONAL COMMISSION (215) 222-1106 • INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION (215) 222-5722

November 3, 1964

TO: Interested Students and Friends

From: Hayes Mizell, Director, USNSA Southern Project

On behalf of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), I would like to invite you to participate in the first SSOC Conference on November 13-15. The conference will be held at Old Gammon Theological Seminary, 9 McDonough Boulevard, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

The Southern Student Organizing Committee was formed in the spring of this year in response to students' demands for an organization oriented toward meeting their needs for multi-issue programming on the local campus. SSOC is interested in working with all students, from moderate to radical, and hopes that this conference will attract responsible individuals who are eager to engage in a meaningful and critical dialogue concerning the problems facing the South today. The stimulation and contacts which you will receive from this conference will, hopefully, give you a better perspective on these problems, as well as on the current state of the student movement.

As you can see by the enclosed tentative agenda, a wide range of issues will be discussed. This is an unique and challenging program, which will undoubtedly provoke many stimulating discussions. SSOC feels that the speakers and resource persons will provide you with a rare opportunity to hear and to question those persons who have been actively involved in the creation of a new South.

You are encouraged to share this announcement with others and to urge students on your campus to attend. There will be a limited number of travel scholarships available, and requests for these should be directed immediately to the SSOC office.

President
STEPHEN J. M. ROBBINS
University of California
Los Angeles

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS
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PHILIP SHERBURNE
University of Oregon

Student Government Vice President
MICHAEL H. LAWLER
University of North Carolina

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Latin American Assistant
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1355 Westwood Boulevard
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41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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P. O. Box 1322
St. Louis, Missouri 63166

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ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

WHAT IS SSOC?

The Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed as a response to an urgent need for communication and education in the South. SSOC's role is that of establishing communication among Southerners by engaging in research and educational activities designed to stimulate the sensitivity and participation of Southern students in working for:

* Not only and end to racism, prejudice, and discrimination, but the rise of full and equal opportunity for all.

* An educational program directed toward the elimination of personal poverty and deprivation.

* An end to "public poverty", i.e., in housing, schools, communities.

* A democratic society, with emphasis on non-partisan student involvement in a political system which provides opportunities for meaningful dialogue and choice about issues which affect men's lives.

* An end to man's inhumanity to man.

* A world working toward the easing of Cold War tensions, with positive emphasis on peace, disarmament, and world wide understanding.

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT:

A NEW POLITICS

for a

NEW SOUTH

©

November 13 - 15, 1964

Old Gammon Theological Seminary Campus

Atlanta, Georgia

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Sponsored by the

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

SOUTHERN STUDENT NEEDS:

Within recent months, an increasing concern has been shown by Southern students in the fields of civil rights, civil liberties, peace, academic freedom, capital punishment, poverty, and other relevant political and social issues.

Needs which have been painfully recognized are:

1. The need for communication among local groups in the South having an interest in the above areas of concern

2. The need for mutual support of "isolated" local groups and individuals

3. The need for an exchange of ideas and experiences

4. The need for a dynamic working form of communication among Southerner to serve as a source of strength and unity among students who have a positive contribution to make in building a new South

* * * * * * * *

The purpose of the 1964 fall conference is, in response to the above needs, to kindle and strengthen interest and participation in the issues which confront the South, the Nation, and the World.

CONFERENCE GOALS:

In seeking to meet the needs of Southern students and in implementing the goals of the Southern Student Organizing Committee, the 1964 fall conference will be held November 13-15 at the old Gammon Theological Seminary campus in Atlanta, Georgia.

Approximately 200 students are being enlisted, through campus visitation and mailings, from fourteen Southern states. The goals for this first Southwide conference are:

1. TO BRING TOGETHER SOUTHERN STUDENTS TO TALK AND DISCUSS THEIR COMMON PROBLEMS, BELIEFS, AND ACTIVITIES, EMPHASIZING CIVIL RIGHTS, CIVIL LIBERTIES, POVERTY, ACADEMIC FREEDOM, AND OTHER RELEVANT ISSUES

2. TO ILLUSTRATE THE INTER-RELATEDNESS AND COMPLEXITY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE ABOVE LISTED AREAS OF CONCERN THROUGH QUALIFIED SPEAKERS AND SEMINAR SESSIONS

3. TO CLARIFY A POSITIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE WHICH SOUTHERN STUDENTS MAY PLAY IN BRING ABOUT A NEW SOUTH, RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF ALL ITS PEOPLE, IN THE COMING YEARS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

* * * * * * * * *

The topics for the conference will be:

AN OVERVIEW OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE
SOUTHERN HISTORY AND ECONOMY
CIVIL LIBERTIES
STUDENTS IN POLITICS

Registration for the conference will be held on Friday, November 13, between the hours of two to six in the afternoon. During the registration period, a film related to conference topics will be continuously shown.

REGISTRATION

Persons wishing to register for the conference should complete the form below and submit it as soon as possible.

A registration fee of $5.00 will be charged. This will include housing costs, food for two meals (Friday and Saturday evenings), and will insure admission to all activities.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

College _____

Major _____

How will you be traveling _____

_____

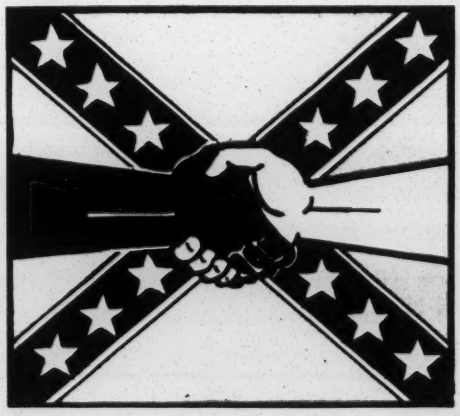
How many will be coming from your school? _____

Send to:

Southern Student Organizing Committee

Box 6403

Nashville, Tennessee 37212



SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

"We as young Southerners, hereby pledge to take our stand now to work for a new order, a new South, a place which embodies our ideals for all the world to emulate, not ridicule. We find our destiny as individuals in the South in our hopes and our work together as brothers."

Nashville, Tennessee
April, 1964

SSOC'S PROGRAM

Education and self-education aimed at the Southern campus to expose the most vital issues of the nation and the world to Southern students. Education which encompasses the facts about the South today, the opportunities available to work for the building of a New South, and a vision of a democratic and integrated South.

Dialogue and democratic participation for Southern students in working for the building of the New South. Dialogue through conferences in accord with the vision and purpose of SSOC to strengthen interest and participation. Participation through community and campus projects enabling students to work for the New South.

SSOC'S GOALS

§ Not only an end to segregation and racism but the rise of full and equal opportunity for all;

§ An end to personal poverty and deprivation;

§ An end to public poverty which leaves us without decent schools, housing, parks, medical care, and communities;

§ A democratic society where politics poses meaningful dialogue and choices which affect men's lives;

§ An end to man's inhumanity to man;

§ A world working towards the easing of tensions of the Cold War with positive emphasis on peace, disarmament, and world-wide understanding.

SSOC

The Southern Student Organizing Committee is a group of Southern students who have united to work for a democratic South.

SSOC believes that there are many white students on campuses across the South who have begun to realize that there are things wrong with the South in which we live. However, all too often these students feel isolated on their campuses and do not see what they can do to work for a New South.

SSOC was begun by students who realized this and felt that something must be done to encourage students to act on their convictions. When these students work together instead of in isolation, effective change can be brought about in the South.

SSOC believes in the New South. We believe that the South has an unique opportunity to prove that men can live together free from hate, want, and fear.

OFFICERS

Chairman ..... Gene Guerrero, Jr.
Emory University

Executive Secretary ..... Sue Thrasher
University of Tennessee

Treasurer ..... Ron Parker
Vanderbilt University

Field Secretary ..... Archie Allen
University of Virginia

The Southern Student Organizing Committee needs your help and participation in working for a New South. Please write us for further information.

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
P. O. Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

TENTATIVE CONFERENCE AGENDA

Friday, November 13

2:00 - 6:00 p.m. Registration (Several films relating to conference topics will be continuously shown.)

8:00 - 10:00 Ron K. Parker, Treasurer of SSOC, will talk about the organization of SSOC, and how it will relate to campus groups.

Saturday, November 14

9:30 - 11:00 a.m. STUDENTS IN POLITICS

"The Need for Coalition," Larry Goodwin, former head of the Texas Democratic Coalition.

"The Freedom Democratic Party Challenge," Bob Moses, Director of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO).

11:00 - 12:00 Workshop

12:00 - 1:00 Lunch

1:00 - 3:00 SOUTHERN HISTORY AND ECONOMY

"Agents of Change in Southern Economy," Robb Burlage, Tennessee State Planning Commission.

"Organizing Labor: What It Means to the South," an AFL-CIO representative.

"The South of the 30's and 40's," Don West, Department of Education, University of Maryland.

3:00 - 3:45 Workshop

4:00 - 5:30 CIVIL LIBERTIES

"Civil Liberties in Perspective," William M. Kuntsler, law firm of Kuntsler, Kuntsler, and Kinoy.

"Violations of Civil Liberties," Rev. C. T. Vivian, Director of Affiliates, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

8:30 - 11:00 Square Dancing, Folk Singing

Sunday, November 15

9:00 - 12:00 AN OVERVIEW OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE

"The Church's Role in the Civil Rights Struggle," Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Presbyterian Commission on Race and Religion.

"The Revolution: Campus and Community," James Forman, Executive Secretary, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

"Toward Building a New South," Dr. Howard Zinn, Department of Political Science, Boston University, author of SNCC: The New Abolitionists and The Southern Mystique.

Right to write

To: Southern College Students, Various Organizations, and Other Friends

From: The Southern Student Organizing Committee

Regarding: The protests at Alcorn College and calling for--

SOUTHERN EDUCATION GENERAL PROTEST

Over the past ten years there have been a series of protests by students of Alcorn A&M College, Lorman, MIssissippi. The have occured in massive scale roughly every two years. The protests have been around university reform and against the doctrine of in loco parentis. Though it is the oldest Negro landgrant school in the country, it is perhaps the worst and most oppressive institution of "higher" education in the nation. Unfortunately, however, many other schools are vying for a very close second--Alcorn is but a caricature of southern education in general--not of Negro education, but of southern education. Attention, therefore, must be focused on all our schools and the absenee ofquality education. More importantly, we must consider the question WHO DECIDES? Not just the dorm or library hours, but on courses, on professors, on books that go in the library, etc., etc. Many colleges have small eruptions over a number of issues--but seldom, if ever, are the radical and substantive questions that revolve around WHO DECIDES really asked by any of us. Mainly, we ask "mommie and daddy" to be more lenient.

The Southern Student Organizing Committee is calling for a period of Southern Education General Protest to be held April 27 thru 29 (Wednesday thru Friday). We welcome participation by schools throughout the South and the nation. Enclosed is a fact sheet on Alcorn; several suggested leaflets; and a list of things you can do that, hopefully, are meaningful and constructive. More information will follow.

It must be borne in mind that the students at Alcorn are not asking us to help them with a diffucult situation; at their "poor little Mississippi black school." Rather they are setting an example for us to follow. We must relate what they are trying to do to our own deplorable conditions. They aren't waiting for someone to "lead them to freedom." We, likewise, must not wait.

FACTS ON ALCORN

The catalogue of Alcorn A&M College in Lorman, Mississippi proclaims the college objective as being "to prepare students to live fully, effectively, graciously and cooperatively in a democratic society while serving the people in the state." In the past few weeks the Alcorn campus has once again erupted in a series of demonstrations in an attempt to prevail upon the administration and the state to live up to its stated goals.

The student complaints comprise a catalogue quite different from the official one. Included are library hours, now limited on weekdays to 8:30 PM, on Saturdays until noon, and none on Sundays; the 9:30 dorm curfew for all women seven days a week, regardless of class; and a prohibition on male students meeting dates at their dorms. These grievances, along with students not being told the price of books they were required to buy and poor laundry service, had prompted the April 1964 Alcorn "sit-out", which led to the suspension of 1000 students, two thirds of the student body at that time.

Despite the extent of the 1964 protests, none of its causes have yet been eliminated. The present student outbursts were begun by the Student Movement of Alcorn College (SMAC), which listed 32 complaints including those of the earlier protests plus the low pay of campus employees, now averaging an estimated $17 for a full week's work.

As well as the demand unmet after the 1964 demon strations, the Alcorn students pressed for a series of new reforms. They asked that the job of handling soft drink machines be taken from the Alcorn President J. D. Boyd's wife; that a more equitable student loan system be introduced; that male students be permitted to escort dates to ball games, movies, and dances; that students no longer be expelled and that faculty and employees no longer be fired for part icipating in civil rights organizations; and that faculty be prevented from making sexual advances to female students with threats of course failures.

After agitation began, the students received support from Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary. Evers called a sympathy boycott of nearby Negro grade schools, which was claimed to be 99% effective. Evers presented a petition listing the 32 student grievances to President Boyd, who told him he would give it to the college Board of Trustees. No action was taken by the college on the complaints but twenty students were expelled for participation in the demonstrations and told by the administration that their transcripts would not be forwarded to other colleges. One student was expelled for no apparent reason. It was quessed that this action was taken either because that student has a beard or because he is a member of the NAACP.

IN response to the harsh and intransigent attitude of the college administration, student demands have increased rather than lessened. They are now demanding that the State Board of Education be revised, that the 1000 students suspended in 1964 be permitted to hold student office, and that students have equal representation on the faculty-adminsitration disciplinary committee, on which there are at present no student members.

SMAC began escalting its tactics. Aboycott was called of the Student Union Building, to protest general conditions as well as exorbitant prices at the cafeteria. Several days later a wood frame building on campus was burned down by an unknown person, and cold water was poured on the bricks of an adjacent building by fire fighters which caused its destruction as well.

Because of administration efforts to crush SMAC, a new student group called United Student Movement (USM) was formed. USM put out leaflets and called for a mass meeting in the school gym, which was attened by almost the

entire student body. After about 45 minutes, the dean of the college came in and dispersed the students. The following evening 600students marched to meet Charles Evers outside the campus. All but about twenty returned to the campus soon after, but were locked out of their dormitories and reported. It is believed that they will be expelled. One of the male students who was expelled that week received a letter from his draft board three days later.

Alcorn A&M is typical of what might be called a "plantation college". It was founded in 1830 but became a Negro school only after the Civil War, when whites needed an excuse for preventing Negroes from Ole Miss. This was done with the tacit approval of the federal government, which allowed Alcorn to become the first Negro land-grant college in the country in 1878.

Like all Negro state colleges, it has remained poor in facilities and faculty, to the extent that until recently its accreditation has been provisional. Even now its standards are extradinarily low, even in purely statistical areas. Ole Miss has one faculty member for each thirteen students, Alcorn has one for each twenty-two. Ole MIss has sixty books in its libraries for each student, Alcorn has fourteen for each. Alcorn offers degrees only on the bachelor of arts and trade professions level and many of its faculty lack advanced degrees. This state of affairs is only the final step in a totally inferior and almost totally segregated educational system for Mississippi Negroes. As NAACP executive secretary said in a statement regarding the Alcorn situation, "Under this system Negroes run a gamut of inferior schooling, in which each level of inadequacy is compounded by the next and it is virtually impossible for the college to be more than a pretense." The situation is further compounded in cyclical fashion since almost the only job for which Alcorn graduates are considered qualified is teaching lower grades in Negro schools.

A situation as complex as this one concerning an inferior, self-reinforcing educational system cannot be easily or quickly corrected. Some feel that the answer is immediate and complete integration. Others think the solution lies in pumping large quantites of funds into these schools for better professors, equipment, and scholarship aid. Whatever course of action is decided upon, it should not be effected without considerable thought and effort.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION AROUND ALCORN SITUATION

1. Letters and Telegrams
   a. You should contact every moderate and liberal student group on campus to urge them to send a telegram or letter to one or all of the below listed people. Don't rule out student council. Especially, you should ask campus religious and protest groups, faculty committees, and in some cases even fraternities and sororities to do this. Also Young Dem's and Young Republicans. Who knows, YAF might even dig it.
   b. To whom: President J.D. Boyd, Alcorn A & M College, Lorman, Mississippi, Governor Paul B. Johnson, State Capital, Jackson, Mississippi, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, House of Representatives, Wash. 25, Mr. Harold Howe II, Commissioner of Education, Office of Education, U.S. Dept. of Health Education and Welfare, Washington D. C.

2. Forums, Discussions, Seminars, etc.
   a. Teach-in: This could involve a debate on Southern education (if you can find anyone to defend education as it is today.) with emphasis on your own campus situation.
   b. Panel discussion of informal nature made up of students, faculty, and administration, with questions from the floor.
   c. Out-door (or in-door if preferable or weather demanding) speak-out, bitch-out, in which students get their gripes out in the open and maybe even get together on doing something about them.
   d. Open Forum: in which the president and other administration officials agree to subject themselves to questions from the student body on conditions and policy of the school. It is a sort of press conference in which the students do all the questioning as do reporters.
   e. Wailing Wall: in essence a gripe board that is used only for that. This could be initiated during this period as a permanent thing at the school. People can put their gripes in writing and pin them on the board or wall.

3. Literature Table
   Several groups have found that on the question of Vietnam a literature table set up on campus has been a good way of stimulating thought and discussion and of just letting people know by this form of demonstration that there are actively concerned people. Literature can be sold or distributed free of charge on the question of university reform and academic freedom. There is a literature list enclosed of things which SSOC has available. The prices quoted are generally for single copies and it is possible that bulk copies of some things might be supplied at cost.

4. Leafleting
   Enclosed is a suggested leaflet that is of a general information character. We suggest that you modify this to fit your own needs with the idea in mind of relating Alcorn to your school. In many ways Alcorn is, in a blatant way, your school too. Leaflets should be handed out at all busy points on campus. If there is a campus across town or next door that is not participating in this protest, then you should think of leafleting there also.

5. Demonstrations of more active nature
   Groups might want to picket their own administration building in sympathy with the students at Alcorn. At the same time conditions on your own campus can be pointed up. Some of the people might leaflet to explain the picket.

Fast: A day long or three day long fast in protest could be gotten together. People might contribute money saved to a student legal defense fund.

Sit-in: Sit-ins have been used on many campuses to protest library policies and cafeteria policies. This type of activity would be most sensibly used after other channels have been exhausted. It would be directed at your school rather than at Alcorn.

6. Have a fund-raising event to cover legal costs for Alcorn and for a general student legal defense fund. (SSOC is tax exempt and is in a position to set up such a fund.)

   Ways of doing this:
   a. A fund-raising party. At Texas the SDS group buys kegs of beer and charges people to come to a rip-snorter.
   b. Fast for student freedom (people don't eat a meal and then contribute.
   c. Ask student groups to take up a collection.
   d. Appeal to faculty and adult groups for funds after speaking at their meetings.
   e. Collect money at booths on campus after you have educated the people
   f. Sell the buttons that we will have printed soon.

File SSOC

The Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), in response to an urgent and growing need for communication and education in the South, is seeking support in order to establish itself as a permanent organization. The following prospectus includes the role of the Southern Student Organizing Committee, its goals, its proposed organizational structure, and its financial needs.

INTRODUCTION

Since a few local student groups, based on predominately white southern campuses, have become increasingly interested in the areas of civil rights, civil liberties, peace, academic freedom, capital punishment, and poverty, the following needs have been painfully recognized: (1) the need for communication among these local groups, (2) the need for mutual support, and (3) the need for the exchange of ideas and experiences. Groups organized on several southern campuses have met with a relative degree of success on a local level (e.g., Nashville's Joint University Council on Human Relations, University of Tennessee's Students for Equal Treatment, Georgia's Students for Human Rights, Duke Universities' Core Chapter, Kentucky's Students for Social Action, New Orleans' Tulane Liberal's Club, Florida's Student Group for Equal Rights, etc.). However, the isolation of these groups has been a major handicap, resulting in a reduction of their effectiveness.

On another level, the "moderate" in the South has not become a part of the positive movement toward a new just, democratic order. On many campuses, the "moderate" has been paralyzed by such various pressures as public opinion and discouragement of participation by university administration policies. As the Negro and civil rights movements have become more "militant" in their demands and tactics, the "moderate" has felt defensively alienated. Various efforts have been made to reach these moderate southern whites and to raise the issues of the hour. Communications and improved human relations have been the goals of conferences, workshops, etc., but they have somehow failed to accompolish their purposes and have not communicated a sense of "what can be done".

The crucial role of SSOC, therefore, is to establish a dynamic, working form of communication among Southerners who have a constructive contribution to make. Thus a sense of unity and strength would be created among students of the South—ranging from the moderate to the militant—in their efforts to promote equality and justice.

FIRST SSOC CONFERENCE

On the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, forty-five student leaders and representatives from approximately fifteen predominantly white southern campuses in ten states gathered in Nashville at the invitation of students from Vanderbilt University and Peabody and Scarritt Colleges. The goals of the conference were several: to assess the extent of involvement in civil rights by students at Southern campuses; to ascertain the amount of interest in action along other political, social, and economic lines; and, to assess their student needs and set up a structure through which felt needs in these areas could be met.

Briefly, these goals were achieved. It was determined that there is a great deal of activity on these campuses, ranging from moderate to radical. Furthermore, it was confirmed that students are interested in not only civil rights but in other areas beyond civil rights, e.g., peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT THE SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES THE LOCAL GROUPS MIGHT ENGAGE IN WOULD BE UP TO THEM. Finally, a structure was set up. The group has called itself the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). A Continuations Committee was directed to formulate specific proposals and programs.

SECOND SSOC CONFERENCE

On the weekend of May 9-10, 1964, forty students met in Atlanta to continue the discussion and planning of SSOC. It was felt that the support and encouragement of other groups was necessary to bring more southern students into the movement. Therefore, SSOC is trying to cooperate and work with other interested groups (e.g., Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)). The general feeling was that a newsletter could provide one source of communication contacts among various campuses and could be used to stimulate democratic participation on many levels. The proposal for a newsletter was accepted by the Executive Committee and one edition was mailed at the end of the school year. The name of the paper is The New Rebel.

An invitation was extended from the president of SDS for SSOC to become a fraternal organization, meaning that the groups would work as closely as possible, exchange educational materials, mailing lists, etc. The role and potential influence of SSOC have been acknowledged as being very significant by individual student leaders, interested adults, local campus groups throughout the South, and national organizations such as SDS, SNCC, and the United States National Student Association.

Three officers were elected in addition to an Executive Committee. They are as follows:

Chairman: Gene Guerrero, Emory University
Treasurer: Ron Parker, Vanderbilt University
Executive Secretary: Sue Thrasher, Nashville

The office of Executive Secretary is considered as a full time staff position beginning in September, 1964 (providing funds are available).

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: The Executive Committee consists of one person from each of five geographical areas.

Georgia, Florida, South Carolina----- Roy Money
Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland--- Ben Spalding
Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana------ Cathy Cade
Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas-------- Jim Williams
Texas, Oklahoma---------- Charles Smith

Also elected to the Executive Committee by virtue of their positions with the white Southern Student project of SNCC were Sam Shirah and Ed Hamlett.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

The Executive Committee met on June 20, 1964, at Western College, Oxford, Ohio, to continue in the planning of the fall program. Emphasis and priority were placed on the following: the need for organizational planning; fund raising, without which the fall program can not be actualized; proposals for the first Southwide SSOC Conference, to be held on October 31 - November 1, 1964. The topics of study for the fall conference will be: "Students In Politics", "History and Economy of the South", and "An Overview of the Civil Rights Struggle".

SSOC's GOALS

The aspirations and general goals of SSOC were verbalized in the following quotations from the statement "We'll Take Our Stand", adopted by the first SSOC conference on April 4, 1964:

"We do hereby declare, as southern students from most of the Southern states, representing different economic, ethnic and religious backgrounds, growing from birthdays in the Depression years and the War years, that we will here take our stand in determination to build together a New South which brings democracy and justice for all its people."

"We hereby take our stand to start with our college communities and to confront them and their surrounding communities and to move from here out through all the states of the South--and to tell the Truth that must ultimately make us free. The Freedom movement for an end to segregation inspires us all to make our voices heard for a beginning of true democracy in the South for all people. We pledge together to work in all communities across the South to create nonviolent political and direct action movements dedicated to the sort of social change throughout the South and nation which is necessary to achieve our stated goals."

SSOC's goals are the following:

(1) Not only an end to segregation and racism but the rise of full and equal opportunity for all;
(2) An end to personal poverty and deprivation;
(3) An end to the "public poverty" which leaves us without decent schools, parks, medical care, housing, and communities;
(4) A democratic society where politics poses meaningful dialogue and choices about issues that affect men's lives, not manipulation by vested elites;
(5) An end to man's inhumanity to man;
(6) A world working toward the easing of tensions of the Cold War with positive emphasis on peace, disarmament, and world-wide understanding.

"We, as young southerners, hereby pledge to take our stand now to work for a new order, a new South, a place which embodies our ideals for all the world to emulate, not ridicule. We find our destiny as individuals in the South in our hopes and our work together as brothers."

SSOC's PROGRAM

In view of SSOC's goals and in relation to and fulfillment of the urgent need for campus education and participation in the areas of social change, the following program for the Southern Student Organizing Committee is submitted:

SSOC shall be concerned with and work in the areas of:

I. Education and Self-Education aimed at the southern campus (particularly concerned with the predominately white campuses which have remained somewhat insulated from the meaning of the human rights revolution in the South). The purpose of this education is to expose to southern students the most vital issues of the nation and the world. This consists of education:

A. On a Vision of a New South which is democratic, integrated, and responsive to the needs of all its people and on a vision of all "issues" which vitally affect our society (e.g., human rights, economic opportunity, peace, and democratic politics).

B. On the Facts about the South today and what is needed to achieve our vision.

C. On the Opportunities for all young southerners of good will to make a contribution to building the New South we seek, especially to promote the range of roles students can play—i.e., from moderate to militant. Many students start with more "moderate" supportive activity and through positive experiences work their way into more direct activity. SSOC seeks also to promote "employment opportunities" for young people for summer and full time work in community action.

II. Dialogue and Democratic Participation for a broader base of southern students in working for the building of the New South especially through:

A. Conferences in accord with the vision and purposes of SSOC which will serve to kindle and strengthen interest and participation in the "issues" which confront the South, the nation, and the world.

B. Special Community Projects emphasizing student participation in ending discrimination, poverty, elite politics, etc.

C. Campus Projects which encourage students to raise and to express their opinions on the issues which most directly affect their lives (e. g., academic freedom, campus integration, student decision-making responsibilities, and "in loco parentis").

SSOC's PROPOSED ANNUAL BUDGET

SALARIES:	
Executive Secretary to handle correspondence and contacts, publish newsletter, maintain central office, etc.	$3, 500.
Campus Traveler to visit Southern campuses to work with local groups, aiding them in terms of transmitting ideas, information, resource materials, educational materials, etc.	2, 500.
TRAVEL EXPENSES	5, 000.
OFFICE EXPENSES	
Rent	500.
Typewriter, mimeo, desks, etc.	400.
Office supplies, paper, stencils, etc.	400.
Telephone	600.
CONFERENCES	
Two conferences are planned per year. Includes honorarium, travel, housing, food, etc.	5, 000.
NEWSLETTER and other Educational materials	2, 000.
MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES	100.
Total	$20, 000.

SNCC

Atl. Jnl.

2 Atlantans Face 'Anarchy' Race Charges

2-19-62

Vol. & Dr. Rm

Two Atlanta integration leaders have been arrested in Baton Rouge, La., and charged with "criminal anarchy" after they attempted to visit a fellow integrationist who was jailed there.

The two were identified as Charles McDew, Negro, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Robert Zellner, white, a field secretary of the same committee.

Both had gone to East Baton Rouge jail Saturday night to visit Dion Diamond, a Petersburg, Va., Negro. Diamond, himself a SNCC field secretary, was jailed three weeks ago on a vagrancy charge.

• • •

McDEW AND ZELLNER were arrested first on a charge of vagrancy and then were charged with criminal anarchy as well. Bail for the two was fixed at $7,000 each.

Baton Rouge has recently been the scene of anti-segregation demonstrations. McDew and Zellner reportedly had integrationist literature and pictures in their possession.

The Atlanta headquarters of the SNCC has protested the arrests to the U.S. Department of Justice and has notified the FBI. The SNCC contended the two were illegally arrested on "trumped-up" charges and that the bail was excessive.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Int fr. SNCC

THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

CONSTITUTION

(as revised in Conference, April 29, 1962)

I. Purpose

A. We accept the following statement of purpose, adopted at the Raleigh Conference in 1960, as the basis for our action:

"We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action. Nonviolence as it grows from the Judaeo-Christian tradition seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.

Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear; love transforms hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hope ends despair. Peace dominates war; faith reconciles doubt. Mutual regard cancels emnity. Justice for all overcomes injustice. The redemptive community supercedes systems of gross social immorality.

Love is the central motif of nonviolence. Love is the force by which God binds man to himself and man to man. Such love goes to the extreme; it remains loving and forgiving even in the midst of hostility. It matches the capacity of evil to inflict suffering with an even more enduring capacity to absorb evil, all the while persisting in love.

By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, nonviolence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities."

B. SNCC shall serve as a channel of coordination and communication for the student movement. By direction of its Executive Committee through its staff it shall have authority to initiate programs in areas where none presently exists, and to work closely with local protest groups in the intensification and extension of the movement.

C. SNCC shall be responsible for the distribution and communication of news regarding any of its staff or local groups. It will publish a newsletter called the Student Voice as often as possible, which shall cover news of the student movement as a whole. In addition SNCC shall be responsible for the distribution and interpretation of information to local groups which is of specific interest to the student movement.

D. SNCC shall be responsible for calling a Conference of the whole student movement each year, on the Easter weekend, and any other conferences the Coordinating Committee deems necessary. These Conferences shall be open to all, primarily educational in nature, and shall be a time when information is exchanged between areas, new knowledge communicated, progress examined, and general plans are made for the coming year. In addition SNCC shall be available to assist states or regions in holding their own Conferences regularly, providing both personnel and financial assistance.

II. The Student Base of the Coordinating Committee

A. Any local protest group in the South shall be eligible for affiliation with SNCC which shall consist of not less than ten members and which subscribes to the principles of nonviolent direct action.

The Executive Committee of SNCC shall have the power to grant affiliation to local protest groups upon application.

B. Responsibilities of SNCC to affiliates

1. SNCC recognizes that local protest groups and affiliates are autonomous and it shall consider them the primary expression of the protest movement in a given area.

2. SNCC Field Secretaries shall be available to lend assistance to local protest groups and to take any other action deemed necessary by the Executive Committee. Visits to campuses or specific areas may be brief or at times Field Secretaries may be assigned upon request of the local area to work with a particular program on an extended basis.

3. Affiliates shall be eligible for financial assistance from SNCC. Ongoing commitments must be cleared through the Executive Committee, but emergency situations will be handled by the Executive Secretary of the staff and the Chairman of SNCC.

C. Responsibilities of local affiliates to SNCC

1. Each affiliate shall elect one of their members to serve as a voting member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. This person shall serve for a term of one year, shall be eligible for re-election, and shall be a representative to SNCC in the manner of a Congressman to Congress.

2. Affiliates shall give every consideration to cooperating with South-wide or area-wide projects decided upon by SNCC or its Executive Committee.

3. Affiliates shall appoint a SNCC News Coordinator whose responsibility shall be to supply the central SNCC office with up-to-date information regarding protest activities in that area. The central office shall in turn supply the News Coordinators with news of events and activity in other areas.

III. The Organization of SNCC

A. The Coordinating Committee

1. The Coordinating Committee shall be composed of one representative from each of the local protest groups.

2. The Coordinating Committee shall meet three times a year: immediately before and immediately after the annual conference, and in early Fall.

3. Membership on the Coordinating Committee shall be from annual conference to annual conference.

4. National civil rights and civil liberties groups at work in the South are invited to serve in an advisory and/or observing capacity, with voice but not vote on the Coordinating Committee. Such permission is to be reviewed by the Executive Committee and finally approved by the Coordinating Committee

B. The Executive Committee

1. The Coordinating Committee shall elect from among its voting membership at the time of the annual conference eight persons to the Executive Committee. It shall also elect two adult members to the committee. The Chairman of the Coordinating Committee and the Executive Secretary shall also serve as members of the Executive Committee. In addition, the annual conference shall elect three members at large to the Executive Committee who must be students currently or formerly engaged in the protest movement. These fifteen persons shall compose the Executive Committee.

2. The Chairman of SNCC shall be elected by the Coordinating Committee, and shall serve as Chairman of both the Coordinating Committee and the Executive Committee. He shall devote full time to the work of SNCC and its staff.

3. The Executive Committee shall act on behalf of the Coordinating Committee between meetings of that body. It shall be directly responsible for the program, for direction and supervision of staff, for the financial operation of the organization, and for any matters of policy which need action. It shall be responsible to SNCC and implement its programs.

4. The Executive Committee shall meet five times a year: in May, in mid-summer, in Fall with the Coordinating Committee, during the Christmas holiday, and at the annual conference. It may also meet at unscheduled times when necessary

5. The Executive Committee shall have the power to appoint whatever committees it may consider helpful to the work of SNCC.

C. The Advisory Board

1. The Coordinating Committee shall elect its own advisory board, the number on which is flexible and to be determined by the Coordinating Committee. Advisors shall serve for a term of one year, and shall be eligible for re-election.

2. Two members of the Advisory Board shall be voting members of the Executive Committee.

D. The Staff

1. The staff shall be responsible for the implementation of the program of SNCC, at the direction of the Executive Committee.

2. The head of the staff shall be an Executive Secretary, who shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of SNCC. He shall supervise and be responsible for the activity of the other staff.

3. The Executive Committee shall employ whatever staff it understands to be necessary for the operation of the program. All staff appointments shall be for one year and subject to annual review by SNCC.

IV. Finances

1. The work of SNCC shall be financed on the basis of voluntary contributions and through other sources of funds which it shall be able to secure.

2. Since SNCC is the Coordinating Committee of the student movement, efforts shall be made to find ways in which students may contribute significantly and substantially to the support of the program.

3. The fiscal year of SNCC shall be from September 1 to September 1. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for the preparation of the budget, to be approved by the Coordinating Committee at the Fall meeting. The Executive Secretary shall be responsible for its administration, and shall prepare reports for each Executive Committee meeting.

V. Amendments

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at a meeting of the Coordinating Committee. Every constitutional amendment shall be proposed and discussed at one meeting of the Executive Committee or Coordinating Committee, but not voted upon until the next meeting of the Coordinating Committee. In the interim it shall be circulated to all members of the Coordinating Committee.

Each year the Coordinating Committee shall report to the Conference those constitutional changes which it may have made during the year.

The following is proposed to Northern students and groups:

Over the past two years informal relationships have established ties between various student groups in the North and SNCC. The more fruitful of these ties have provided occasions for increased contacts between students active in the movement and Northern students; opportunity for explanations of the problems of the south and exploration of the problems of the North; inspiration for renewed attack upon civil rights problems by Northern students; and, last but not least, money for the student movement.

SNCC would like to invite such groups to become "associates with it in which relationship we would work out means of closer cooperation in student exchanges, education about the South and the North in the area of civil rights, action in the North, and fund raising.

Associates would be autonomous, of course, and the structure for association would be minimal. Representatives from associated groups may be invited to attend meetings of the Coordinating Committee, although without vote.

SNCC

THE SOUTH'S WAR AGAINST NEGRO VOTES

LOOK
INCORPORATING COLLIER'S
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.
MAY 21, 1963 • VOL. 27, NO. 10

BY JOHN POPPY
LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

We have walked through the shadows of death,
We've had to walk all by ourselves:
But we'll never turn back, no, we'll never turn back
Until we've all been freed and we have equality.

That is part of a song Bertha Gober, a tense, fragile-looking girl of 21, composed not long ago for an organization known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. On paper, the song struck me as awkward, even a little pretentious. But it is a favorite of the student civil-rights movement in the toughest areas of the Deep South. To find out why, I asked Bertha to sing it. She looked around at her friends in the busy SNCC *office in Atlanta and said, softly, "No." She is shy, I thought, because I am an outsider, the only white person here.*

"Please," I said.

"Close the door," she said.

We sealed ourselves off from the others. Bertha began to sing hesitantly, hunched over, staring at the floor. Then, as if she had found a way to tell a painful secret, she relaxed and forgot me as her own words set to her own melody took over. She stood very straight, tilting her head back so she could sing upwards in a strong, rich voice that warmed and overflowed the little room. When she finished, the office on the other side of the door was still. No talk, no footsteps, no typewriter sounds. There were tears in her eyes, and I understood the power of her song—part lament, part prayer, part battle cry.

A few hours later, I was talking with James Forman, SNCC*'s executive secretary. Bertha Gober's song came up again. "You see why this is a singing movement? The songs help. Without them, it would be ugly," Forman said. "Ugly."*

Negroes in Mississippi are "still scared" to vote, says James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He is tortured by the thought that his people suffer more than they have to, and accuses the Kennedy Administration of not using all its muscle to protect SNCC *voter-registration workers.*

The main job of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is to persuade frightened, reluctant Negroes to register and vote. It is concentrating on two bedrock segregationist areas where Negroes account for over 50 percent of the population: southwestern Georgia and the Delta country of Mississippi.

Occasionally, there is well-publicized violence—for instance, the disorders that began in Greenwood, Miss., in March. Until then, there had been just two or three lonely voter-registration workers in Greenwood. When a young Negro passing through town was shot, however, more workers moved in. Fire damaged the office they were using, and a shotgun blasted the windows of an SNCC man's house. Aroused and united, Negroes marched to the courthouse in protest; local police dispersed them, arresting some; the Department of Justice arrived on the scene, and so did dozens of reporters. National attention was suddenly focused on Greenwood.

But in the fight for Negro votes, explosions like this one are the exception rather than the rule. Terrible as it seems, the excitement will eventually pass. For the real story of the voter-registration struggle in the South, we must look behind the headlines to the grim, everyday reality. Why does Bertha Gober sing, *We've had to walk all by ourselves?*

James Forman knows. Because of what he has seen in the past two years, he is a bitter man. He and some other Negro leaders feel that voter-registration workers pay a needlessly high price, in mental and physical anguish, for the gains they make. One of the ironies of the struggle in the South is that these leaders direct much of their bitterness, not at their enemies the local segregationists, but at their friends in the Federal Government.

Forman knows that diehard whites will use all their muscle to prevent Negro voting. "They have a lot to lose," he says. But he is tortured by the thought that his people suffer even more than they have to, and he accuses the Kennedy Administration—particularly the Department of Justice—of not using all *its* muscle to protect SNCC voter-registration workers in the South.

Justice Department spokesmen vehemently disagree. The Department's overworked civil-rights staff has filed more than 35 voting suits under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, at least a dozen of them in defiant, unyielding Mississippi. During the past month and a half, it has taken legal action on behalf of the Negro demonstrators in Greenwood. But, says Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division, "I'm not running a police force."

An important suit, requesting an order barring discrimination against qualified Negroes who want to register, is now under way in Sunflower County, Miss. Sunflower is the home county of U. S. Sen. James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy recently said that, although we still have a long way to go, "1962

continued

"All right, I'll go down to register, but what you going to do for me when they beat my head?"

was a year of great progress in civil rights." It was. But for the Negro on the front lines, the price was high.

One of the costs of that year of progress was a bleeding ulcer that nearly killed Forman this January. He had to send field secretaries into towns where he knew they might be killed. He saw seven SNCC fieldmen in Mississippi goaded by police harassment, lynch threats and beatings until they filed suit against Attorney General Kennedy and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in a desperate effort to get physical protection. He had to watch voter-registration workers not only in Mississippi but in Louisiana and southwestern Georgia driven to the edge of nervous breakdowns. He is constantly fighting the ugly suspicion that he and his people are alone, deserted by friends they had counted on.

"It is hard to describe the irony of the situation," Forman told me. "Voting is a constitutional right. We take time out of school, take all sorts of risks and try to register folks. When you get no help, that's pretty demoralizing. Take Mississippi. The Government has filed suits. OK. But people are still scared. They tell us, 'All right, I'll go down to register, but what you going to do for me when I lose my job and they beat my head?' And we can't do anything. The local folks are beginning to doubt that it's worth the risk."

Your name is Samuel Block. You are a Negro, 23 years old, born and raised in Mississippi. For the past year, you have been in the front lines of the voter-registration battle, as an SNCC *field secretary.*

Before all the help arrived in Greenwood last March, you and one or two others tried to cover all of Leflore County in the Mississippi Delta cotton country. Leflore's population is 65 percent Negro; almost all its voters are white. When you arrived last June in Greenwood, the county seat, you found a place to sleep, cheap as possible. Then you started knocking on doors, introducing yourself and your mission, trying to convince people who have never seen a ballot that it is their passport to freedom.

You found many of your own people afraid to talk to you because a police car followed you to each house, and the police parked in front, writing things down. They jailed you several times. Three white men beat you up, and you escaped being hit by a speeding pickup truck only because you jumped behind a telephone pole. One Thursday night last August, you barely got away from a group of whites armed with bricks, chains, ropes and pistols. You assume they meant to kill you, but you don't know for sure. You never know. You demanded protection from the Justice Department. You're not sure who it was you talked to in Washington, but you remember he said he couldn't move until a Federal statute was clearly violated. A reasonable answer, but it didn't make you feel any safer as night fell in Greenwood.

In the first six months, you managed to register five new voters.

Americans have read so much about lynchings, torture and murders that many of us, I suspect, are no longer troubled by an occasional atrocity. "There goes Mississippi again," we sigh, and move on after a moment's regret. But the possibility of death is only a part of the ordeal for men like Samuel Block. His enemy is ingenious; Block never knows where the next blow will fall. Perhaps someone to whom he talked will lose a job, or go to jail, or be dropped from the welfare rolls.

In cotton country, where almost all Negroes suffer from underemployment every winter, welfare and Government surplus food are important, not just for comfort, but for survival. Last October, the Leflore County Board of Supervisors discontinued a major part of the commodities program for 1963. As a result, more than 22,000 people who lived on surplus food in the winter were cut off. The total included Negroes *and* whites, but Block's people suffered most. Suspecting that his activities had caused the reprisal, Block suffered too. This spring, the departments of Justice and Agriculture managed to persuade Leflore County to start the program again—but it had been a hard winter there. And if your people are too cold and hungry to worry about a concept like the vote, no matter how important you tell them it is, you can't help wondering. . . .

If you are lynched, says Samuel Block, "you're dead, that's all." Dying takes courage. Living day by day, week in and week out for a year, with no relief in sight, under endless harassment, tests not only your courage, but your sanity.

I have been in many towns in Mississippi. I was in Greenwood before the recent upheaval there, and have been back since it began. The first time, I went to see Block because his troubles were—and are—commonplace by Mississippi standards. It was not easy to locate him. He was, to all appearances, in hiding. He moved constantly; his mail went to a friend, who passed it on to him; he had no telephone. Luckily, I met three young Negroes in Greenville, not far from Greenwood, who knew where Block *might* be the next day. They offered to guide me to the place.

The four of us drove the 54 miles from Greenville to Greenwood the next morning, with the radio turned up loud to blanket the tension in the car. Three Negro passengers and a white man at the wheel do not feel comfortable driving through the Delta country. The stares and angry mutters of people along the road provoked nudges and nervous laughter among my companions.

Near Greenwood, a sign pointing to "Business District" directs the traveler off U. S. Highway 82. "Go past that," said one of my passengers. The highway separates Negro from white. We turned onto a dirt temporary road and found ourselves on narrow streets among wooden, two-story buildings. My passengers relaxed; they were in familiar territory. Now, I was the outsider.

We met Block on a street corner in the Negro section of Greenwood and headed off for a sandwich, but we didn't get it. The waiter in the café said, "Police told me I'd have big trouble if they ever caught me serving a white man." Block told him, "Well, don't bother serving me either," and we left.

BLOCK WALKS in long strides. His movements are abrupt, and even when he is sitting still long enough to talk, you can feel the tension in him. "We're working hard toward voter registration," Block said, "but it is beginning to seem impossible. We've carried 80 or 90 people up to the courthouse, but only five of them got registered. . . ."

That was not surprising. Mississippi law requires each applicant for registration to read and write and to interpret in writing any section of the state constitution and write an explanation of the duties of a citizen. The state constitution has 285 sections, some of which are, in the words of a Mississippi lawyer, "extremely difficult, long and tedious." The registrar is the sole judge of whether or not an applicant has passed the test. The name of each applicant is listed for two weeks in the local paper, "so they know who you are," says Block.

When I saw him, Block was still doggedly taking people to the courthouse. (Most would not go by themselves.) He refused to admit despair, but his talk was angry. "In the state of Mississippi," he said at one point, "every animal has a season but the Negro; you can shoot him anytime." To understand some of his bitterness, follow Block's early progress in Greenwood in these excerpts from his reports to James Forman:

June 20, 1962: "On my arrival in Greenwood, everything seemed the same as in Parchman, Miss. [site of the state prison farm]. Negroes working hard for nothing, each waiting for the other to do something. . . . In a conversation with Greenwood's big [Negro] businessmen, I was told to sponsor anything I want. Where? None other than the big [Negro] Elks Club. . . ."

June 30: "I have cut my office and room rent very much. Office now $14 a month, living quarters $2.50 a week. . . ."

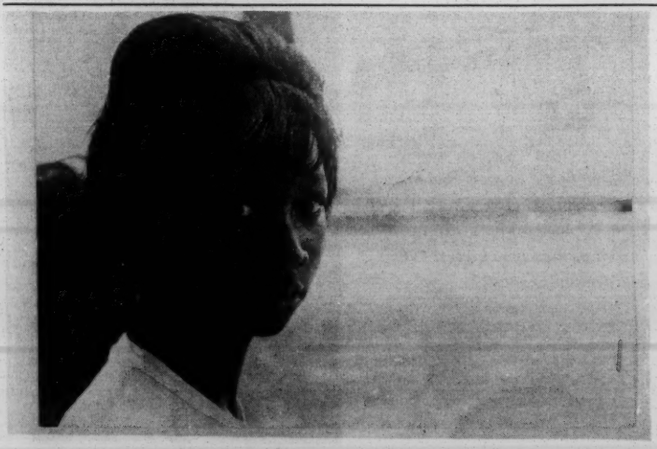
July 11: "We lost our meeting place at the Elks Club. The members did not approve of our meeting there and singing Freedom songs. They could have turned us off in a better way than they did, waiting until we were fixing to have a meeting, then telling us to have it in our office. . . ."

July 16 [from one of Block's temporary helpers]: "Say, are we supposed to work both day and night like Sam? Man, he doesn't even take time to eat now; I don't know what has gotten into him lately."

July 26: "In all my hard days of [voter] workshop recruiting, I was only able and glad to get six to attend from Greenwood. . . . By the way, I cannot send a budget for this week because I did not have any money to spend anyway. . . ."

August 11: "With things going bad for me in Greenwood, some of the citizens have asked me to protect myself and leave now because the

continued



Miss. Police Cool Negro Voter Crisis

GREENWOOD, Miss. (AP)—The tense civil rights crisis cooled a bit here Friday as police kept pedestrians scattered and moving.

Wooden barricades and police squad cars blocked off the street in front of Leflore County courthouse. Uniformed officers were backed by volunteers with riot clubs and wearing yellow Civil Defense helmets.

However, Police Chief Curtis Lary said Negroes trying to register as voters were free to enter the courthouse — so long as they walked in small groups instead of in a demonstration march.

In a City Court hearing, eight Negroes convicted of disorderly conduct drew the maximum penalty: $200 fines and four-month jail terms. Appeal bonds were set at $500 each.

One of them, Lawrence Guyot of Chicago, also was convicted of contempt of court. Punishment on that charge was one day in jail and a $50 fine.

The eight were among 11 arrested in the first registration march Wednesday. Six were tried Thursday. Guyot and James Forman of Atlanta were tried Friday.

Mayor C. E. Sampson, at a news conference, bitterly accused the Justice Department of helping "professional agitators" foment racial trouble in an attempt to win Negro votes.

When a voter registration march formed across town, about a mile from the courthouse, Chief Lary sped to the scene with three patrol cars backing him.

"It's all right for you to go down there," he told about 40 Negroes through a portable bullhorn, "but go in small orderly groups."

One Negro was arrested during the dispersal. He was booked as Donald Harris, 22, of New York City. The charge: disturbing the peace. Officers said he ignored orders to move on.

WHITES, TOO

White people loitering on street corners near the courthouse also were dispersed and told to keep moving.

The three-day-old crisis flared a few hours after nightriders fired blasts of heavy buckshot slugs into the home of a Negro who has two sons active in civil rights work. No one was hit.

It was the third incident involving bursts of gunfire. Each one served to spur on the registration drive started by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee eight months ago.

Negroes were urged, in church rallies Thursday night, to keep trying to register.

They came in scattered groups to walk past the barricades at the courthouse and stand in line outside the circuit clerk's office, where voter registration is handled.

At one point, about 50 were waiting.

They were admitted one by one to take the qualifying test. One requirement is that they interpret the state constitution. The verdict on the test comes in 30 days.

Mayor Sampson said investigation showed that the recent fire in SNCC headquarters here was deliberately set — but that the arsonists were Negroes.

"From our investigation, it is pretty clear no white people were involved," the mayor said.

The Virginian-Pilot, Saturday, March 30, 1963 3

NEGRO VOTES continued

Volunteers have received death threats

white people are planning to kill me. I replied, 'I am not leaving. . . .'

"Not more than a week ago, two Greenwood city policemen came to our office. I met them at the foot of the stairway and was told they were investigating an automobile theft. [One] voiced his opinion that I was a 'smart nigger from up North and if I didn't say Yes Sir and No Sir to him I would end up on the concrete without any teeth.' Last Friday, I took four Negroes to the county court in Greenwood. . . . I had given them instructions in how to register before we went. We arrived at about 2:30 p.m. and found a female deputy registrar, who acknowledged the presence of Negroes by asking me, 'What's for you, boy?' The four Negro applicants were frightened by the deputy registrar's attitude. . . .

"When I arrived home, I received a call from an individual who identified himself as speaking for the White Citizens Council. He told me, 'If you take anybody else up to register, you'll never leave Greenwood alive.' I get such calls with some frequency. About a week and a half ago, Miss ——, from who I rented a room for some time, told me that she received a similar call.

"Today, I took two Negroes to the registrar's office. The Negroes finished filling out the application form and the literacy and citizenship tests . . . and left the office. Two policemen were waiting just outside the courthouse. They said something to me, but I just ignored them, got into a taxi and took the applicants home. The police followed, stopping in front of the homes of the applicants and sat writing something. . . ."

Ironically, the recent incidents in Greenwood have proved more effective than all Block's persuasion. Since the beginning of March, hundreds of aroused Negroes have tried to register there; few have passed the tests, of course, but at least they tried.

But Block and others like him do not want to depend on violence for results. He pretends to see hope in the Justice Department's suit to open the voter rolls in Senator Eastland's Sunflower County, which borders Leflore County on the west. "Maybe if the Justice Department wins the suit over there, things will ease off here in Leflore," he says. But he doesn't really believe that. The Department, he knows, has had to work county by county in its tedious, expensive effort to break down 150 years of tradition in a defiant state.

As lawyers fight their battles in court, lonely young people will continue to struggle for voter registration in less public places. Block and his companions are outnumbered. SNCC and other groups like it are small, and they do not seem to attract many new recruits. That means there is little prospect of relief for the field secretaries. They have been at their posts for over a year now, and will try to stay there indefinitely, despite the inevitable battle fatigue that makes some weep—and sing—in anguish. For them, the voter-registration movement is an endless, nerve-racking series of guerrilla battles in dark corners of the Black Belt. In many ways, it is like underground warfare in an occupied country. To have to think in such terms of American citizens on their own soil is, as James Forman says, ugly. END

"But, We'll Never Turn Back"

These are the faces of the children and adults of Greenwood, Mississippi during a mass meeting in March, 1963 -- as Negroes braved jail and snarling police dogs to register to vote in the Leflore County Courthouse. These are the faces of Negro citizens who have lived their lives in the Mississippi Delta, where voter registration sometimes means a burning home, shots in the night, police harassment -- even possibly, death.

On the night of February 28, James Travis, a 20-year old field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was shot by white assailants near Greenwood. Travis, a gentle Mississippian and former Freedom Rider, almost died from bullet wounds near his spine.

Travis is one of 30 SNCC field secretaries who work on voter registration in the state of Mississippi. These workers -- most of whom are native Mississippians, and most of whom are in their late 'teens and early twenties -- each day knock on doors all over rural Mississippi urging Negro citizens to register and vote. For this, they have been beaten, shot, jailed, and mobbed, and live each day never knowing whether there will be a next one.

These young people see a new day in Mississippi's future when legislators will be truly representative of the state's citizenry, when there shall be equality before the law, and when all citizens shall have a chance for equal employment and equal education.

But they cannot do it alone. As you have read in this LOOK article, SNCC's financial needs are great, and the work is long, hard, and dangerous. Please send your contributions to:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N. W.

Atlanta 14, Georgia

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
Tel: 688-0331

Lena Turner, being duly sworn deposes and says:

I was arrested July 19 with 42 other persons. Our group consisted of 18 young adults and the others were juveniles.

We were on our way to the city hall to protest the arrest of the 7 people that had been arrested while trying to purchase at the Martin Theater. As we were standing and singing, Chief Chambliss, Sheriff Chappell, three officers and a number of state troopers approached us. Chief Chambliss said, "Do you people have a permit to march." I told him that we were not marching. I told him that I was protesting the arrest of the other kids. Chief Chambliss told us that we were under arrest for resisting arrest and marching without a permit. He did not tell or ask us to disperse.

All of the others sat down except a boy who knelt and I, who was reading a Bible. Sheriff Chappell yelled, "Sit down, nigger, sit down. If you feel froggy, jump." This was repeated to the group sitting on the ground. The boy and I both sat down.

Chambliss called for the paddy wagon and said, "I'm going to ask you orderly to get up and get on the truck." We got on the truck and was carried to the jail.

After we got to the jail, Chambliss called to me, "All right, Lena Turner, let's go." He took me inside to a cell. He yelled, "Damn it, get in. I'm going to put you in here where you'll really be punished." He squeezed my arms and shoved me into the cell. I was left alone in the cell.

The sink was clogged and filled with dirty water. The commode was clogged with waste. The mattresses were filthy and infested with bedbugs and roaches. The floors were littered with decayed paper. The bunks were without linen. The first three days I was given 2 hamburgers twice a day. Sometimes they were spoiled and were never well cooked. The remaining days I was given three meals a day, except Saturday, when I had two sandwiches.

One day I was sick and asked for a doctor. But the guard refused. He said, "The city doctor ain't got time to be bothered with you." He started in my cell with a stick. I told him my disease was contagious in order for him to leave. He stared at me and left. I stayed in this cell alone for 2½ days before I joined the others.

I spent 52 days and 53 nights in the city jail of Americus.

Sworn before me the 10th day of September, 1963.

sig.: Lois Barnum Holley
Notary Public Ga. State
at large; my
commission expires
Aug. 29, 1967

sig.: Lena Turner

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
Tel: 688-0331

Lorine Sanders, being duly sworn deposes and says:

I was arrested July 19 with 42 others while on the way to the City Hall to protest the arrest of the seven people that were arrested for trying to purchase tickets at the Martin Theater. The group consisted of eighteen young adults and twenty-four adults.

While the group was standing and singing, Chief Chambliss with three officers, Sheriff Chappell, and a number of state troopers, Chief Chambliss said, "All right, you people are under arrest." He had not told us to disperse. All of us sat down except two other people. A girl, Lena Turner, stood reading a Bible and a boy knelt. Sheriff Chap Chappel screamed to the boy, "sit down, nigger, with the rest of the crowd." He then looked at the girl and said, "You sit down, too. You feel like a frog, too. Jump damn it."

Chief Chambliss called for the paddy wagon that was a feed and seed truck. When the truck arrived he said, "I'm going to ask you orderly to get up and get on the truck." We got on the truck and was carried to jail.

After we arrived the Chief came to the back of the jail and called Lena Turner. He took her inside. I was placed in a cell with seven others . Four bunks were in the cell. We put the bunks together and I slept between four other people.

In my cell there were dirty mattresses. We asked for soap but was refused. There was no hot water in the cell. We used a nasty wash basin to wash our face and hands. The ventilation was ppor and the place was hot all the time. We were given two meals on Saturday and a sandwich. Sometimes the hamburgers were spoiled and half cooked.

Once we were singing the guards came back and yeeled at us, saying, "Stop that damn fuss" but we continued to sing.

The Monday after the arrest we went to trial. "Four of us had already been arrested before but our sentences had been suspended.) This time we spent forty-nine days working on the street and in the jail. One day we cut the grass on the street. Another day we carried parking meters up three flights of stairs.

I spent fifty-two days and fifty-three nights in the city jail of Americus.

Sworn to before this 10th day of September, 1963.

sig:Lois Barnum Holley
Notary Public Ga. State
at large. My commission
expires Aug. 29, 1967

sig: Lorine Sanders

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
Tel: 688-0331

Thomas McGrady, being duly sworn deposes and says:

I know James Williams personally. On the night of Aug. 9 I was driving through the intersection of Lee and Ashby Streets, when I saw officers whipping on Williams with an instrument that was bigger than their usual bill clubs. I could tell it was Williams because I know him well and recognized his shirt.

When the people left the church, that is Friendship Baptist Church on Cotton Avenue, on the night of August 8, they came up one block to the corner of Cotton and Jefferson Streets. As the crowd gathered, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee field secretary Don Harris was pulled from the crowd by police about 60 or 70 feet. In fact, they dragged him. They put him in the car. Then Sheriff Chappell went to the car and hit Harris with his billy club. Ralph Allen was pulled from across the street from the crowd about 50 feet or more and was then knocked down by the City Marshall and one state trooper. They whipped him with a billy club as they pulled him those 50 feet. When he stood up, he folded his arms and talked with them. They put him in the police car and carried him away.

Then the fire truck came down and stopped midways between Cotton Ave. and Jefferson, and the firemen came down with the hose. One fireman at the end of the hose said, "Turn it on." He sprayed water and a few pedestrians got wet. They cut off the hose because the sheriff was coming up the street.

The police and the state trooper then went to Bryant's restaurant and ordered him to close. He closed. I left from my position outside the restaurant.

Sworn to before me this 10th day of September, 1963

sig.: Lois Barnum Holley
Notary Public Ga. State
at large. My commission
expires Aug. 29, 1967.

sig.: Thomas McGrady

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
Tel: 688-0331

James Williams, being duly sworn deposes and says:

On Friday night, Aug. 9, I went from a fish fry in Brooklyn Heights to a barber shop at the corner of Lee and Ashby Streets, in Americus, Ga. The barber shop was closed and Gene Mann and I started across the street to the cafe. A policeman shouted, "Halt!" and we were scared and stopped. Then Gene Mann ran away. I talked with the policemen on Lee Street facing Ashby. Then a panel truck with two state patrolmen made a big knot on my head behind my left ear with his billy club. He didn't say anything to me before he did it. I fell down and the two state patrolmen started hitting me up the side of the head they hit me with something like a baseball bat. I can't describe the pain. But my whole head felt swollen and the blood was gushing down my face. I told them I couldn't get up. The state patrolman had asked me and then the policemen with them said, "Let me have him," and he stomped me on the leg. They kept asking me to get up. Then the state patrolmen pulled out a "hot shot," a long silver looking stick run by batteries and burned me in the right rib section. I still have a bid old bule looking spot theme. After they got through doing that they got Gene Mann back and some other fellow and had them put me in the truck. And then they took me to jail. Then they laid me down by one of the cells and went out. And a lot of the guys already in there crowded around me. About a half hour later they took me outside on the concrete steps. The boys had been yelling that they broke my leg and should take me to the hospital. When they got me out on the steps they said, "Who do you work for, boy?" I told them I worked for the same man they did, the mayor. I cut steel for the nail plant that Mayor Griffin Walker's wife manages. He's a salesman for the plant. Then they said, "We better carry this son of a bitch to the car and get him to the hoppital."

During the week of Aug. 12 I talked with men from the FBI. I was in the hospital at the time. They asked me what happened and I told them. I explained that my leg was broken by the patrolmen and they asked me about my head.

Sworn to before me this 10th day of September, 1963

sig.: Lois Barnum Holley
Notary Public Ga. State
at large; my
commission expires
Aug. 29, 1967

sig.:James Williams

APPENDIX I

Sunday, September 22, 1963
SELMA TIMES-JOURNAL

APPENDIX I

(This full-page advertisement is reprinted here because we feel it is a clear statement of the power the myth of racism has when it is clothed in fine words and backed by financial and political power. Notes follow.)

A DECLARATION OF BASIC RIGHTS AND PRINCIPLES

The white and Negro races have lived together in Selma and Dallas County for many generations in a state of peace and tranquility; and Selma will continue to be the home of both races long after agitators have done their evil work of poisoning the minds of some of our Negro citizens

We have enjoyed mutual confidence and trust between the races, and this will again prevail regardless of current unrest. This trust and confidence has been attested by the record of financial institutions of the country, which, in both good years and bad, have furnished tens of millions of dollars to farmers, both white and Negro, to make the harvest crops. The Negro farmer has benefited immeasurably through improved and modernized methods, as shown and demonstrated to him by his white counterpart. Through the efforts of white leadership in the county, great strides have been made in the field of industrial development; and this has created thousands of jobs for Negro workers. Without such leadership there would never have been such opportunities for these Negroes.

The spirit of cooperation between the races has been further attested in recent years by the facts that more of our tax money, largely contributed by whites, has been spent on education for Negroes than for whites, and the fact that more Negro than white schools have been constructed.

To maintain such a society of mutual confidence, trust and respect between the races, there must be mutual recognition of and respect for certain basic rights and principles. These include:

1. The right to sell and rent property according to individual inclination and amenable to the written laws of the country.
2. The right to own and operate private business in such manner as is deemed sound and proper by the operators there-of, with unchallenged authority to select such personnel as the owner desires and to use such methods as have demonstrated themselves to be most conducive to sound and profitable management.
3. The right to select one's own associates, whatever the occasion.

These basic rights to be enjoyed by all people of both races, and the white citizens of Dallas County are firmly united in their determination to preserve them, because of their conviction that freedom as conceived by our Founding Fathers, does not grant any minority, be it white or Negro through threats or otherwise, the right to force its will upon the majority. Neither do we believe that the majority has the right ot impose its will upon a minority. We believe that freedom means equal and untrammelled opportunity for all citizens to better themselves through their own efforts - not by legislation and not by demonstrations backed by threats, which inevitable result in both force and reprisals.

We further believe it to be axiomatic that any action taken by any group whether by a minority or majority, if such action is either unlawful, or is lawful with unlawful intent, will bring reprisals which are consequently more detrimental to the innocent than to the guilty. These guilty ones are usually agitators, who having done their evil work, will probably vanish from our community, leaving us to pick up the pieces and repair the damage.

Time is fast running out. It behooves our more intelligent and responsible Negro leadership to think well and seriously upon what has transpired in the past and what life in this community might become if a two-edged sword is unsheathed to shear apart the white and Negro races. Responsible Negro leaders should take immediate steps to put down agitation among their people. In this effort, they can count upon the full cooperation of our white citizens, the governmental bodies of our city and county and all of our law enforcement facilities.

We believe that through mutual understanding and efforts of the responsible citizens of our community, both white and Negro, confidence, trust and

respect between the races in Selma can and will be restored and maintained.

The undersigned stand firmly united in their belief in, and adherence to, these basic rights and principles of people of both races.

SELMA RETAIL MERCHANTS ASSN.
Julius M. Lilienthal, President
DALLAS COUNTY FARM BUREAU
Walter C. Givhan, President
SELMA RETAIL CREDIT BUREAU
Frank Wilson, President
DALLAS COUNTY BAR ASSN.
Theodore L. Wade, President
SELMA AND DALLAS COUNTY CLEANING HOUSE ASSN.
THE PEOPLES BANK& TRUST CO.
Rex J. Morthland, President
THE SELMA NATIONAL BANK
Roger ap C. Jones, President
CITIZENS BANK AND TRUST CO.
J. Bruce Pardue, President
THE CITY NATIONAL BANK
of selma William B. Craig, Pres.
MARION JUNCTION STATE BANK
James M. Gilmer, Ex. VP. & Cashier
SELMA AUTOMOBIL DEALERS ASSN.
W.F. Driggers, Pres.

DALLAS COUNTY DRUGGIST ASSN.
E. O. Ward, Pres.
SELMA BOARD OF REALTORS
William K. Hicks, Pres.
DALLAS COUNTY CATTLEMEN's ASSN.
W. R. Martin, Pres.
SELMA & DALLAS COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE: R. E. Ellzey, Pres.
SELMA RESTAURANT ASSN.
William Speed, V.P.
DALLAS COUNTY DENTAL STUDY CLUB
E. A. Wilkinson, Pres.
ALA. SERVICE STATION ASSN.
Nick Patterson, Pres.
1st FEDERAL SAVINGS & LOAN ASSN.
Charles S. Frazer, Pres.
ACCOUNTANTS OF SELMA AND DALLAS COUNTY
SELMA JUNION CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Robert J. Robinson, Pres
COMMITTEE OF 100 PLUS
Otis G. Adams, President

* * * * * * *

These signatures, to one not aware of the patterns of Southern racism, would be convincing. And certainly they must be convincing to the residents of Selma, Alabama, most of whom have never known a Negro as an equal. This declaration is worth examing as a cogent statement of the mind of the white South, and may demonstrate the arguments that can be given to change that mind.

I. The "peace and tranquility" argument: "The white and Negro races have lived together in Selma and Dallas County for many generations in a state of peace and tranquility..." This argument is the most pervasive fallacy in Southern white thought. Perhaps the whites, who did not fear police brutality, reprisals and lynchings with no legal recourse, lived in peace; the Negroes have not.

II. The "paternalism" argument: (The fact that whites have helped Negroes proves that trust and confidence between the races exists) "Through the efforts of white leadership...great strides have been made in the field of industrial development; and this has created thousands of jobs for Negro workers. Without such leadership there would never have been such opportunities for these Negroes....In recent years...more of our tax money, largely contributed by whites, has been spent on education for Negroes..."

Nor could industry exist without the workers. It is well known that industry has come to the South because there is a low wage level and few unions. The jobs however, go to whites, who are afraid that if they demand higher wages Negroes will take over the jobs from which they will be fired. Further, the statistics on Negro wage levels reveal the lie of prosperity that this statement advances.

As for spending on education, numerous school districts in the South have increased expenditures for Negro schools in an effort to keep the Negro citizens from bringing suits for school integration. Negro school facilities remain far below the white schools.

Finally, justice cannot truly exist under despotism, no matter how benign.

III. The "property rights equal human rights" argument: "To maintain a society of mutual confidence...there must be recognition of certain basic rights...(1.) The right to sell and rent property according to individual inclination...(2.) The right to own and operate private business...with unchallenged authority to select such personnel as the owner desires... (3.) The right to select one's own associates, whatever the occasion."

First, it is worth noting that in this list of basic American rights there is no mention of the right to vote, the right to participate fully in the political life of the community and nation, the right to equal protection under the law.

Second, while one may hold the position that a man should have the rights listed above, it is not the case that the government of the United States agrees. Many states have fair housing and fair employment laws maintaining that the right of an individual to buy where he pleases must be balanced against the right of an owner to sell and that the right to employment is as important as the right to hire.

The third right, the right of association, is one which the civil rights movement advocates. To be in the same room with another does not mean that he is chosen as a friend. In fact, not until people are able to meet freely can they choose whether to associate with each other. The "right of free association" (used here incorrectly) reveals the fear which underlies so much of the segregationist rationale -- the fear of social equality and the racist base of that fear.

IV. The argument against "force": "Freedom as conceived by our Founding Fathers does not grant any minority, be it white or Negro, the right to force its will on the majority..."

The Selma movement has not used force, but only nonviolence. Rather, it is the police who have used force and the signers of the advertisement who for years have forced Negroes out of the normal human intercourse of the community. The argument is calculated to win adherents, but does not have any base in fact.

V. The "self-betterment" argument: "We believe that freedom means equal and untrammelled opportunity for all citizens to better themselves through their own efforts -- not by legislation and not by demonstrations backed by threats, which inevitably result in both force and reprisals."

The Selma movement would agree that freedom means equal opportunity, but the white power structure forgets that legislation is needed to secure and protect this freedom. This is what the equality movement means -- equal opportunities insured by law.

What avenues are left when Negroes do not have the right to demonstration or legislation, the traditional American means of calling attention to and correcting injustices in the system except "self-betterment," i.e., the status quo or segregation.

(It is ironic to note that the power structure feels that demonstrations, which are not backed by threats in Selma, lead inevitably to force and reprisals.)

VI. The "agitators" argument: "These guilty ones are usually the agitators, who having done their evil work, will probably vanish from our community, leaving us to pick up the pieces and repair the damage."

It is the agitator in the washing machine which removes the dirt. And the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee trusts that the local leadership has the ability to decide whether to cooperate with SNCC workers. Nor do we intend to leave and allow the "pieces" to be put back in the old pattern of racial segregation and discrimination.

We are not ashamed to be called agitators, for the response of the Negro community indicates their long desire for self-fulfillment and justice.

* * * * * * * * * *

The unwritten message in this declaration should be an opening for people to see that those who support the White Citizens Councils of the South and their principles, are not just "white trash" and "riff-raff." But rather, businessmen and elected leaders, and often, as in the case of Birmingham, Northern money interests which condone and advocate the measures used to maintain segregation.

* * * * * * * * * *

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
8½ Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
688-0331

"ONE MAN - ONE VOTE"

SPECIAL REPORT FROM:
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
8½ Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
688-0331

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 24, 1963

A M E R I C U S, G E O R G I A

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SPECIAL MAILING from:
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
8½ Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
688-0331

September 24, 1963

AMERICUS, GEORGIA

Americus, Georgia is located deep in the Black Belt, in Sumter County. Negroes make up more than 50% of the rural county's population. Many people know of Americus only because of the city's long history of violence against Koinonia (Greek: friendship) Farm, a small cooperative farm which does not close its doors to a man because of his race.

Field workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have been here since January 1963. They have been helping the Sumter County Movement register voters and aiding attempts by local Negroes to use the front door of a movie house instead of the rear balcony entrance.

In the course of this past summer more than 200 Americus Negroes have been arrested for participating in voter registration drives, peaceful demonstrations and attempts to use the movie house front door.

On April 25, Ralph Allen, a SNCC worker, was beaten on the street after he had taken a Negro woman to vote at the Sumter County courthouse.

SNCC WORKERS ARRESTED ON CAPITAL CHARGES

On the night of August 8, police and state patrolmen dispersed 250 Negroes singing in front of a Negro cafe by shooting into the air and brandishing billy clubs. They slugged their way through the group to 21 year old SNCC worker Don Harris, arrested him and dragged him to the police car, but not until they had beaten him in the street. The Negroes scattered to defend themselves. SNCC workers Ralph Allen and John Perdew, along with local youth Thomas McDaniel, were trampled by police and beaten. Another local youth, Sallie Mae Durham, was punched several times by police officers. The four were arrested.

The three SNCC workers were charged with "inciting to insurrection," a capital felony which carries the death penalty (Georgia Code 26-5902).

All of the five have been charged (in addition to the insurrection charge for the SNCC workers) with unlawful assembly, unlawful rioting, and obstruction of a lawful arrest. All but Perdew were charged with assault and battery.

McDaniels and Durham are in jail now with bonds of $20,000 each. However, the judge refused to set bonds for the SNCC workers, and further eight peace bonds totalling $120,000 were lodged.

MORE ARRESTED - JAIL TREATMENT

175 Negroes started walking toward the police station the next night, August 9, to protest the arrests and beatings of the previous

night. As they walked by two's across a lot (to avoid blocking sidewalks), police, armed with guns, clubs and battery-operated electric cattle prods appeared. The City Marshall and Police Chambliss asked if they had a parade permit. Before they could answer, "the officers started bludgeoning groups of boys and girls with clubs and the cattle prodders, which give a severe shock and leave burn marks on the flesh," according to John L. Barnum, Jr., Treasurer of the Sumter County Movement

Milton Wilkerson, 19, Emanuel McClendon, 67, Thomas Douglas, 16, and Johnny Boynton, 16, all required stitches to close the wounds on their heads.

Most of the persons in that group were arrested.

The story of their treatment in jail was presented when the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee brought several witnesses to Atlanta for a press conference on September 9. Photographs taken by SNCC staff member Danny Lyon at the Leesburg, Ga. stockade were exhibited. 20 girls, 9-13 years old were held there for as long as one month in a cell 8'x10'x30'. Also shown were the two commodes which were broken and clogged up so that there was no disposal. The girls were fed only four hamburgers daily. They had no beds, springs or mattresses. Complaints about these conditions to the Americus Board of Health and the Georgia Board of Health brought no investigation.

BY-STANDER'S LEG BROKEN BY POLICE

James Williams, wearing a cast on his leg, was also presented at the press conference. He had not been in a demonstration. The following is an excerpt from his notarized affidavit:

> "I started across the street to the cafe. A policeman shouted, 'Halt.' and we were scared and stopped. Then Gene Mann ran away. I talked with the policemen on Lee Street facing Ashby. Then a panel truck with two state patrolman made a big knot on my head behind my left ear with his billy club. He didn't say anything to me before he did it. I fell down and the two state patrolmen started hitting me up side the head they hit me with something like a baseball bat. I can't describe the pain. But my whole head felt swollen and the blood was gushing down my face. I told them I couldn't get up...The policemen with them said, 'Let me have him,' and he stomped me on the leg. They kept asking me to get up. Then the state patrolman pulled out a 'hot shot', a long silver looking stick run by batteries and burned me in the right rib section...They took me to jail. Then they laid me down by one of the cells and went out...About a half hour later they took me out by the concrete steps...When they got me out on the steps they said, 'Who do you work for, boy?' I told them...Then they said, 'We better carry this son of a bitch to the car and get him to the hospital.'

On August 17, 35 more were arrested when they went to pray at the police station. Among them was CORE worker Zev Aelony. He was charged with "inciting to insurrection." He had been following the group at some distance.

At this date 59 local people remain in jail, "farmed out" to jails and workcamps surrounding Americus. Their bonds are about $200 each but must be posted in cash which is not available here.

On August 13, the early edition of the Atlanta Constitution carried an announcement by the Justice Department that FBI investigation in Americus revealed no evidence of police brutality.

BOUND OVER TO NOVEMBER COURT

In an August 20 hearing before Justice of the Peace Bradley, Solicitor Stephen Pace represented the state; Attorney C. B. King, of Albany, Ga., represented the defendants. They were bound over to the Superior Court which does not convene until November.

For three weeks no visits to the prisoners were allowed. The four held under insurrection charges are still being held incommunicado. Attorney King has been continually harrassed while representing the young men. On September 3 the driver's seat of his car was burned with acid while he talked with Judge James W. Smith.

Mrs. Theresa Wiggins Shields, Secretary of the Sumter County Movement, said Negroes hoped for the establishment of a bi-racial commission. Mayor T. Griffin Walker and City Engineer Charles Wheatley would not agree to the formation of such a committee. The mayor said he had no authority nor any plans to bring the issue before the City Council.

Newspaper reporters have been intimidated. Police Chief Chambliss forced Atlanta Journal reporter Walter Rugaber from the commitment hearing on August 20. Chambliss overruled the judge in forcing him from the hearing, required to be open to the public by law.

REMAIN IN JAIL

Don Harris, graduate of Rutgers University; Ralph Allen, on leave from Trinity College; and John Perdew, student at Harvard College--are still in jail. SNCC workers have estimated that they may have to stay in jail for two years before all legal proceedings are completed. Local people remain also, unable to post their bonds.

FACTS COMPILED FROM:

1. The report of SNCC reporter Mike Sayer, after six days spent gathering data in Americus.
2. Tape recordings made in Americus (after the release on probation of some of the local people arrested during August) by Alan Ribback, President of Ptolemaic Enterprises, Inc., Audio Productions.
3. Eleven (11) sworn notarized affidavits from James Williams, Henrietta Fuller, Elizabeth Thomas, Lorine Sanders, Robertina Freeman, Lorena Barnum, Emma Jean Times, Thomas McGrady, Lena Turner, Bobby L. Jones, citizens of Americus.
4. Press conference held in Atlanta, September 9, at which witnesses spoke, and photographs were exhibited.
5. Photographs by SNCC staff member Danny Lyon.

6. The Atlanta Constitution.
7. Attorney C. B. King's office, Albany, Ga.
8. Letters from the three SNCC workers while in jail.

LETTER OF RALPH ALLEN FROM THE SUMTER COUNTY JAIL. This letter, dated September 13, was sent from the jail where the four young men are incarcerated. It was smuggled out, since they are not allowed to send letters nor to receive them.

To Whom it May Concern:

I am writing from the Sumter County jail in Americus, Georgia, where I have been incarcerated for the past 37 days. My name is Ralph Allen and I am a white student on leave from Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, where I completed two and one half years of study toward my BA degree. For a little over a year now I have been working with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Southwest Georgia.

On the evening of August 8, I attended a mass meeting of the Sumter County Movement, an organization of Sumter County Negroes formed to direct long years of black discontent into channels of peaceful direct action. At the meeting, which was held at a Negro church, I talked about the importance of registering black voters in conjunction with recent waves of demonstrations which had swept the city under the auspices of the movement. After the meeting, I walked toward the center of the Negro section of town with a group of black friends. We were looking for the SNCC car and for a fellow SNCC worker, Don Harris of the Bronx, New York. As we neared the intersection above the church where the meeting had been held, there were two groups of Negroes lined up on the sidewalks on either side of the street, and a group of police standing in and across the intersection. The Negroes began singing, so I deliberately held back, thinking that I did not want to risk arrest because I was supposed to transport people to the courthouse to register to vote the next day.

However, as I approached the intersection I saw the police arrest Don Harris, a Negro who has been working with the movement in Americus for many months. When the police arrested Don, he sat down in an attitude of peaceful non-cooperation. Then, as people began to surge into the street, I walked up to the intersection and asked some people to move back onto the sidewalk unless they wanted to be arrested with Don, and to tell them that if they wanted to be arrested with Don, they should sit in the street with him. Then I again retreated back down the street from the intersection. As I did two things happened: a squad car arrived to take Don to jail and someone began throwing what appeared to be bricks and bottles. These missles did not come from the demonstrators but from behind a group of buildings which face into the intersection

Police then began to wade into the crowd of demonstrators with clubs driving them back down the street with me, while someone in plain clothes stood at the intersection firing a pistol in the air. As people came by me, I stepped back off the sidewalk to let them pass. Then the city marshall charged me from across the street and hit me a couple of times on the back and shoulders with a small object before I could back away out of his range. I then noticed

another white SNCC worker, John Perdew, as the marshall attacked him. After beating Perdew up for a few seconds, he came after me and hit me twice on the head with a billy club before I turned away again.

Then he said, "When I say 'run' you'd better run, you nigger-lovin' son of a bitch."

He then proceeded to drive Perdew and me behind a group of buildings through the parking lot and back into the intersection with repeated licks of his billy about our head and shoulders. Once in the intersection I was surrounded by a group of city police. One of them was yelling at me and wanted to beat me some more, but the others calmed him down. My head was streaming blood. I asked one of the police if I were under arrest and one of them said, 'Yes.' I asked, what for, and was told, "Disorderly conduct. I was taken to the city jail and then to the hospital where my head was partly shaven and patched.

The following day Don Harris, John Perdew, Sally Mae Durham and Junior MacDaniels (the latter two from Americus) and I were moved to the Sumter County jail. A few days later we were told that all five of us were charged with "assault and battery," "rioting," "unlawful assembly," and "interfering with a lawful arrest." Don, John and I were charged with "inciting an insurrection," a capital offense.

About a week later, we were taken to a hearing where our lawyer, C. B. King of Albany, Georgia, was consistently overruled. The hearing served to indicate only that the state will continue to hold us in jail despite what appears to be utter lack of evidence. Don, John and I are being held without bond. Eight peace warrants have also been lodged against us, totalling $40,000 for each of us, or $120,000. We are scheduled to appear before the Superior Court in November, when the term opens.

s/ Ralph Allen

SOME FACTS ON THE BASIS FOR FEDERAL ACTION

Section 242 of the U. S. Criminal Code creates a legal basis for federal prosecution of: "Whoever, under color of any law ... willfully subjects... any inhabitant of any State... to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States..."

A trial on this basis, not involving misdemeanors, does not even require indictments from a grand jury. Prosecution may take place by the presentation of information by the Justice Department.

Within the present administrative machinery for enforcing federal law, on the advice or order of the Justice Department, the U. S. Attorney of a judicial district may file a civil suit (this may also be done by a Civil Rights Division lawyer from the Department) asking that the federal court issue an injunction to forbid specified parties from engaging in certain practices depriving individuals of constitutional rights.

The "Albany Report," by Howard Zinn (former professor at Spelman College) published by the Southern Regional Council and reported in the New York Times in 1962, notes, "In the Debs case of 1895 there was no specific legislative basis for an injunction, yet the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government could get one, saying: "Every government...has a right to apply to its own courts" in matters which the Constitution has entrusted to the care of the national government. The Court said: "The entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care."

In a letter to the New York Times, dated September 19, Howard Zinn along with Murray Kempton, editor of the New Republic, and Professor Thomas Pettigrew, a specialist in race relations at Harvard, propose the formation of "special federal force of civil rights agents -- E-"e -- for equality." They suggest the creation of the special force by presidential order with "several thousand federal agents (similar to the T-men of the Treasury Department, who also have a single function) to stand permanent guard throughout the Deep South in the protection of the constitutional rights of the people in that region. This force would have the authority to make arrests on the spot (unlike the FBI, which apparently can only stand by and take notes while people are beaten) the moment a move is made to violate the Fourteenth Amendment ...The President, at this moment, has constitutional and statutory b is for creating such a force and giving it such authority," despite his insistence that more legislative authorization is needed from Congress, they state.

The letter continues: "The old statute used by Eisenhower in the Little Rock situation says the President 'by using the militia or the armed forces, or both, or by any other means, shall take such measures as he considers necessary' to protect the constitutional rights of a state's inhabitants if local officials 'are unable, fail or refuse' to protect them."

Attorney Arthur B. Caldwell, Assistant to Burke Marshall, Head of the Civil Rights Division, Justice Department, stated: "It is the deprivation of these Federally protected rights by a law enforcement agent acting under color of law that calls for investigation by the FBI and prosecution by the Department of Justice...If the investigatior indicates that the law has been violated the Civil Rights Division directs the United States Attorney of the appropriate district to present the facts to a grand jury where an indictment may be returned. If the grand jury does not indict, the United States Attorney prosecutes the case in the local Federal District Court." ("The Federal Government and Civil Rights," released from the Justice Department, July 23, 1963.)

* * * *

"If these four young men must remain in jail for two-four years until the case reaches the Supreme Court, it will rest on the conscience of every American who failed to urge immediate federal prosecution of Sumter County officials." --- John Lewis, Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

EXCERPTS FROM ELEVEN AMERICUS AFFIDAVITS

Lorine Sanders, being duly sworn deposes and says:

I was arrested July 19 with 42 others while on the way to the City Hall to protest the arrest of the seven people that were arrested for trying to purchase tickets at the Martin Theater. The group consisted of eighteen young adults and twenty-four adults...While the group was standing and singing, Chief Chambliss with three officers, Sheriff Chappell, and a number of state troopers; Chief Chambliss said: "All right, you people are under arrest." He had not told us to disperse All of us sat down except two other people. A girl, Lena Turner, stood reading a bible and a boy knelt. Sheriff Chappell screamed to the boy, "Sit down, nigger, with the rest of the crowd." He then looked at the girl and said, "You sit down, too. You feel like a frog too. Jump, damn it."... I spent fifty-two days and fifty-three nights in the city jail of Americus..."

Robertina Freeman, being duly sworn deposes and says:

I am 13 years old and was in Leesburg stockade from August 21 to August 31...There were two toilets and they were stopped up when I got there. They wouldn't work. At first they had to use them because they had nothing else...But soon they were overflowing and couldn't be used anymore. Then the girls started urinating in the drain near the shower...The very next day the guards took away our remaining beds because we were singing and praying. So then we started sleeping on the floor with no mattresses, no beds, no blankets, no sheets, no nothing. The floor was wet with the waste material from when they had been dragging the mattresses out of the cell...

Lorena Barnum being duly sworn deposes and says:

I am eleven years old...The only water available came from the shower. There were two tin cups for the 32 children. The water was warm and sometimes hot. It tasted rusty and sometimes looked cloudy. The shower was so filthy where you had to walk with your shoes off that no one took showers when I was there...One late evening two of the girls were sick. One girl had a bad heart and the other a bad appendix. One girl was trembling so bad and the other was crying and asking for help so we called for the guard. He ignored us for about 15 minutes and when he came, he said that he wouldn't come again until the other white man would come home. We called again and after several hours the other man came. He said there was nothing wrong with the girls. He said "If they aren't dead by morning, we'll come and look at them again."

Bobby Lee Jones, being duly sworn deposes and says:

I am 19 years old... Several particular incidents occurred. When I were in the City Jail of Americus one night they brought in about 15 girls who had been demonstrating. They had been burned by cow prods and were sore from being hit. They put all the girls in a room about 8x12 where they were refused medical care and where they remained for about 2 days...

SPECIAL REPORT from:
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
8 ½ Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
688-0331

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 26, 1963

SPECIAL REPORT:

S E L M A, A L A B A M A

SPECIAL REPORT from
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 26, 1963

SPECIAL REPORT:

SELMA, ALABAMA

Selma is located on the bluffs of the Alabama River. It is the county seat of Dallas County, the seventh largest in population of Alabama's 68 counties. "Selma is now a little country town that is typical of most small Southern towns," states M.B. Owen in Our State Alabama.

During the Civil War, Selma was one of the most important military depots in the lower states of the Confederacy. Today it is the birthplace and stronghold of the White Citizens Council in Alabama.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) first went into Selma in the fall of 1962. The SNCC project began in February 1963.

This fact sheet on Selma, Alabama is the story of tyranny in Dallas County. It is also a report on the patterns of police brutality, beatings, arrests and harrassment of people who want to gain the vote and achieve full status as citizens of America.

FACT SHEET

The majority of the residents of Dallas County are Negro (57.7 percent,) the minority (42.3 percent) white. But only 0.9 percent of the eligible Negroes are registered to vote, states the Civil Rights Commission Report, Voting, (1961). Registration of eligible whites is 64 percent.

Adjoining Wilcox County has never had a Negro voter, according to the Commission, although 78 percent of the county's population is Negro. Lowndes County, which also borders Dallas County, has never had a Negro voter.

The 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report on Voting says:

> Testimony at the Commission's Alabama hearing covered economic pressures and registrar's discriminatory practices which prevented Negroes from voting in this county (Dallas). ...In April 1961 the Department of Justice filed suit to enjoin such practices. The suit has not yet come to trail.

Two and a half years have passed since the suit was filed. In the meantime, conditions have not changed.

CONTRABAND MILITIA INTIMIDATES PROTESTERS

The County Sheriff's Department, under the direction of Sheriff Jim Clark, (who has attended every mass meeting held by SNCC, the Dallas County Voters League or the Dallas County Improvement Association, with his gun on his hip and frequently, an electric cattle prodder in hand) maintains a 300 men strong militia.

This specially deputized posse was used to hinder union activity in Dallas County (there is only one union there now) and has been used to intimidate Negroes at mass meetings. At least one hundred of these deputies wear old army fatigues and helmets and boots. They are empowered to carry weapons and make arrests--one struck 23 year old Willie Robertson from behind on September 16 as he was leaving a sit-in at Carter-Walgreen's Drug Store in Selma; he required seven stitiches.

On September 23, the Selma Times-Journal reported that at least 50 state patrolmen, headed by Al Lingo of the state Department of Public Safety, had come into the town at Sheriff Clark's request. For the past four days, at the time of this writing, the state patrol has kept the First Baptist Church--at which mass meetings have been held and from which some demonstrations have originated--surrounded. The Montgomery Advertiser reported today that 17 cars of state police aided in halting a picket of students on September 25.

Prior to his arrest on Sept. 24, SNCC Staff Coordinator Worth Long stated, "Selma is in a state of siege. Everywhere you look you see state patrolmen or members of the special posse brandishing clubs and cattle prods."

To date, about 100 high school students and students at Selma University (Negro) have been arrested on charges of "truancy." Police have stopped students wherever they have gathered, or while they walked along the street, and arrested them for "truancy."

ORGANIZED RESISTANCE TO EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The Trailways bus station is the only desegregated public facility in the county. There is no Greyhound line.

52 percent of the Dallas County families have an income of less than $3,000, or less than $54 a week. However, 6 percent of the families have an income of $10,000 or more. In 1959, some 750 families possessed about $3,500,000 in income.

The president of one of the largest manufacturing companies in Selma is also the president of the county's White Citizen's Council. Reginald Robinson, a field secretary for SNCC reported in the fall of 1962 that, "Businessmess who do not support the White Citizens Council cannot make loans in the lacal bank. I was told that members of the Council are working in key positions in banks and the city government."

With the white power structure connected to the Citizens Council, and with the U.S. Armed Forces Defense Bases maintaining a supporting position in maintaining the racial status quo of this black belt county, the hope of fair employment for Negroes is dim indeed. The USO itself does not admit Negro servicemen.

The Commander of Craig Air Force Base has thus far refused to direct his attention to the rigid segregation policies which affect both the citizens of Selma, and the men under his command. Secretary of Defense McNamara's June 8, 1963 Directive makes it clear that, "Every military commander has the responsiblity to oppose discriminatory practices affecting his men and their dependents, not only in areas under his immediate control, but also in nearby communities where they may live or gather in off-duty hours....The commander of a base, therefore, has the responsibility...to declare off-limits communities in which discrimination exists."

A dairy company, Clover Leaf Cream, which supplies products to Craig Air Force Base, has a government contract. It hires no Negroes.

"ONE MAN - ONE VOTE"

The first demand of the Negro community in Selma is for "Voter Registration without Intimidation." The Selma movement has adopted the SNCC slogan "One Man - One Vote" as its own.

Other demands at present call for fair employment practices; the release of all demonstrators and dropping of charges; and the integration of public facilities.

The Negroes of Selma and Dallas County are politically impotent without the vote. They have no way of influencing the choice of those who hold public office, even though they are in the majority.

Further, they have no channels for redress of grievences. It is not possible for them to appeal to the sensibilities of influential whites to pressure city officials to relieve the suppression of First Amendment freedoms for the Negro community. The leading businessmen of Selma placed a full-page advertisement in the Selma Times Journal on September 22, 1963, which makes clear the connection between business interests and the "inherently unequal" system of segregation. (see Appendix I)

They cannot turn to the average white citizenry when between 200 to 500 white males in the town are deputized in a special vigilante force.

They cannot go to local and county law enforcement officials, who have made it plain that they are there, not to protect rights of protest and the vote, but to keep down any dissent or any concerted attempts to get the vote. On September 24, billy clubs and electric cattle prodders were used on bystanders who were forced off Sylvan Street in front of the First Baptist Church. They had not been demonstrating.

The Negroes cannot hope for the protection of the Federal Government which, at best, filed suit two years merely to enjoin the registrar's practices. On the basis of past experience, there is little hope that the Federal Government will now prosecute those who are now depriving Selma Negroes of their constituional rights.

PRESENT DAY LYNCHING METHODS USED

Between April 1882 and January 1913, there were 21 lynchings (reported) in Dallas County. All of the victims were Negroes. The Dallas Gazette carried the following notation on Novemeber 24, 1859:

> Because so many slave crimes were punishable by death a relatively large number of executions occurred. They were morbid and horrible spectacles.... Often they were held on the plantation where the crime had been committed and all the slaves from the surrounding countryside were required to attend, so that the full impact of the fearful consequences of wrong-doing might sink deep into their minds.

The consequences of wrong-doing today take the form of beatings, shots in the night, and state-organized police brutality. The following is a brief chronology of harrassment of voter registration and protest efforts during 1963.

April 17--Voter registration worker Lonnie Brown reported today that "persons unknown" fired two shotgun blasts into his home.

June 12--SNCC voter registration worker Bernard Lafayette, 22, was beaten by two white men in front of his house after he answered their plea to help push a stalled car. Lafayette had two stitches taken in his head after the beating.

June 17--A young voter registration worker for SNCC was punched and shoved by a Deputy Sheriff here today. Bossie Reese, 19, was "literally thrown" into the sheriff's office while he

watched Negroes take a registration test. He was arrested and charged with "failure to obey an officer" and "resisting arrest."

July 12--Bosse Reese was tried and convicted of "conduct calculated to breach the peace."

July 23--16 year old SNCC worker Alexander Brown was arrested here two days before he was scheduled to testify at a Justice Department hearing on discrimination against Negro voters in Dallas County. Brown, who was arrested by Sheriff Jim Clark, was charged with "false identity."

September 15--Five Negro students were arrested during a sit-in demonstration here. Two others were beaten by bystanders during sit-ins; one of them Lula Brown, 15, was knocked off a lunch counter stool by the owner of the Carter-Walgreen Drug Store. She was shocked by an electric cattle prodder by a man believed to be a member of the special posse. 63 other youths--including SNCC Staff Coordinator Worth Long and local SNCC worker Benny Tucker--were arrested during a march staged into downtown Selma. Long and Tucker were picked out of the crowd by Sheriff Clark.

September 17--SNCC worker Worth Long, 27, reported he was beaten in the county jail by Deputy Sheriff W.T. Marvell in front of 22 arrested demonstrators who witnessed the beating, on September 16. Long was released from jail this morning when charges were dropped because he was not in the demonstration but watching.

Septebmer 18--Demonstrations continued with picketing by young Negroes. SNCC worker Wilson Brown was arrested as he stood watching a picket at the Carter-Walgreen Drug Store. He was wearing a t-shirt with "don't buy downtown" printed on it, to emphasize the selective buying campaign which got underway last week.

September 20--The boycott of classes by Negro students continues here for the fifth day. Between 500 and 1,000 students have remained out of school to protest segregation in the public schools. 25 more students make applications at the library before it closes again.

September 21--The Air Force refused today to act on a request from SNCC that Selma be declard off-limits for personnel from Craig Air Force Base because of discrimination in the city. The request was made by SNCC worker Worth Long, Selma student leader Celophus Hobbs and Mrs. Amelia Boyngton, a local businesswoman, in a conference with Craig Commander, Colonel Richard Ault. When Ault refused, SNCC Chairman John Lewis in Atlanta wired the defense Department in Washington. The Department also refused to act on the request.

September 23--50 state patrolmen headed by Al Lingo surrounded mass meetings at the Brown Chapel A.M.E. and First Baptist

Churches as SNCC Chairman John Lewis spoke. SNCC worker Benny Tucker, 21, a clergyman, sought sanctuary in the Baptist church when he learned of a warrant out for his arrest.

September 24--Police arrested Worth Long and Rev. Benny Tucker in the middle of a prayer led by Tucker at First Baptist Church. Tucker was charged with "contributing to the delinquency of a juvenile," (bond: $2,500) and Long was charged with "interfering with arrest," (bond:$2,500). A total of 122 young Negroes were arrested for "unlawful assembly" as they started walking toward the downtown area. 85 others were picked up earlier on charges of "truancy" when they left school.

September 25--John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC, was jailed here with 27 students from Selma University. Lewis, the first to be jailed, was leading a picket at the county courthouse demanding "Voter Registration Without Intimidation," and "One Man - One Vote."

* * * * * * *

For further information contact:

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
8½ Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
688-0331

"ONE MAN - ONE VOTE"

* * * * * * *

The attached advertisement for the Dallas County White Citizens appeared in the Selma Times-Journal on June 9, 1963.

ASK YOURSELF THIS IMPORTANT QUESTION:

What have I personally done to Maintain Segregation?

If the answer disturbs you, probe deeper and decide what you are willing to do to preserve racial harmony in Selma and Dallas County.

Is it worth four dollars to prevent a "Birmingham" here? That's what it costs to be a member of your Citizens Council, whose efforts are not thwarted by courts which give sit-in demonstrators legal immunity, prevent school boards from expelling students who participate in mob activities and would place federal referees at the board of voter registrars.

Law enforcement can be called only after these things occur, but your Citizens Council prevents them from happening.

Why else did only 350 Negroes attend a so-called mass voter registration meeting that outside agitators worked 60 days to organize in Selma?

Gov. Wallace told a state meeting of the council three weeks ago: "You are doing a wonderful job, but you should speak with the united voice of 100,000 persons. Go back home and get more members."

Gov. Wallace stands in the University doorway next Tuesday facing possible ten years imprisonment for violating a federal injunction.

Is it worth four dollars to you to prevent sit-ins, mob marches and wholesale Negro voter registration efforts in Selma?

If so, prove your dedication by joining and supporting the work of the Dallas County Citizens Council today. Six dollars will make both you and your wife members of an organization which has already given Selma nine years of Racial Harmony since "Black Monday."

Send Your Check To THE DALLAS COUNTY

Citizens Council

SELMA, ALABAMA

YOUR MEMBERSHIP IS GOOD FOR 12 MONTHS

The fund appeal for the Dallas County Citizen's Council of Selma, Alabama on the other side of this sheet directly affects the two boys above as it affects you.

the fund appeal appeared in the SELMA TIMES-JOURNAL. Its readers will heed the plea to "prevent sit-ins, mob marches and wholesale Negro voter registration in Selma."

Its readers will prove their dedication "by joining and supporting the work of the Dallas County Citizens Council today."

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee also has an active program in Dallas County and in neighboring Wilcox County.

Bernard LaFayette, a 22 years old minister and his wife, Colia, have been working out of Selma since January, 1963. They have set up six voter education classes in Dallas and Wilcox Counties, and in April, accompanied the first group of Negroes to ever attempt to register in Wilcox County to the courthouse there. Significantly, no county officials--sheriff, registrar, or judge--were to be found.

When SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman spoke at a Selma mass meeting in May, 500 white men in cars surrounded the church and kept a crowd of 300 Negroes inside until midnight.

Three weeks ago, 19-years-old Bosie Reese, a local youth who has been working with the LaFayettes, was roughed up and arrested by a deputy sheriff when he accompanied some Negroes to the registrar's office.

LaFayette was beaten by two white men in June after he answered their call for help with a stalled car.

Now four other local people have joined the LaFayettes in the vote drive. One is a minister, fired from his job when his employer learned he had been attending voter registration meetings.

Others have also lost their jobs because they want to register and vote.

But LaFayette - and other Alabama Negroes (who in Wilcox County are 0% of the registered voters but 77.9% of the population) - will continue to try to become real American citizens.

But they need your help.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

SNCC

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
8 1/2 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

For Immediate Release
November 19, 1963

SNCC WEDDING STIRS ARKANSAS OFFICIALS

PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS - The marriage of two SNCC workers here has been called "a deliberate, direct disservice to the white and colored people of our state" by the State Attorney General.

Attorney General Bruce Bennet said of the newly-weds: "...neither of these people works for a living, but are paid by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which is a trouble making organization."

The two - Mr. and Mrs. William Hansen - were married in Cincinatti, Ohio on October 12.

Hansen is white. Mrs. Hansen, the former Ruthie Buffington, is a Negro.

Interracial weddings are illegal in Arkansas.

Hansen has been in Pine Bluff since December, 1962. He helped form the Pine Bluff Movement, and involved students at Arkansas A & M in sit-in demonstrations. Mrs. Hansen, one of the students, was, with ten others suspended from school on February 18.

Violation of the state's law against mixed marriages is punishable by a fine and a one year jail sentence.

Both Hansen and his wife will remain in Pine Bluff. Both are SNCC field secretaries.

-30-

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor-in-Chief

November 21, 1963

Mr. Pat Watters
76 Park Lane, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat,

Both the subjects you mention seem to us worth a report. The voter education project report seems a little more interesting. I don't think that we ought to have more than about 800 to 900 words, with a fairly full factual report, and perhaps a few comments along the lines you suggest to conclude.

When would be the best time for the Atlanta story? The keep-your-eye-on-Atlanta angle seems to me not quite as good as a story based on something that has in fact happened.

Many thanks. Give us some advance warning when we might expect copy.

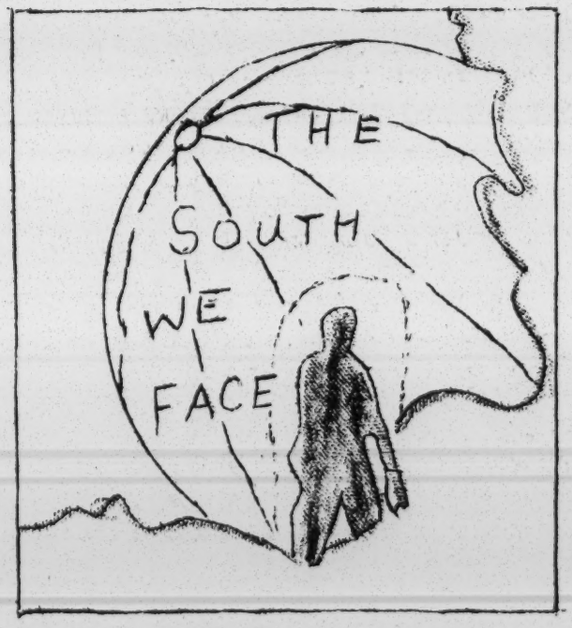
Cordially,

GH

GAH:gs

1244 Nineteenth Street, NW • Washington 6, D. C. • Federal 8-2494

TOWN MEETING



December 5, 1963
8:00 P. M.
Dean Sage Auditorium

TOWN MEETING is committed to the creative life of the dialogue. Of the many purposes of the dialogic encounter, the chief one is the liberation and cultivation of the mind through rational inquiry, diversity and dissent. Through vigorous and free discussion, deliberation, the clash of opposing views, critical reflection, and independent judgment, TOWN MEETING seeks to interpret and clarify some of the burning issues of the day. The idea is at least as old as Socrates.* He taught, by means of the dialectic method, that the art of rational discourse via the unfettered forum of discussion, question and answer is indispensable to the discovery and proclamation of truth in human affairs.

---

*Aristotle attributes the genesis of the dialectic method to Zeno of Elea. Even so, Socrates made it famous.

PROGRAM

Subject: "The Changing Mind of the South"

Speakers: Mr. James Forman,
Executive Secretary,
Student Non-Violent
Coordinating Committee
(SNCC)

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional
Council

Moderator: Dr. Samuel Dubois Cook

Ushers: Miss Etta Geer
Morris Brown College

Miss Gwendolyn Maddox
Spelman College

Town Meeting is sponsored by the Department of Political Science at Atlanta University in cooperation with selected individuals of the University Center.

TOWN MEETING COMMITTEE

Mr. G. C. Birchette, Atlanta U.
Dr. R. H. Brisbane, Morehouse
Mr. James Greene, Clark
Dr. S. L. Lynd, Spelman
Mr. William Pace, Morris Brown
Dr. Edward Sweat, Clark
Dr. S. W. Williams, Morehouse
Dr. S. D. Cook, Atlanta U., Chairman

THANKS FOR YOUR PRESENCE;

PLEASE COME BACK NEXT MONTH.

Exploitation of Neg - by Bizmen...
Sep life of slave exploited for ~~A~~ + ¢...
Not just San said exit the Negro...
in reconstruction... (or now)...

Misuse of Polit Power...
Ed - Health - Training - Housing...
Free enterprise has its men in office -
~~to~~ Discharge pol power for them
so new order can be estab —

Unless we can have some form
of polit power, ~~that~~ impose
whole economic program...
should have cooperatives are
basis for polit power...
Full employment... Emphasize
Negro jobs to enforce full empl -
sets up first the polit kingdom
and all else will come to you...
(as in Africa)
go into slums... black belt...

Truth of Editor fell to —
'Sine Nat' into coal sta - sell
up only -
Poor + uneducated...
WE Dubois: Boston educated life
do literate men, sep - Negro —
Buy a home in Allen Heights —
Tallahassee - Negro - or go in
Bethanville Bethany...
Wilkinsville ice cream factory...
Negro + Baptist —
Dominant White City see...
Have same Birth-in-Nation...
Illinois U.P.I. Can't get in tele
not same facing Negro...
Capital fight right, left —
Negro Urban Minority —
Make place by himself...
Run with Rec units...
Negro Mass White... Negro & White
Miller — as much as mass... mass students

Work in white neighborhoods...
do one can struggle for neighbor...
Human for real citizenship: Neighborhood...
Peoples National Union — Liberties
owners other religions —
Conflict: Cutting middle upset of Negroes...
Go matrix do state or nationally
Battle ds. and Clergy ~~Com~~ neither
Estimate Nationally

SNCC

Pat - do you get copies of WAGA-TV editorials? Wilson.

-SNCC-

1018 W. PEACHTREE ST.
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

Channel 5 EDITORIAL

KEN BAGWELL
GENERAL MANAGER

DALE CLARK
DIRECTOR OF NEWS & PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Route to: HB

Tuesday, February 4, 1964

On Tuesday of last week Channel 5 called for an end to the disorderly demonstrations in downtown Atlanta because of our conviction that the issue had become not a matter of who was right or wrong, but a matter of disturbing the peace and endangering human lives.

The editorial time is given now to a spokesman for one of the participating organizations, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. This is in response to a request from the organization that its viewpoint be heard. Here is an official of that organization, Mr. Julian Bond.

BOND: Atlanta's excellent record of using reason and common sense is indeed getting smeared across the nation. But the cause goes deeper than the recent demonstrations.

Atlanta's record has been built almost wholly on the reason and common sense of Atlanta Negroes.

It is they who have had to reason their way to the acceptance of the few and superficial concessions which white officials and businessmen have been willing to make.

It is their common sense which has dictated patience and understanding of the white man's problem.

But a time comes when patience and understanding are merely self-delusion.

That time is here and now for Atlanta's Negroes.

How can reason and common sense any longer accept the gratuitous insult of discrimination in places of public accommodation? Of continued discrimination in education, housing, employment, medical facilities and public services?

How can reason and common sense any longer conclude that white officials and businessmen will correct these abuses voluntarily?

WAGA-TV offers a reasonable opportunity to reply to the views expressed in the editorial to a responsible person or group representing a significant opposing viewpoint, provided request for reply time is submitted to WAGA-TV within one week of this telecast.

Thus the demonstrations, in our opinion, are serving a very good purpose--good not only for Atlanta Negroes, but for all Atlanta citizens.

The demonstrations are communicating to Atlanta officialdom that we will have justice now, in Atlanta.

The demonstrations are focusing on the real issue of Atlanta's record--will it be made a reality, or will it be admitted a fraud?

And it does matter, vitally, who is right and who is wrong. (Despite Channel 5's statement that it "isn't a matter of who is right and who is wrong".)

Our Committee is completely opposed to violent demonstrations and will do everything it can do to prevent them.

But if the demonstrations are caused by injustice, it is always possible that the strong feeling engendered by injustice will result in some violence.

Fundamentally, Atlanta can restore peace and order in two ways. It can remove the injustice and right the wrongs done its Negro citizens, or it can suppress or discredit all dissent.

Atlanta must choose.

CLARK: The editorial time has been given to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee for response to the Channel 5 editorial of January 28. The spokesman was Julian Bond.

WAGA-TV Editorial is
telecast weekdays:

7:15 am
6:15 pm in PANORAMA
11:20 pm in 11TH HOUR PANORAMA

File: organizations: S-O-C-C

The following statement was adopted by a group of Southern students from predominantly white colleges and communities in a majority of the Southern states--Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia--meeting in Nashville, April 3-5, 1964.

WE'LL TAKE OUR STAND -- Nashville, April 4, 1964

It has been 35 years since a group of young intellectuals calling themselves the Southern "Fugitive Group" met here in Nashville and declared their hopes of stopping the clock and preventing social, spiritual and economic forces which are today still coming of age in the South. They wrote a statement called "I'll Take My Stand" in which they endorsed the old feudal agrarian aristocratic order of the South and opposed what they saw coming in the new order--widespread industrialization and urbanization with democracy and equality for all the people.

We do hereby declare, as Southern students from most of the Southern states, representing different economic, ethnic and religious backgrounds, growing from birthdays in the Depression years and the War years, that we will here take our stand in determination to build together a New South which brings democracy and justice for all its people.

Just a few years after the Fugitives took their stand, Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed the presidency of the U.S. and called our Southland "America's number one domestic problem." He talked about the needs of those Americans who were ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed. Today, in 1964, when a majority of our nation is living in an affluence which makes the spectres of poverty and racism tenfold more inexcusable, a Southerner is in the White House. Yet the struggle for equal opportunity for all men--white and non-white, young and old, man and woman, is by no means completed. Our Southland is still the leading sufferer and battleground of the war against racism, poverty, injustice and autocracy. It is our intention to win that struggle in our Southland in our lifetime--tomorrow is not soon enough.

Our Southland is coming of age, they say. But we both hope and fear for her new industries and her new cities, for we also are aware of new slums, newly unemployed, new injustices, new political guile--and the Old as well. Is our dream of democracy to be dashed just as were Jefferson's dreams and the Populist struggles lost in the blend of feudal power, racial fear and industrial oligarchic opportunism? Only as we dare to create new movements, new politics, and new institutions can our hopes prevail.

We hereby take our stand to start with our college communities and to confront them and their surrounding communities and to move from here out through all the states of the South--and to tell the Truth that must ultimately make us free. The Freedom movement for an end to segregation inspires us all to make our voices heard for a beginning of a true democracy in the South for all people. We pledge together to work in all communities across the South to create non-violent political and direct action movements dedicated to the sort of social change throughout the South and nation which is necessary to achieve our stated goals.

Our region must be an exemplar of the national goals we all believe in, rather than a deterrent to them:

(1) Not only an end to segregation and racism but the rise of full and equal opportunity for all;
(2) An end to personal poverty and deprivation;
(3) An end to the "public poverty" which leaves us without decent schools, parks, medical care, housing, and communities;
(4) A democratic society where politics poses meaningful dialogue and choices about issues that affect men's lives, not manipulation by vested elites;
(5) A place where industries and large cities can blend into farms and natural rural splendor to provide meaningful work and leisure opportunities for all--the sort of society we can all live in and believe in.

We, as young Southerners hereby pledge to take our stand now together here to work for a new order, a new South, a place which embodies our ideals for all the world to emulate, not ridicule. We find our destiny as individuals in the South in our hopes and our work together as brothers.

Fil: SNCC

Social Struggle and Weariness

Robert Coles

REPRINTED FROM

PSYCHIATRY

JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY
OF INTERPERSONAL PROCESSES

1610 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., N. W., WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

VOL. TWENTY-SEVEN NO. FOUR, NOV. 1964

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Psychiatric Foundation, Inc.

Social Struggle and Weariness

Robert Coles*

STRUGGLE to make our world a better one for more people demands effort and commitment, and these are sometimes repaid with exhaustion and despair. I am writing this paper to describe the onset of weariness in veteran activists of the civil rights movement in America and to indicate that there are ways to help diminish its paralyzing effect upon those who suffer from it.

I speak as a white psychiatrist, a New Englander who first came upon the South —upon Mississippi, in fact—during a tour of military duty. After a brief return North, I went back—this time to Georgia —in order to observe further how individual Negroes and whites manage the social changes obviously afoot throughout the region.

In my work, much of which has been done in association with the student civil rights movement, I have tried to carry psychiatric study into an active social struggle. The method of observation employed may be described as just short of participant observation. That is, though I have never taken part in a "sit-in," picketed, or accompanied a Negro trying to register or vote, I have watched demonstrations of all kinds all over the South for four years, I have lived with the students staging these demonstrations, followed them about, interviewed them at great length, visited them in jail and even treated some of them there, in consultation with prison doctors, for temporary episodes of anxiety, borderline psychosis, and severe depression; in addition, I have attended their meetings and conducted "groups" at their request, groups where they could talk about their feelings and problems. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) called me their "staff psychiatrist"; and the real heart of the work, besides leading many discussion groups, consisted of my prolonged interviews with—relationship with —23 students, white and Negro, men and women, over a span of four years and under the various conditions mentioned above.

Young men and women in the American South have been staging nonviolent protest demonstrations against segregationist laws and customs for several years. How they manage the various inner stresses and outer trials of their lives, engaged as they are in full-fledged social struggle, is the question that I am considering here. Some understanding of this question can perhaps be gained, I propose, by looking at how an increasing number of them *don't* manage; how they grow weary and lose interest in themselves and their cause. Since I have worked with these young Southerners and studied them for a long time indeed, I feel that I have some sense of what ails many of them and how they can be helped.[1] My observations,

[1] I have given my general impressions of many of these youths in a chapter called "Serpents and Doves: Non-Violent Youth in the South" in *Youth: Change and Challenge*, edited by Erik Erikson; New York, Basic Books, 1963. Also, in studying children going through initial desegregation in Southern schools, I have come to know young Negro students

* A.B. Harvard College 50; M.D. Columbia Univ. 54; Intern, Univ. of Chicago Clinics 54-55; Res. in Psychiatry, Mass. General Hosp. 55-56; Res. in Psychiatry, McLean Hosp., Belmont, Mass. 56-57; Res. in Child Psychiatry, Judge Baker Guidance Center (Children's Hosp.) 57-58; Teaching Fellow in Psychiatry, Harvard Med. School 55-58; Staff Member and Chief of Girls' Section, Children's Unit, Metropol. State Hosp. 57-58; Staff Member, Alcoholism Clinic, Mass. General Hosp. 57-58; Chief of Neuro-Psychiatric Service and Wards, USAF, Keesler Hosp., Biloxi, Miss. 58-60; Fellow in Child Psychiatry, Judge Baker Guidance Center (Children's Hosp.) 60-61; Psychiatric Consultant, Lancaster Industrial School for Girls 61; Clin. Asst. in Psychiatry, Harvard Med. School, and Member of Psychiatric Staff, Mass. General Hosp. 60-62; Rsc. Psychiatrist and Consultant on "Psychiatric Aspects of Desegregation in the South," Southern Regional Council 61-; Rsc. Psychiatrist, Harvard Univ. Health Service 63-.

therefore, may be useful to others. It is with this hope that I am reporting them.

Social Protest in the Southern Setting

Sit-ins are not as new as they seem to many of us. A number of them were staged spontaneously in the earlier years of this century, isolated, ineffective expressions of resentment by Negroes at their peculiarly hard lot in this country.[2] The fact that such efforts in our time have emerged as a "movement" illustrates the intersection of private struggles with the historical enablement of them. That is, events in the life of our nation have transformed random discontent into a highly complicated, organized social and political phenomenon. This development contrasts with other kinds of social protest which have from the start been more deliberate and planned, or with those which have been taken up by groups already firmly in existence.[3]

The demonstrations have had several purposes: To call attention to the exclusion of Negroes from hotels, restaurants, movie houses, even voting booths; to try to end this practice by entering such places in the hope of being served or accepted; to exert moral, social, and economic pressure on private businesses or on public institutions such as schools and libraries so that they will reconsider their policies; or to prepare the basis for litigation by testing customs clearly illegal constitutionally. The persons taking part in the demonstrations may not all have these aims precisely in mind. Many of them think of their goal in terms of abstractions like "justice," and rely much more heavily on feelings, such as their sense of being denied and scorned.

In the South this kind of social struggle has been chosen by a relative handful in the face of strong resistance, open and devious. Indeed, any discussion of nonviolent protest in that region must somehow establish the psychological quality of the Southern Negro's life and, reciprocally, that of his white neighbors, grounded as they both are in history, customs, and hard legal, economic, and political realities. The Negro's daily life is determined by his terrible past and his present condition of relative poverty, powerlessness, restriction, and isolation from his fellow countrymen. There may be no reason to repeat such obvious facts; they have been fully established by historians, political scientists, economists, and sociologists.[4] Yet, there is every reason for a psychiatrist studying the adjustment of students involved in social protest to keep constantly in mind what it means to grow up as a Negro; how it feels; how the world is seen and engaged; what is lacking for these people and what they expect, and how much of either is grounded in fantasy and how much in reality. The reality of the Southern Negro's life is unrelentingly menial in its public and private relationship to the white world; to appreciate this fact fully, perhaps, one must have had some residence in the South.

Composition of the Protest Movement

No convenient generalizations quite do justice to the astonishing number of

as they slowly become involved in more general protest activities in contrast to their court-sanctioned admission and attendance at formerly all-white schools—a stress enough despite its "legality." See "Southern Children Under Desegregation" in *Amer. J. Psychiatry* (1963) 120:332-344.

[2] See, for example, E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States;* New York, Macmillan, 1957.

[3] The labor movement in the 30's in this country resembles the civil rights movement in certain ways, but it drew upon a long history of protest that had become increasingly organized and institutionalized. There are a number of organizations whose stated purposes are various kinds of reform, and, of course, our two national parties differ in their goals and actions with respect to social changes.

[4] A very suggestive book which combines a historical, sociological and psychological approach is Stanley Elkins' book, *Slavery;* Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1959. Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* is indispensable. It has recently been revised: New York, Harper and Row, 1962. C. Vann Woodward's various historical works are stimulating and filled with the artist's keen sense of irony and paradox. For example, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow;* New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1955. Wilber J. Cash's *Mind of the South* (New York, Knopf, 1941) is still the moving classic on the general background of the South's pride and agony. Another classic from a sociological viewpoint is Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage;* Washington, D. C., Amer. Council on Educ., 1940. And Lillian Smith's *Killers of the Dream* (New York, Norton, 1961) is for me the most sensitive and acute psychological study written on how whites have come to get along with Negroes and see one another in the South.

ways in which the mind can handle an unpleasant or curbed fate. The rationalizations, denials, projections, and reaction-formations developed under such circumstances will easily be imagined by psychiatrists, as conscious as we are now of "ego psychology"; and they have been set forth.[5] Such information, in fact, cautions us against any supposition that *all* Negroes feel alike, respond to their situation in like fashion, or are prepared to take similar arms against their "sea of troubles."

On the contrary, we are presented with the question of who *does* join these demonstrations, or who, given what kind of personality and background, *would.*

Many reasons indeed have caused Negroes, and for that matter whites, to join the several protest movements. They may generally be stated as combinations of private experiences or emotions engaging with public events in the context of a summoning historical time. I have seen the most diverse kinds of youths join sit-ins for a wide variety of personal reasons, and participate in them in highly individual ways, briefly and fearfully, steadfastly, defiantly, quietly, exhibitionistically.

Those who bulk largest in the Southern movement and are most influential in it are Negro college students or recent graduates from college. Several reasons explain this fact. This is their generation's time. Their parents could scarcely have envisaged, let alone help bring about, what has happened in race relations in the past fifteen years. This is also their *own,* their personal time, when they are grown enough to leave home and develop their own attitudes, yet still largely young enough to be spared the heavy social and economic responsibilities of parenthood, while granted the flexibility and mobility of studenthood. Many are only fresh out of college and their condition has been best described by Erikson.[6] They are trying to figure out who they are, what they believe, how to live their lives, and with what ideals to guide them; or they are a bit older and have been storing their energies for a ripe kind of exertion of them.[7]

There are, of course, much older men and women in the movement too, persons who have found their professions in social work, the ministry, teaching, or law, but have found also that their "work" is impossible without prior dedication to the achievement of their dignity as human beings. For the most part they are the well-known leaders, particularly so in the more established Negro civil rights organizations. Yet a good deal of the most earnest social struggle, in the hardest, most unyielding counties of the "deepest" South, is today carried on by youths, and indeed is organized and directed by them. These are the ones who rode the freedom buses, and the same ones who are often called by newsmen "the shock troops" of the movement; long hours a day over months of time their work demands almost impossible sacrifices of living conditions and freedom in towns whose existence and character in this nation are perhaps unbelievable if not seen and confronted in some depth of experience.

The work of these students is not totally the action caught by cameras or reported in the news. The brunt of it is taking actual residence in towns where their goals are considered illegal at best and often seditious; considered so by local police and judges, by state police and judges, by business and political leaders. Their very presence in these towns, in fact, is regarded as a violation of law and order. Most significantly, they are also feared, and resented too, by their own kind, by Negroes as well as whites. The job of organizing Southern Negroes into effective groups for sustained assertion of their rights is a hard one, and one not

[5] See, for example, A. Kardiner and L. Ovesey, *The Mark of Oppression;* New York, Norton, 1951, and New York, Meridian, 1962.

[6] Erikson's well-known discussion of identity formation in young people, and, for that matter, of identity problems in Negroes, is continually helpful in research of this kind. More than that, his ideas have now become what Auden called, referring to Freud and his works, "a whole climate of opinion." See his *Childhood and Society;* New York, Norton, 1963, *Young Man Luther;* New York, Norton, 1958, and "Identity and the Life Cycle" in *Psychological Issues;* New York, Internat. Univ. Press, 1959.

[7] Erikson's discussion of "moratorium," for example, in his study of Luther's life is helpful in looking at these students in the midst of a similar kind of struggle; that is, inward as well as outward, in their growing up as well as their demonstrating on streets.

suitably described by a rhetoric which denounces segregation and fails to consider what such a system does to those segregated, or, for that matter, to those born to enforce segregation, believe in it, and often profit from it.

Negroes in Southern towns are heavily apathetic, widely illiterate, predominantly anxious, and afraid of any protest in their own behalf; let alone joining such protests, they are stubbornly reluctant to believe those who advocate them. At the same time, they are largely poor, menially worked, constantly susceptible to unemployment, and subject to laws often hardly sensitive to their civil rights though acutely sensitive to their history and their customary position in society. These are grim psychological realities for those youths who take up the struggle against them. They are the facts of the oppressor's disposition, of the victim's submission, of the fear they both share for different reasons. Every tape I have from every student tells these facts, and they help explain the development of some of the psychiatric symptoms this paper aims to describe.

Clinical Symptoms of Weariness in the Cause

What unites all of these students is the development in each of them of certain specific clinical symptoms. These symptoms emerge in youths of different classes and ages and with different reasons for participating in such struggles; they crop up in people whose character structures vary, whose choice of defense mechanisms encompasses the entire range of the ego's possibilities. To develop they take time and certain kinds of experiences; but given both, they occur, in my experience, almost universally. They are clinical signs of depression. They constitute "battle fatigue." They indicate exhaustion, weariness, despair, frustration, and rage. They mark a crisis in the lives of those youths who experience them, and also one in the cities which may experience the results, translated into action, of such symptoms.

Because of these symptoms students may depart the movement, go "back to the world" of schools, jobs, pursuit of career, to be replaced by younger or fresher cadres. Or they may linger on, disabled. Or they may stay on but become troublesome, bitter, and a source of worry, of unpredictable action, of potential danger to themselves and their "cause." The development of these symptoms, these depressive episodes, is a problem for civil rights organizations, and for the country too. Leaders of the civil rights organizations well know that their struggle is a long one, not to be resolved in a year or two. In a sense they are more than leaders of organizations; they are generals worried about "war-neuroses" in their front-line troops. The rest of the country is the scene of the battle, and thus has good reason for regarding closely the state of mind that develops in many of these young men and women.

Briefly the symptoms reveal fear, anxiety, and anger no longer "controlled" or "managed." Depressions occur, characterized by loss of hope for victory, loss of a sense of purpose, and acceptance of the power of the enemy where before such power was challenged with apparent fearlessness. The youth affected may take to heavy drinking or become silent, sulky, and uncooperative. Frequently one sees real gloom, loss of appetite, withdrawal from social contacts as well as from useful daily work in the movement. Sometimes withdrawal from the movement becomes a precursor of the abandonment of a commitment to nonviolence, the advocacy of total, disruptive assault upon the society, or complete, hateful disengagement from it. In such cases the nonviolent movement itself may be attacked instead of the segregated society formerly felt to be the enemy. One very bright and exceptionally intuitive young man summarized his feelings very concisely:

> I feel I've lost those years. They've come to nothing, really. No real change. So I feel betrayed by the movement, and I guess it's easier to get angry at it than at the white world. I just want to *pull out* of the white world. I mean you can't hate it the way I do and live with it . . . . That's it, my hate for the movement is a release or something . . . . I can

hate it and do something about it. You know, attack them or undermine them. But what can a Negro do to the white world without getting destroyed eventually?

There are warning signs, and they are increasingly spotted these days by certain leaders. But full-fledged depressions still appear without being anticipated, and I have treated several of them. They are difficult to treat because they seem to have developed over a long period of time and in people resourceful at concealing them. Once they make their appearance, they seem refractory to anything but the strongest of medical and psychiatric measures—medication, psychotherapy, a change of environment, even temporary hospitalization. On the other hand, increasing sophistication has enabled certain key "officers" to recognize the beginning of weariness, the first stages foreshadowing collapse, with their signs of anxiety and fretfulness and with their subtle changes in thinking and feeling.

For example, minor complaints of insomnia or headaches may herald depression. So also may comments like, "What's the use?" or "Why fight them, they're too strong?" Such remarks may be quickly denied even by those making them, but experience in the movement has shown that it is wise not to ignore their significance. Somatic complaints are also significant: stomach pains, or menstrual cramps newly bothersome and disabling, or vague skin itching and nondescript and self-ascribed "allergies." Then there are the "accidents," with bikes, with cars; and the injuries, due to drinking, or to "friendly" fighting, or "horsing around," or suffered in athletic games. They are often the result of rising tensions deflected by consciences not easily prone to acknowledge their presence, let alone their strength and pervasive influence.

The forms of despair and exhaustion are really only limited by the ingenuity of the human mind. We have seen pregnancy serve as an "escape," not only for women who must leave to have a baby, but for men who must leave for marriage. We have seen parental disapproval of protest activity suddenly accepted and embraced as a means of dodging one's own depression and guilty wish to leave the struggle. We have seen reckless, defiant behavior adopted to deal with the guilt over the wish to leave, as if severe punishment at the hands of the segregationists would satisfy the demands—often quite unconscious—of the student's conscience. It is as if a voice tells them, "For wanting to leave you must seek and get punishment, and from the very people you were up to this point managing so well through your controlled, nonviolent behavior." Two young men showed bursts of dedication, a kind of outlandish zeal quickly seen for its compulsive and strange quality by others; the denial of other feelings, of inertia and apathy based on depression, explained their actions. And I have seen exhaustion attributed to others; or young people become exquisitely sensitive to the weakness of others as they struggle with their own budding feelings of dejection.

The very institutional development of the sit-in movement parallels such individual psychological developments. At first there were simply youths—vigorous, unfatigued, keen to protest, indifferent to organizational concerns, and inexperienced in just how to sustain their momentum—that is, how to raise social, political, and economic support for themselves. But as it became clear that sit-ins were "working," more participants became available, and organizational developments began: The students formed committees, they met, elected leaders, opened up offices, bought equipment for them, appealed for money, became conscious of publicity. The makings of a bureaucracy were thus established, and within time came the tensions, the rivalries, rigidities, and inertia associated with such developments. One student—a political science major—put it quite bluntly:

I'm tired, but so is the whole movement. We're busy worrying about our position or our finances, so we don't *do* anything any more . . . . We're becoming lifeless, just like all revolutions when they lose their first momentum and become more interested in preserving what they've won than going on

to new challenges . . . . Only with us we haven't won that much, and we're either holding to the little we have as an organization, or we get bitter, and want to create a new revolution . . . . You know, one like the Muslims want, which is the opposite of what we say we're for. It's as if we completely reverse ourselves because we can't get what we want.

Both bitterness and organizational preoccupations can be a refuge or outlet for anxious, depressed veterans of active protest, and often these two developments occur together. For example, a 24-year-old veteran of numerous sit-ins came to see me because he knew he had been depressed for several weeks, and more recently had become aware of his reluctance to join any active demonstration. Even the "softest" demonstrations in the more northerly South bothered him. He was afraid, hence unwilling to do anything but work in the regional headquarters of the organization. The thought of going to jail, once regarded as a laughing matter and almost welcomed as a means of earning pride in himself and esteem from others, terrified him now. He had trouble sleeping, and nightmares afflicted him:

I dream I'm going to be hurt, you know, kicked and manhandled by those jailers. [There had always been reason for him to fear such possibilities as probabilities; but until now he had been able to "dismiss" or make light of such "reality."] Sometimes I wake up in a cold sweat, and I remember that I've actually dreamed that the whole movement was arrested . . . . I mean all of us were taken in custody, and then I escape and a few of us get a boat and go to Africa, or we take refuge in one of the African embassies . . . . I mean to get away from whites, all of them, that's what the dream says; the reverse of integration, you might call it.

This young man was actually quite agitated when he came to see me, and he was "furloughed" for "rest and rehabilitation." (The language of the students is commonly "war language.") He became a member of a small group I was asked to lead as a means of dealing with such "casualties."

The Role of Psychiatry in the Civil Rights Struggle

The problem of just what *can* be done to help such students is not easily solved. Some simply leave, to go back to school or work. Others are torn idealistically between their rage at an unfair society and their fear of its punishment of their protests, their despair at their own ineffectiveness in social struggle, and their natural worry at the personal sacrifice of valuable time and energy. ("I'm giving the best years of my life, and what will I have at the end to show? . . . . How will I make a living and support myself? . . . and will it all do any good, anyway?") These youths may express their ambivalence with symptoms; and, in my experience, psychiatric care, individually and in groups, has been helpful.

Yet, working with these students, I have found, is not the most conventional psychotherapeutic task. Many of them are profoundly distrustful of outsiders, even those recommended to them by their fellows; and I am white, an obstacle for many Southern Negroes who need time and experience to feel even remotely comfortable with *any* white, even those standing beside them in demonstrations, let alone a watching psychiatrist.[8]

Some of these problems of suspicion and aloofness yielded to the slow formation of relationships between many of these students and me. Such relationships took a good deal of time to develop, months becoming several years, and they took several forms: Casual "consultations in the field"; more formal prison visits to certain students in clear need of emergency sedation, tranquilization, and support; participation in general discussions on policies, strategy, and tactics, occasions which made more "formal" my association with the students and their goals; teaching certain students specifically assembled for lectures on such topics as the "psychological development of prejudice"; and, finally, repeated meetings with individual students, many self-referred ("I'm depressed," or "My nerves are thin") and

[8] I have briefly referred to some of these problems in my paper, "Southern Children Under Desegregation" (see footnote 1). Excellent discussion of some of the problems of psychotherapy involving Negro and white encounter in an office may be found in articles by Viola Bernard, "Psychoanalysis and Members of Minority Groups," *J. Amer. Psychoanal. Assn.* (1953) 1:256-268, and *Amer. J. Orthopsychiatry* (1956) 26:459-466.

many evaluated as troubled by others ("They say I'm jittery, but who isn't?").

In general, a variety of responses were needed to the complaints brought forth. Some students were clearly seriously disturbed—a very few psychotic—and had to be encouraged to leave the movement and eventually be referred to whatever psychiatric facilities were available in their home states. Others were comparatively less disturbed, but heavily enough depressed to suggest both to them and me that separation was the indicated choice for them too. These were also few in number, and all of them were to recover within several months of a more "normal" life. The majority of students seen individually for clinical signs of depression (13 of 17) responded encouragingly to a relatively small number of visits, as few as 3 and as many as 10.[9]

These meetings were both "supportive" and "clarifying." By those words I mean that my intention was to talk openly and warmly, yet firmly and realistically about what it means to take on a resistant and powerful social system, what it means generally to groups and individually to their members. I rarely had trouble in hearing the various symptoms of depression and anxiety. Hearing them, I would relate them to their precipitating causes, the stresses of social struggle and protest, and then discuss with the individual students or groups the *ways* of handling such stresses, the limits which *all* people have, variable for different people but at some point of tension inclusive of all humanity. We would then usually relate the particular difficulty or symptom, often hidden from others, to the *real* provocations for them, and try to assess alternatives to continued suffering—withdrawal, rest or vacation, change of scene or type of job (from "field" to office), or reduction of responsibilities with some help from tranquilizers and further medical and psychiatric visits.

As I review my notes and listen to my tapes, I can now see what I must have somehow realized all along, that the chief purposes of psychiatric intervention in work like this were quick evaluation of who could stay "on the firing line" and who had to be relieved, and the provision of several kinds of support to those who could stay. Furthermore, in working with those who were to stay, the problems of guilt and the *real* nature of the external threats were the two most common challenges.

In most cases, after all, these were highly ethical and idealistic youths, perhaps prematurely so in contrast to those from certain more comfortable, white middle-class homes where aggressive feelings are more easily or variously indulged and consciences are less quickly and fearfully buttressed by social customs or laws. The "morality" of many of these students is a rather complex development. Either with the help of their parents or by themselves they have had to reject the stereotype of the lazy, indifferent, apathetic, and "instinctual" — drunken, promiscuous — Negro. At the same time they have had to live under the powerful coercion of a segregationist society, and the restrictions of such a society have become part of their own consciences long before they decide to abandon them and even fight them. They must, therefore, in Erikson's terms, abandon an old identity, achieve a new one, and fight for it. They must reject an old morality, that of their own society, and fight for a new one against strong odds.

Small wonder that many of them feel anxious and guilty, then depressed.[10]

[9] Of the 23 students I have followed intensively, 8 became depressed enough to request more "formal" interviews with me relating to their symptoms. They would call or write me from their various "homes" or "battle stations" over the South. I would frequently go to see them, or they would come to see me in Atlanta or New Orleans, where most of my time was spent. All of these 8 students (6 Negro and 2 white; 2 Negro women and 1 white woman) responded favorably to treatment. Five additional students also responded well. But 4 students, all Negro and all from very poor families with little education, if much persistence and determination, became deeply enough depressed to warrant prolonged separation from the movement. Two of the four were clearly in psychotic depressions. There were many more students who needed—in some cases, urgently—and requested interviews. The limiting factor was, as might be expected, my time and energy. I worked with larger numbers in 4 groups which met for varying lengths of time, 6 sessions in one case to 14 in another.

[10] My work has been chiefly with students. Yet, theirs is not the only energy applied to the cause of civil rights. A variety of local, regional, and national organizations have been involved in this effort. Some, like the NAACP, measure their life in decades; others, like Martin Luther King's group,

Often they do not know the guilt they feel; and often, in order to function, they have had to "forget" the really tough, often unshakable, frequently treacherous and punitive social and political resistance they face. When disabled, they feel additionally guilty for *that*. What often seems to help is coming to grips with the guilt directly and relating it to some larger perspective of the relationship between personal effort and social reform. To explain this last statement, I shall draw on my work with a young man, recently graduated from college, who interrupted his law school career to join a major sit-in movement in Alabama.

Charles came to me—a 23-year-old veteran of 18 arrests for countless sit-ins—with a recent history of severe insomnia, restlessness, and increasingly chronic fatigue. A friend of his, an officer in the organization, felt him to be depressed and recommended that he see me. In our first meeting Charles acknowledged "some depression" but quickly followed the admission with protestations of his own worthlessness. He had no "right" to be depressed. People had gone through "worse" and had suffered no ailments or grievances doing it. Why should he, then? Why *did* he feel so low? He was bad. He didn't want to go on, go on with our talk, or go on with his participation in sit-ins. He would either have to "stop this silliness" or quit.

In the course of 8 interviews in 6 weeks' time it was possible for us to explore his feelings, his fears and his sense of badness and failure. Fairly directly I defined what I had come to know were his likely troubles: He felt depressed, felt bad even to know that, and was struggling hard to push his feelings aside, to mention them to nobody, including, if possible, himself. He was slowly feeling "out of touch" and "different." Others weren't so "weak," and their bravado, their light-hearted humor, proved it.

Of course their overworked jesting and often fairly hurtful games and quarrelsome scuffles showed just the opposite, how nervous and worried *they* were, too. I mentioned that, and from there we were able slowly to go into his feelings of loneliness and failure, and how he used guile and pretenses to hide such feelings from others, only to feel lonelier and guiltier. His father was a minister and disapproved of his son's "illegal" activities. One day Charles summarized the grim linkage of external and internal accusations confronting him: "I'm damned by my own parents and damned by the police, and then I feel I'm not doing the best for the movement either."

He was clearly helped by talking about such matters, and I actively defined for him his feelings as I heard them and told him how similar they were to those of other students I'd met in the movement. Several times I told him that I thought he was unduly "rough" on himself and that a strong part of his mind was giving him a hard time for crimes of fantasy rather than fact. In moments like this I would proceed to take up with him the *facts* of the struggle he was helping support. I tried to relate his aims to those of the movement. Many of these students, and he was one of the them, come from the Negro schools and colleges of the South; and many of these institutions, state owned and supported, are hardly places likely to kindle the fire of social protest or furnish some social, political, and economic context for its occurrence.

Charles had first become aware of the movement in watching television, and had then stumbled upon a moment when that passive acquaintance became for him a real event. He had long endured various restrictions in his Alabama town, but now they were becoming harder to bear precisely because similar segregationist confinements seemed to be crumbling all over the South, and he knew about that, saw them collapsing before his eyes on nightly news programs. One day he boarded a bus in his home town and tried to sit in

the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, mark the onset of our present accelerated Negro protest and collapsing segregationist resistance. It is quite clear that many adults, such as ministers or lawyers, have essentially committed themselves to this struggle. Indeed, in varying degrees they have made its trials their challenges, its tasks their new occupation. I have certainly seen some of them fall victim to the same complaints here described in their younger allies. Some return to their previous work under such circumstances. Others I know have become increasingly bitter, humorless, and quick to anger, as well as tired and even apathetic.

front. "Actually I didn't think I was going to do that," he says, and thus qualifies the story as he tries to convey the subtleties of human courage and fear blended into the flash of a moment's decision. "I just started for the rear as usual, and found I didn't get there, but had sat down in the front." He was quickly rebuked by the bus driver and the few white passengers, while the Negroes in the rear sat silently looking on. He would not budge. He was arrested for "disorderly conduct." It was this deed which set his engagement with the sit-in movement going. When he joined, he was, in his own words,

> . . . optimistic, that's what I was, plain optimistic. I thought we'd demonstrate and then they'd fold up before us. But it's been tougher than I ever dreamed . . . you know you learn slowly how this country runs and how it's not so easy to get what you want if you're colored . . . . I suppose if I'd known that when I first joined I never would have done it.

The naïveté and its slow loss described by Charles defines a very real stage in the psychological development of most of these youths. Much of their most fearless and vigorous protest occurs in this first period, a time of both innocence and denial, where much isn't known and much that is slowly perceived can still be blotted out or pushed aside. Soon, however, it becomes harder and harder to do so. Victories are not permanent, and sometimes not to be had at all. In the Deep South, Negro students find that they must make do with the long, wearisome job of working with their own people rather than the more dramatic and satisfying assaults upon white storekeepers. (The silent Negroes on that bus were a portent of what Charles was later to recognize as the most frustrating part of his work: Fighting his own race's—and his own—long-developed fears and inhibitions.)

Psychiatric intervention was most helpful in this time of transition. It seemed helpful for the students to hear their moodiness and gloom "approved" by relating them to their very real causes. It was also helpful that we talked about what could and could not be done by them, separating the possibilities of their actions from their larger hopes for our society. In this regard some very realistic balance had to be achieved between concentrating too much on socioeconomic abstractions, usually pessimistic ("What's the use?" or "You can't really change much because of the whole system," or "Very little really comes of our actions"), and overly optimistic heroism in its last nostalgically hopeful moments like the following: "If we really pulled off a mass demonstration, I mean one where a few of us might have to die, then the whole country would be so electrified that I think Mississippi would crack wide open . . . we would get federal troops in there because of the riots and deaths, and that would change the whole state."

The point to be emphasized is that there are some very real things which *can* be done, and done to great purpose and accomplishment, but that they must be chosen and approached carefully and with specific goals in mind. Or, as Charles told me after his depression had lifted: "If we're in a war, we've got to be professional about it and have our tactics and strategy and not just beat ourselves against a wall and then fold up."

He was right. He had been bloodied doing just that, physically and emotionally. Now he recognized more fully his job and its relationship to his broader wishes for his country. He had been able to talk about his guilt and fear and to realize that they are shared by others, certainly shared by his co-workers. He had been able to look at how he had come to join the movement, how he had changed in it, and how his symptoms reflected that change but did not necessarily doom his continued if different participation. "Now," he told me in our last formal meeting, "I suppose I won't be as hopeful as I once was, but I still think I'll be able to knock down a few barriers to freedom. Even if I persuade one man to register to vote, that's worth it."

It is a delicate equilibrium these students seek, and one we psychiatrists must respect if we are to work with them: Trying to keep their courage and initiative

while accepting the often sour lessons that come with growing older and living through unexpected and dismaying experiences. They must keep their moral initiative, maintain their ethical resolve, yet somehow avoid succumbing either to depression as an inward expression of frustration or to disorganized rage and antisocial behavior as equivalent outward forms.

It is, of course, tempting for social scientists to simplify lives—which, after all, are often lived in considerable and continual ambiguity and even contradiction—by dividing them into "stages" or "periods" which sacrifice some of their truth to the needs for clarity and order. There is no denying the value of outlining predominant or preponderant trends in life. There is no doubt that our struggles —personal and social—change in content and intensity over time. Yet, I am reluctant to make easy generalizations about the personal histories of these youths in the movement, including the development in many of them of exhaustion or "battle fatigue."

I am no statistician, no expert in culling attitudes from large groups and tallying them. But my own observations and those of many leaders in the civil rights groups lead me to say that weariness touches almost all the students who stay in the movement for any significant period of time—that is, long enough to taste its less than quixotic or flashy quality and its hard, grinding daily demands which are not always relieved by spectacular successes and are often encumbered with the new burden of hopes sparked but not realized. That I report this "syndrome" here is, therefore, a reflection of observations and concern shared by myself and by veteran leaders about veteran fighters.

It might well be asked what students are most *likely* to become incapacitated by this common weariness, and what, precisely, the various *alternatives* are for those who become involved in the movement—to stay for short or long spells only to leave, to combine "normal life" with bouts of protest, or to stay involved "permanently."

I have seen no particular kind of person specially vulnerable to this "battle-fatigue." Constant exposure to frustrating social struggle seems to be the critical element in a "syndrome" which affects those with widely different characters and ways of handling stress. I have seen youths prone to depression *before* involvement in the movement manage perfectly well—that is, use their cynicism, their concealed anger, with detached, gloomy effectiveness—until the *reality* of the hard struggle and its very *actual* wounds of insults, threats, jailing, or disappointment became felt. I have seen, on the other hand, hopeful, winningly active and energetic youths give way under the same cumulative burdens.

Since these youths are not fast adventurers but, by the definition of their voluntary, prolonged exposure to severe hardship, conscientious and steadfast people, the natural history of their relationship to the social struggle they have joined is still to be concluded. It is true, of course, that personal struggles of growing have found expression in this social struggle. But many of these young men and women are now grown, married, with families, graduated from schools and colleges, in pursuit of specialized professional training, and are still heavily involved in this movement. Since the movement *itself* is only a few years old, it would be indeed presumptuous of me to define too closely the complicated and—I really think—highly personal and variable course of its members' relationship to it. Some join, stay to fight hard, leave in a time whose length is defined by a desire to return to school or a job. Others stay and are still staying after participation from the very beginning of the student movement in 1960. *One* important factor in deciding whether a person stays or leaves is how he handles (and is helped to handle) this period of tired, fateful realization of the difficulties ahead as well as at hand. Working against continued involvement may be family pressures, public ones, or private wishes—the de-

sire to be a doctor; a fiancee who opposes this kind of life; an ill father who needs his son at home to take up new financial responsibilities; social and economic harassment which extends to a family, to brothers and sisters, to parents.

What will be needed is further documentation on how these young men and women decide the coming questions of their relationship to this movement. The battles—even with new legislation—are still being waged. The fatigue arrives. They can muster themselves out of service—go back to home, school, *other* jobs—or they can persist.

Meanwhile, in such dilemmas certain psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers, interested in their cause and anxious to help them, may indeed be of considerable service. I suspect that we shall not soon see the end of many kinds of protests; and, hopefully, they will be useful, constructive, and self-fulfilling. That is, they will spend themselves in the achievement of their purposes. The problems these students face are clearly not all psychiatric, but social, political, or economic. But some of them *are* psychiatric. Many of these youths are increasingly recognizing their own need for medical and psychiatric help, and have begun seeking it out in certain cities and from certain doctors who, they feel, are likely to be attentive and sympathetic to their needs and aims.

In many ways these young civil rights workers are in a war and exposed to the stresses of warfare. And in many ways they can be helped to deal with these stresses. Such help would perhaps, by strengthening their movement, enable it to be more successful; and, as a result, freedom would be more universally enjoyed in our country. This seems to me a worthy objective for psychiatrists to pursue.

Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

January 7, 1965

Mr. John Else
Student Non-Violent
Coordinating Committee
8½ Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

To add to all of that mail that you were telling me about, here are the letters from people who want to volunteer for next summer that I was telling you about. I have written to them suggesting that they address any other queries to you.

It was good talking to you. Best of luck.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:p

Enclosures - 2

February 1, 1965

Mrs. Dorothy Zellner
Student Non-Violent Coordinating
Committee
Harvard Epworth Methodist Church
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dorothy:

I'm sorry mot to have gotten by to see you in the SNCC office--the loss being of course all mine.

The Zinns told me the good news that you all are expecting a baby. That's wonderful. Next time--if ever--I get to Boston, I hope I can see the whole family.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters, Director
of Information

File

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PW

MARTIN OCHS

SRC

Demons Peace

Dangers Beyond the Demonstrations

Chatta Times 10/28/65

THE HEAVY majority of Americans who are supporting the United States efforts in South Viet Nam are beginning to let the people who are fighting there know it—as they should. Americans are there by direction of the President as authorized by Congress. A job is to be done there and the United States is going to do it. The demonstrators include some who honestly differ, fuzzily-minded or not, some chronic showoffs, kooks, graduate school slackers and hard-core leftists. The draft-card burners merit the martyrdom they crave, behind bars. None of these is going to deter the United States, providing our troops have the backing they need.

As Presidential Assistant McGeorge Bundy said on Monday, "the prospect of military collapse which clearly darkened all other aspects of the (Vietnamese) problem nine months ago has disappeared."

Bundy pointed out that the Soviet-Chinese split, which some predicted would lessen on account of U.S. intervention, has instead deepened.

The heralded monsoon offensive of the Viet Cong has been "badly blunted," he said.

He added with what he called irony: "There always is in each generation of students a substantial number of people who will seek public demonstration of their firm, resolute, invincibly ignorant opposition—to the wisdom of the rest of us."

SOME light has been thrown upon the communist or pro-communist maneuvering against the Vietnamese war, on the West Coast, by a series of three articles concluded Tuesday in The Times.

Noted in the ranks of these people are several leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a group at the radical end of the civil rights spectrum.

As Southern Regional Council officials say, the position of many civil rights leaders on the Vietnamese war seems not well thought out. Their involvement in foreign policy issues damages them in their principal areas of concern. James Farmer's participation in a "Stop the War" demonstration, and Dr. King's opposition to parts of U.S. policy have done them no good.

SNCC is farther out. And the Southern Regional Council, the foremost Southern organization concerned with racial justice, has made these careful but piercing observations:

"...in the usual refusal of SNCC people even to discuss the Communist issue, there is a denial of their most cherished ideals, the civil liberties of those who are genuinely concerned about it. It is anti-anti-communism as dogmatic as extremist anti-communism. . . .

"SNCC seems to say it is simply uninterested in the ideological clash between communism and democracy, that it is not pertinent in the existential reality of the personal clash with racism."

But some SNCC leaders are interested in communism.

* * *

GREATER than the danger to the war effort in Viet Nam, in the recent type of demonstration, is the danger of a wave of anti-intellectualism in this country. The university communists have that to consider, as well as their unquestioned freedom of expression. Those who encourage the marches do not only the nation but the intellectual forum a disservice.

On the other side, the greatest danger is not the John Birch Society or any of the others but the collective tendency to make conservatism appear ridiculous. The radical right wants the world stopped and wants off. It is becoming more of a fad than it should be. Chattanooga incidentally should realize that it is becoming the principal far-right crossroads in Tennessee.

The radical right's day will ebb when it stops getting encouragement from community and political voices who know better; when it is realized that to suspect virtually everyone of communism who disagrees is only to confuse and to make infinitely more difficult the battle against communism.

Just as the civil rights battle is made so much more difficult by those who want to exclude everything else; or who want to tie civil rights to this, that or the other thing.

FACE THE NATION Interview with Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Sunday, June 19, 1966.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael, you said that you would achieve black power by using the franchise -- by using the vote -- yet you have also said that your organization in Lowndes County, while out to take power legally, if it was stopped by the government from doing it legally, and I quote your words now, "We're going to take it the way everyone else took it, including the way many Americans took it in the American Revolution." This would seem to imply that you are advocating taking power by force and violence -- by the overflow, in effect, of the government. Is that what you meant?

Carmichael: Let me say this: in Lowndes County, that county is 80% black, 20% white. Its been ruled by the minority by force, by violence, and by every illegal trick that one can think of. Now, the black people in Lowndes County have organized themselves around the question and around the issue that they have been oppressed which is their blackness. They have been oppressed because they are black. And like any other group in the country, they organized around the issue of oppression. The unions, the workers, organize around the question of low wages. And they are going to try to achieve taking over the power structure according to the democratic processes in this country. Now, if no one is willing to assure the fact that that process is carried on, then that leaves the black people of Lowndes County, it seems to me, no alternative except to stay in the condition which they have been in for the last 100 years.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael, supposing the Black Panther Party loses the election in Lowndes County, what do you propose to do?

Carmichael: First, let me say that the name of the organization in Lowndes County is not the Black Panther Party. The symbol happens to be a black panther. The name is the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. I am very concerned about that, you see, because Americans, particularly white Americans, have been referring to it as the Black Panther Party. And it is their problem with sex and color. They do not refer to the Alabama Democratic Party as the White Rooster Party, and that happens to be the emblem of that party.

-- If they lose and its a Democratic process, then there is nothing they can do. But, now, if they are cheated out of the vote, then it seems to me there must be some means for them to achieve power.

Interviewer: What means?

Carmichael: Well, that would have to develop out of the Lowndes County movement and the discussions that the people of Lowndes County want to carry on.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael, do you reject the ultimate use of violence as a final, last resort in bringing down the power structure?

Carmichael: I don't organize around violence or around non-violence. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee organizes black people to get certain things that they have to get: decent houses, decent jobs, decent schools, and a right to participate in decisions that effect their lives. Now, that is what we organized for. The question of violence and nonviolence just happens to be tactical, as far as we are concerned.

Interviewer: Then, what is your tactic, as a last resort?

Carmichael: Well, then we would have to decide that; depending on how stiff the resistance was in the country.

Interviewer: You'll reject it, then.

Carmichael: Oh, no, I've never rejected it.

Interviewer: You don't reject it -- violence -- then?

Carmichael: No, I've never rejected it.

Interviewer: How can you not reject violence and be the head of the Student Coordinating Nonviolent Committee?

Carmichael: Nonviolence has always been a tactic with SNCC; it has never been a way of life. We've made that clear since 1960; that it is just tactical. In my own thinking, I have never rejected anything; I only object to a host of means.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael; there is a lot of confusion about what you mean when you say, as you have said, and I quoted these words a moment or so ago, that "if we are stopped by the government from doing this legally, we are going to take it -- [power, that is] -- the way everyone else took it, including the way Americans took it in the American Revolution." Are you advocating a violent way if you can't get it legally? That is all we want to know.

Carmichael: This country, Mr. _____, is fighting in Viet Nam.

Interviewer: Right.

Carmichael: They are dropping bombs in Viet Nam around the whole question of selection and the right for people to participate in the decisions that effect their lives. That is precisely the same thing we are doing now in Lowndes County, Alabama: We are fighting for people to have free elections, and that this government and this country has a responsibility to back the

people in Lowndes County to assure them of free elections. Now, if this country neglects to do that, then it seems to me that the responsibility of assuring free elections lies in the hands of the black people in Lowndes County, and anybody else in the country who is willing to have free elections at whatever means left up to them -- they are completely justified in doing that because they then have done all the legal processes that this country has demanded that they do.

Interviewer: Under these circumstances, you feel there is a justification for these violent means?

Carmichael: I think its justified whatever they do. If they have tried every legal means in this country, and there is no response.

Interviewer: Following that up, Mr. Carmichael, you said last week on the march that Negroes now fighting in Viet Nam should leave and come back here and fight for these elections you are talking about. Now, do you want them to desert? And if they do, what kind of fighting do you want them to do?

Carmichael: I think the number one answer is that this is an individual decision. My own feeling is that there is no reason why black people should be fighting for free elections in Viet Nam for some other people to get free elections, when they don't have it in their own country. They should first have free elections in their country, and then decide whether or not they in fact want to participate in that war.

All of those black soldiers who are from Alabama, all of them from Mississippi, did not even decide whether or not they

wanted to participate in that war.

Interviewer: Would you be advocating(?) [unintelligible] a mass desertion of Negro soldiers?

Carmichael: I think that if they would do that it would have to be an individual decision based upon what the consequences are, if in fact they are willing to face the federal government and a jail sentence.

Interviewer: Can you separate black soldiers from white soldiers? There may be many white soldiers who also had no choice at all about fighting in Viet Nam. None of us have a choice if we are drafted.

Carmichael: On the contrary, I can separate it, because black people in this country are oppressed because of their color. Because of blackness. The black people of Alabama and Mississippi were denied the right to vote because they were black. They are forced to live in ghettos because they are black; and that whether this country wants to realize it or not, you cannot sugar-coat that and say that they are all the same. It is a question of black and white.

Interviewer: No one makes an effort to sugar-coat it. In fact, all of the civil rights legislation that has been passed demonstrates how completely aware the government is of exactly what you are saying, and legal --

Carmichael: In terms of words.

Interviewer: In terms of words?

Carmichael: That's correct.

Interviewer: You don't feel, then, that -- would you feel that all civil rights legislation is dictated by hyprocrisy?

Carmichael: I think that certainly the fact that no federal registrars have not been sent into the 600 counties, and in fact, to have federal registrars, black people must begin demonstrating. You see, I don't go along with this feeling in this country that the government is doing so much, and I give the response and allthe credit to the black people in this country who stood up and started to rebel. The rebellion brought the civil rights bill; a rebellion brought the voting rights bill. And that voting rights bill had to be passed because the government was aware of the fact that if they did not do it, black people would move to disrupt this country. And internationally, this country could not afford that. So, it had to pass the voting rights bill.

And that voting rights bill is very tricky, I mean, the literacy portion of that voting rights bill expires on August 6 of 1970; the literacy test can once again be used. What than means is that if a federal registrar is not in Mississippi, and black people do not vote, the Eastlands can move to reinstitute literacy tests by 1970 and be elected again by 1972 because he will block black people from voting. And the government has not spoken to that issue. And they will not because Eastland happens to be a very powerful figure.

Interviewer: You are talking about a theory now that depends on its waiting until 1970. But speaking about terms of words. I'd like to ask you about your words. Last Wednesday you witnessed people registering to vote in Greenwood, Mississippi, in the county courthouse. That night, you told a rally of young people, "every courthouse in Mississippi should be burnt down

tomorrow so that we can get rid of the dirt." My question is: How does statements like this -- and you have made many of them which incite both your friends and your enemies -- how do they advance the cause of Negro equality?

Carmichael: Well, number one, the cause of black equality will be decided by black people because they are the oppressed; that is what we have to understand. And that it is a reality that all the courthouses in Mississippi are full of filth and dirt. There is no such thing as justice in any of those courthouses for black people, and the history of Mississippi speaks for itself. The history of the murders from Emmett Till all the way down to the shooting of Mr. Meredith two weeks ago speaks to Mississippi.

Interviewer: Can you register voters if you burn down courthouses? Are you going to burn down courthouses? I am talking about a literal translation of that; I wasn't talking figuratively -- I was talking about literally getting rid of the people inside those courthouses. Getting rid of the (unintelligible), sheriffs.

(Interviewer and Carmichael speaking simultaneously)

Carmichael: I mean literally burn down. That analogy is used in this country all over by many people.

Interviewer: You are talking in analogies, and yet when we ask you, you know, (laughter from Carmichael, I assume) are you a nonviolent person, or are you talking in violent analogies because you want to see a Negro violent uprising? Can you answer that question?

Carmichael: I told you the question of violence and nonviolence

to me is irrelevant; that is not what I am working for. I am not organizing for riots. Iaam not organizing to make black people nonviolent. I am organizing for them to get the things they are supposed to have in this country -- that every other group has in this country --

(Interviewer and Carmichael speaking simultaneously; unintelligible)

Interviewer: But do you dismiss the matter as irrelevant?

Carmichael: I certainly do, Mr. _____.

Interviewer: Well, you may, but it doesn't make sense for you to do that. You tell me its irrelevant whether or not you get it by peaceful means or by use of force. You really don't want it that way, do you?

Carmichael: For _____ years we have been speaking to the issues in this country. This is the richest country in the world. It is a shame and a tragedy that in 1966, government officials can stand up on national television and say that the only hope for black people in this country is that they go into the army. That is tragic.

Interviewer: Who said that?

Carmichael: Many officials say it all the time.

Interviewer: Who?

Carmichael: (Slight pause) I can't think of any right now. You have never heard this statement that the hopes of black people - - -?

Interviewer: I know of no responsible spokesman who has ever said that.

Carmichael: You have never heard that the hope for black people is to go into the army? That this is the reason they leave the

ghettos?

Interviewer: I heard James Meredith say that his time in the air force did more for him than anything else.

Carmichael: That's Mr. Meredith. You should speak to him.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael, if the means are irrelevant, is there a condition under which you can see a usefulness in a Watts riot, or a Chicago riot?

Carmichael: I think that the tragedy of the Watts riot is that it was romanticized by white people and their articles about, "let's get Whitey," and that the other tragic thing about it was that the black people once have not benefitted. They were not able to use that riot to achieve anything at all. And that is tragic, because what it means is that it leaves an atmosphere for more riots.

Interviewer: If all means are legitimate, then, are you saying that this riot is a legitimate means?

Carmichael: I am not to define legitimacy; I will not say to the people in Watts who rioted that they have no right to riot -- that it is outside of the way to get whatever they want to get. They have the right to decide whatever means they want to use to achieve that, and that is up to them. They live in Watts; they live with rats and roaches; they live in Harlem; they live in Chicago; they live in the Delta in Mississippi; they earn $3 a day; they are the poverty-stricken people, and they have to speak to ____(unintelligible)_____, and I cannot and will not define for them that they must do it this way.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael, the Negro in this country is a minority. Are you telling us thatiit is possible that there could be a Watts riot -- there could be an uprising of Negroes when it

would not be tragic?

Carmichael: That it would not be tragic?

Interviewer: Yes. Are you telling us the Negro can riot and take over? What do you mean by black power? Are you saying the Negro can take over parts of the country?

Carmichael: I am saying that in the counties where black people outnumber white people in the majority that they have the right to organize themselves politically and to, via the vote, seize the power. The Irish people did that in Boston; just like Jewish people do that in their communities; just like people did it in New York with LaGuardia; that black people in the areas where they outnumber racist whites, who rule the counties with terror, should take over their counties.

Interviewer: No one denies that right that the majority rule -- that's the democratic procedure.

Carmichael: Of course, no one denies it -- but the only difference is that when that majority is black.

Interviewer: We are trying to ask you a different question: If, by the democratic method, let us assume that there could be a fair election in Lowndes County, and let us assume that the Negroes could win under that democratic method, then let us assume that the government would not permit, locally, the taking over by the Negroes the power they won in a free election. Then, certainly, the government [federal] would have to step in. Then you would be justified. But you seem to be arguing that wherever the Negroes cannot get what they wish, they are entitled to use violent methods to achieve it.

Carmichael: On the contrary. I never said that. I am not saying that. When I talk about black power, I talk about black

people in the counties where they outnumber them, to get together to organize themselves politically and take over those counties from the white racists who now run it. When I talk about black power, I talk about black people independently outside of the both parties since they do not now speak to the needs of the black people, organizing themselves first and if they decide to move into those parties, to move into those parties as a strong black vote so that they can force the politicians who do not now speak to their needs, to speak to their needs. The tragedy of the Watts riot is that in every report that came out of Watts, they agreed that black people were asking for Chief Parker to be dismissed. And one year later, Parker is still chief of police. If that were a Jewish community, if that were an Irish community, if that were an Italian community, the man would be gone, and I'm saying the reason why he is not gone is because black people in Watts do not have the power. They have to organize to get the power so that the people who work in their communities will respect and speak to their needs.

Interviewer: Would you agree, Mr. Carmichael, that the Watts riot and any violence like that is irrelevant and doesn't make sense?

Carmichael: I would not say that because I would be saying that the people in Watts are irrelevant and they don't make sense. I cannot say that. I would have to say that the white power structure of Watts is responsible; I will not shift the blame to black people.

Interviewer: Can we pinpoint here your feeling on violence? You say you are not advocating it, and yet you say means are

irrelevant, violence or nonviolence are irrelevant, are you saying that is an acceptable form?

Carmichael: Mr. Hart, I am saying that people who participate in violent revolutions decide for themselves whether or not it is acceptable. I will not define it for them. When I myself decide to be violent, if that is my objective, then it becomes acceptable.

Interviewer: Have you decided to be violent?

Carmichael: I have not yet decided to.

Interviewer: Are you against the use of violence to achieve the objective of the Negro movement?

Carmichael: I have said that I am not against the use of violence; the people who participate in it must decide it. I work for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has never yet said it is working for violence.

Interviewer: You use language which seems to imply that you advocate violence --

(Interviewer and Carmichael simultaneously; unintelligible.)

-- you say that it is not your responsibility to define what you mean. It is your responsibility.

Carmichael: I just defined for you precisely what I meant --

Interviewer: You have not defined it; you said, "I stand aside," that's what you said.

Carmichael: No, I said that I cannot and I will not say that all black people in this country should be nonviolent, that they should lay down their arms. I will never say that. I will say that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee accepts that -- nonviolence -- however it is defined, as a tactic. It is not a

way of life for me; it never has been, it is not for most people in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Some people in SNCC do accept it as a way of life.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael; lets return to the subject of integration. You observed that it is an "insidious subterfuge for white supremacy." What do you mean by that?

Carmichael: Well, you will have to use the whole quotation. It has been quoted out of context. The entire quotation is that "integration is an insidious subterfuge for white supremacy when initiated by blacks." What I mean by that is that throughout this country since 1954, there has been a move of integration. That's all we talk about. And we ask for decent homes, for decent jobs, for decent schools, and the answer is to integrate. And we have to observe what that means.

Interviewer: One of the most distinguished American Negro leaders, Dr. Martin Luther King, advocates integration, and very strongly. Do you regard Dr. King as a stooge for the white establishment; for the white power structure?

Carmichael: I am going to define what I mean by integration and then Dr. King will define what he means. What has been happening in this country is that you have to (unintelligible) with black kids. For example: in the South, black children are told to go to white shhools because they are good. They leave their black schools which they are told are bad. They have to go through mobs; they are being beaten to go and sit in a white school; They never speak of the issue of that black school which has in it now the rest of the students. In the North, you take the black kids out of the ghettos and bus them to white neighborhoods again to good white schools; they heighten in the inferiority

process in those children who are left and that didn't go there. White kids never initiate a move for integration; they never move into black schools. White people who believe in integration in Westchester and in Hollywood -- they never move into Watts and into Harlem as if they truly believe in integration. And what I am saying is that what black people have to do is to, among themselves, develop their communities first. They must control their school board. And when they control their school board, they will have good schools. And then you can talk about integration. Then you can send white kids to black schools, and black kids to white schools. Until you can do that you have an insidious subterfuge for white supremacy. You have black people being asked to forsake their neighborhood and come into good neighborhoods because these are white neighborhoods. And that is an insidious subterfuge for white supremacy.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael, you are talking about black isolation. What can you show us that will indicate to us that if the blacks elect sheriffs in the South, control their own school boards, that that alone aside from the governmental process in this country, is going to give them good school systems and its going to get the tenant farmer a better job and money in his pocket?

Carmichael: It is not. I mean, I see the problem in this country as in economic problem in terms of black people being exploited. Now, there may be other people being exploited, but they [Negroes] are exploited, ~~and that~~ they don't have an economic base. We are the property-less people in this country; and we have to seek to regress that and the only means open to us now are political mean. So, we grasp that political power now and then we see how we can work with that political power to then achieve

economic power. You are absolutely right; we never received our 40 acres and a mule.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael, if you are after economic power, how is the Negro in the Delta Mississippi who is looking to make $500 a year -- what kind of handle does he have on any kind of economic power?

Carmichael: He doesn't; that's why he has to grab ahold of political power.

Interviewer: How do you propose to give it to him?

Carmichael: I don't. I say that he first grasps the political power that is now available to him; you grasp what you can. He now has at his disppsal, via the voting rights bill, political power. He grasps that political power and he starts through that, seeing what terms he can use. He controls the CAP board if he has the political power so that the chief of police in Indianola, who was the chief of police last year who beat up black people who is now the CAP director in Sunflower County, Mississippi, will not have that power; That Eastland does not have the power and cannot say the things he has said. For example; he said on April 22nd, and I quote: "I have objected to the sending of every federal registrar into Mississippi." Orginarily, the Justice Department will inform me the day it plans to send a registrar into a Mississippi county, and I have been able to block some." Now, that shows that black people can't do anything about that.

(Interviewer and Carmichael speaking simultaneously; unintelligible.)

Interviewer: How do you know that its true? There have been registrars in the area.

Carmichael: Number one, the voting rights bill was passed to get voting registrars into Birmingham. Southern Christian Leadership Conference had to demonstrate for rights; they had to get more black people beaten and more black people arrested, and then the country spoke to the issue. We have to do that all over. We have 600 counties where we don't /have registrars/; why don't they send them in there if Johnson is in fact sincere about it? Why doesn't he dispatch federal registrars where he knows that they need it, and they need it in the counties where they have not registered black people.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael, if you do gain political power in those counties where Negroes outnumber whites -- in all those counties -- if you gain the courthouse and clean out all the dirt, as you say, and elect sheriffs, and education boards, what kind of real leverage do you have in Mississippi and Alabama -- in states where you do have these counties -- against the remaining power structure on a state level? You are still a minority in this state. What kind of real leverage or equality can you gain from that kind of power?

Carmichael: Number one, first thing, is that for once, you are going to have political fallacy. Up to this point, black people in this country have only had moral force. They talked about moral power; they tried to get to the conscience of people so that the so-called "white liberals" (I use that word in quotes because I am not quite sure what it means) would then speak and say the poor black people need this, its a good thing morally. But black people themselves have not had the power to sit down. Now, if in fact that black people in Mississippi have all the Delta

they can sit down with Johnson -- Paul Johnson -- and they can say, now, we represent X number of votes, we want this. They don't have that now. And that's what they have to get.

Interviewer: Mr. Carmichael, you had the chance to sit down with President Johnson at the White House Conference. Why didn't you?

Carmichael: Well, we outlined that very clearly. Number one, we felt that the problems of racism in this country doesnot exist in the black community, it exists in the white community, and that we didn't see why we needed a conference to talk about fulfilling our rights.

Interviewer: Why not take the opportunity to tell the president this?

Carmichael: We had other reasons. Number two, we felt that the president was calling that conference at a time when his international prestige and in this country was at a low ebb, and he was going to try to use us to try and build up his prestige, and we refused to be a part of that.

Interviewer: (Question asked unintelligible.)

Carmichael: That's correct.

Number three, he was discounting(?) [unintelligible] the war in Viet Nam which flagrantly violates the life of colored people. Its [unintelligible] to sit down and talk about human rights --

Interviewer: I sincerely regret that our time is up.

Carmichael: I also regret it.

Interviewer: Thank you for being here on Face the Nation.

- : -

(Black Power) P.W.

Missouri Teamster Editorials

THE ONCOMING CATASTROPHE

It is almost, in Viet Nam, as if we are being propelled toward a condition of human disaster by circumstances beyond our control. The time has come for drastic measures to prove that man is not that bankrupt.

It is the Congress, and not the President, in whom the decision rests to wage war. Yet, despite Senate hearings, the Congress, usually jealous of any usurpation of its powers, has shown notable cowardice to date in facing up to its responsibilities in this instance. It has let the President (and the military establishment) make the decisions and has effectively washed its hands of the whole affair.

With Congressional elections just a little more than three months away, we believe the Congress should undertake ful-scale debate on the subject, and let the electorate make its wishes known on the subject come November, by choosing between the 'hawks' and the 'doves.'

In such a Congressional debate, all the facts should be unfolded before the American people—and all the alternatives—and the machinery of governmental propaganda should be stilled for the period.

At the same time, national assemblies of the learned people of our society should be convened, and the most thorough airing given to the issues involved.

We should try to ascertain whether the tragic events that unfold in Southeast Asia arise out of our own failure to understand what is happening there.

As Hanoi threatened this week to put American flyers on trial as war criminals, American voices warned of 'dire consequences" if this happened. What does that mean? We should know.

One of the many tragedies of Viet Nam is that we have been given the truth only in carefully-measured doses, when we have been given it at all.

We wonder how many Americans were shocked to learn, a few weeks ago, that eight of the nine generals in the ruling junta of South Viet Nam (the government we support) had fought for the French and against the Vietnamese people in an earlier stage of the war for independence there, including Premier Ky.

How many other evils can we perpetuate in the name of fighting Communism? What does the national conscience say about how many people—young Americans or young Viet Namese—can be killed without national deliberation and national consensus? Does any nation—or any people—have the right to risk nuclear war for any cause?

It seems to us these questions are too enormous to remain—and be decided—behind closed doors in secret deliberations. No man, and no small group of men, have either the right or the capability to make decisions of such far-reaching consequences that a wrong decision may destroy mankind as we have known it.

We do not any longer live in an age when warfare can be contained within a battlefield perimeter where armed soldiers contend with each other. Now all of society becomes involved.

All of society, therefore, ought to weigh the monstrous possibilities of our Viet Namese adventure and, before we become too jaded to think about it any more, make a human effort to resolve the oncoming catastrophe before it is too late.

THE POWER FAILURE

Union Electric, while arbitrarily sus-

public, but in reality it is an attempt to

—MISSOURI TEAMSTER

BREAKTHROUGH FOR THE MOVEMENT

What 'Black Power' Means To The Negro In The South

By JOANNA TAULMAN

(Special to the Missouri Teamster)

The term "black power" used by civil rights leaders in describing future activities has been causing repercussions across the country this summer. No one seems to know just what it means, but everyone who has heard the term wants to know.

losing its grasp on many of the young, vital element within the movement.

The philosophy of the young dissenters is not so sympathetic to the white man's dilemma. When southern restaurants forced by law to serve Negroes publicly donate the profits from these sales to the KKK, the most patient Negro must doubt the white man's good intentions. When white "liber-

are being propelled toward a condition of human disaster by circumstances beyond our control. The time has come for drastic measures to prove that man is not that bankrupt.

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Nam is that we have been given the truth only in carefully-measured doses, when we have been given it at all.

We wonder how many Americans were shocked to learn, a few weeks ago, that eight of the nine generals in the ruling junta of South Viet Nam (the government we support) had fought for the French and against the Vietnamese people in an earlier stage of the war for independence there, including Premier Ky.

How many other evils can we perpetuate in the name of fighting Communism? What does the national conscience say about how many people—young Americans or young Viet Namese—can be killed without national deliberation and national consensus? Does any nation—or any people—have the right to risk nuclear war for any cause?

It seems to us these questions are too enormous to remain—and be decided—behind closed doors in secret deliberations. No man, and no small group of men, have either the right or the capability to make decisions of such far-reaching consequences that a wrong decision may destroy mankind as we have known it.

We do not any longer live in an age when warfare can be contained within a battlefield perimeter where armed soldiers contend with each other. Now all of society becomes involved.

All of society, therefore, ought to weigh the monstrous possibilities of our Viet Namese adventure and, before we become too jaded to think about it any more, make a human effort to resolve the oncoming catastrophe before it is too late.

THE POWER FAILURE

Union Electric, while arbitrarily suspending service to its subscribers during the heat wave, took to the air to ask the citizenry for sympathy and understanding. It had a hollow ring to anyone who has had dealings with high-handed public utilities.

Despite its exhortations, Union Electic failed the public badly. It is a limping explanation to claim that they could not anticipate such weather—100-degree days are part of reasonable expectation in a city like St. Louis.

The fact seems to be that Union Electric gambled with the public welfare by trying to cut corners—to maintain less equipment than prudent foresight would demand—all in the interests of higher profits for the "investor-owned" utility.

It is difficult to understand, anyway, why utilities should operate to the profit of anyone. It challenges propriety to imagine a group of private individuals controlling something like electricity for their own profit—and having a monopoly on it, to boot. If you don't like Union Electric's service, you can do without electricity, and that's that.

The subterfuge of Union Electric's advertising slogan—"investor-owned"—may sound reassuring to much of the public, but in reality it is an attempt to hide the awful truth that some people get rich on the electricity the people of the community pay for.

We believe public utilities should be not-for-profit, that they should be held to strict accounting for failure to render proper service, and that they should operate with a compassion suitable to the public welfare.

We know how little sympathy and understanding Union Electric shows to people who can't pay their bills for awhile because of "unforeseen circumstances." The thousands of people who have had their electricity "turned off" at one time or another will be hard put to shed tears over the company's recent predicament. In typical fashion, it passed on its *lack* of service to the consumer public, with untold hardship resulting.

A thorough investigation should be made, and true facts developed as to why Union Electric failed the public as it did. We should know whether its zeal for profit outweighs its sense of public responsibility. If so, maybe we ought to think twice about the logic of "investors" owning, for their own aggrandizement, something so essential to human life. It doesn't make sense to us.

END OF THE THIRD DEGREE

We sympathize with the difficult job policemen face in apprehending those who commit crimes and we can understand their relief when a suspect admits his guilt. At the same time, we must laud the recent Supreme Court decision which said police must advise felony suspects of the following conditions: that the suspect has the right to refuse to answer any and all questions; that anything the suspect might say may be used against him in court; that the suspect has a right to legal counsel during interrogation; and that if the suspect has no money, he is entitled to court-appointed counsel.

All the court was really saying was that it upholds a man's constitutional right not to incriminate himself.

This makes it a little difficult to understand critics of the decision, who contend that it will "hamper" police work. It sounds like they are really saying the police are incapable of compiling evidence against a suspect. After all, under our system of law, a man remains a suspect until a jury determines his guilt or innocence.

The old "third-degree" still exists in places, despite new methods of public relations employed to dissuade the people from this opinion, and the Supreme Court ruling says the prosecution will be under a "heavy burden" to prove that a suspect was fully advised of his rights before answering questions or making a confession.

As easy as the old method might have seemed, we believe most police officers of the modern era want to see justice done, and justice is best served when constitutional guarantees are observed, as the Supreme Court reminded us.

—MISSOURI TEAMSTER

BREAKTHROUGH FOR THE MOVEMENT

What 'Black Power' Means To The Negro In The South

By JOANNA TAULMAN

(Special to the Missouri Teamster)

The term "black power" used by civil rights leaders in describing future activities has been causing repercussions across the country this summer. No one seems to know just what it means, but everyone who has heard the term wants to know.

In a debate with Tuskegee Institute's James McDade, Courtland Cox of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee attempted to clear up some of the confusion, and at the same time raised some very intriguing questions.

"Black power," he said, "has been defined by the white press. They're concerned with how it will affect whites. The press," Cox continued, "asks two questions: whether black power will result in the alienation of whites, and whether it means the end of non-violence." This interest of the white nation in "black power" according to Cox is not in equal representation for the Negro, but in the effect any black representation may have on the white.

If Mr. Cox's observations are accurate, then the white masses of America are betraying a dangerous paranoia in the face of a rising black political force. One young southerner stated the white supremist's position when he said, "If they (Negroes) start getting elected, the whites will have to move out of this town."

SNCC workers and other young Negroes are fast losing interest in the plight of the white southerner who is expected to revise the social and political atmosphere of his home soil in a decade. To the statement that "black people should share power with the whites," Cox replied, "That is the greatest joke I have heard lately. How can you share something that is non-existent?"

Black power, according to Mr. Cox, consists in representation sufficient to channel tax money paid by blacks back into the black community, to give Negroes a voice in affairs outside the black community, and to educate Negroes to their worth as a race with a unique history and culture.

A rapidly increasing number of zealous Negroes are convinced that political and economic power are the only methods by which the Negro condition will see any improvement. The philosophy of non-violence used by civil rights groups to appeal to the conscience of America for the past sixteen years is being abandoned for a more immediate philosophy.

A Southern Christian Leadership Conference publication of 1963 contains this statement by Mrs. Dorothy Cotton of that group: "Our white brothers often find it painful to change the teachings and habits of a lifetime. The nonviolent resister understands this pain and through love helps them to accept the new way of life."

Non-violent resistance has done much for the Negro's case. Civil rights legislation resulted from peaceful demonstrations, and that success brought hope to many. Legislation has not done the whole job, however, and SCLC with its tenuous philosophy is losing its grasp on many of the young, vital element within the movement.

The philosophy of the young dissenters is not so sympathetic to the white man's dilemma. When southern restaurants forced by law to serve Negroes publicly donate the profits from these sales to the KKK, the most patient Negro must doubt the white man's good intentions. When white "liberals" balk at the term "black power" and discuss with ill-disguised concern whether white power will suffer, the Negro questions whether justice will ever be willingly accorded the black race in America.

It is an unhappy fact that there are those who are conditioned beyond rational thought on the issue of racial justice. It is unfortunate that a Negro man who was ambushed on a peaceful march in Mississippi should vow to finish his march with a gun in his hand instead of a Bible. The Civil Rights Bill has not, however, ensured the Negro his dignity as well as his legal rights.

Cox made a statement which illustrates the disappointment suffered by impatient young Negroes during the years since the passing of the Civil Rights Bill. "I don't believe that all white people are racists," he said, "but they all believe in white supremacy."

The tone of the movement is changing. Whether the attitude expressed by Mr. Cox is gaining impetus remains to be seen, but it does provide food for liberal thought.

Election Costs

A few weeks ago the White House made public a letter from President Johnson to the Congress in which he asked for significant amendments to the laws dealing with campaign financing.

"Public confidence in the elective process is the foundation of public confidence in government," Johnson wrote. "There is no higher duty of a democratic government than to insure that confidence."

Organized labor long has been concerned about the laws which govern our campaign expenditures.

The Taft-Hartley Act, for example, restricts unions to using only volunteer monies for campaigns for federal offices.

At the same time, we have seen a report of a U. S. Senate committee, following a study of a Presidential election, which shows that 12 wealthy families in the United States contributed $1,153,735 of which $1,040,526 went to the Republican Party and $107,000 to the Democratic Party.

Officials of 225 of the largest U.S. corporations, as listed by Fortune Magazine, contributed $1,816,000 to the GOP and $40,975 to the Democrats.

Officials of the 35 largest oil companies gave the Republicans $344,997 and $14,650 to the Democrats.

In the same election, the Senate committee found that the net expenditures of organized labor were $941,000 or $100,000 less than come from 12 families alone.

File

They Are Suppose To have a Meeting Today At 12 O'Clock At the Canterbury House ON Pair + Raymond Sts.

PRESS RELEASE
From: The Atlanta Project of the SNCC
142 Vine Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia

February 20, 1967

STOP THE TORTURE OF OUR BLACK MEN!

How long will the torture of Black men continue .....

Seven Black men who dared to object to the drafting of Black men to serve as hired killers for this white racist government are being tortured .....

Seven Black men who dared to say "Freedom, Justice, and Equaltiy for Afroamericans are being tortured .....

Seven Black men who dared to say "VietCong never called me Nigger" are being tortured .....

On February 16, 1967, in Atlanta, Georgia, USA, Donald Stone, Larry Fox, J.P. Tillman and John Wilson have been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for " Interfering with the administration of the Universal Military Training Act", plus "Destroying Federal Property". On that same day, Robert Moore, Michael Simmons, and Simuel Schutz have been indicted for "Destruction of Federal Property.

This is but another link in the chain conspiracy against twelve young Blacks by the racist City, State and Federal officials.

It all began August 18, 1966, when 10 Black men and 2 Black women were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace, and resisting arrest; 4 of the 12 were also charged with assault and battery on police officers, and one with Insurrection which carries the death penalty here in Georgia, as a result of their protesting the illegal drafting of Black men to fight in racist wars of oppression. The twelve were tried August 19, 1966 and convicted in racist Judge T.C. Little's court in Atlanta. They were given the maximum penalty for the charges (Judge Little at time of sentencing said that he wished he could give them life in prisonment) - 3 months in jail at the Atlanta Prison Farm.

The twelve served two months because Judge Little would not allow the posting of an appeal bond for the twelve even thought their cases were being appealed.

The twelve spent most of their time at the Prison Farm in solitary confinement known as the "hole". It's an area 5'x7' with no sleeping or sanitary or toilet facilities (a tin can with jagged edges was provided to contain bodily excrement). Bread and water was the food. The bread was left over and partially eaten by other prisoners. The bread was thrown upon the floor. Prisoners were expected to scramble for these partially eaten morsels or else loose them to the roaches. The water was not fresh; water was served in a can which had not been sanitized; it often tasted of other ingredients such as urine, spit, etc. A few of the men soon fell sick of hemmoroids and swelling joints from a combination of damp quarters, pig-pen like food, and Vermin producing unsanitary facilities. These and other conditions forced the men to go on hunger strikes against these inhuman -concentration camp-like treatments. These men ate no food and drank only water for periods lasting up to 15 consecutive days.

Phase II of the conspiracy

On February 1-2 of this year, Johnny Wilson was tried in Fulton County Superior Court on 4 charges - assault and battery (2 counts), abusive and profane language (2 counts) stemming from the August 18th demonstration. Racist Judge Alverson presided over the all white jury - State, eliminated 8 perspective jurors who were Negroes. The State's witnesses, white policemen and white army officers failed to positively identify Wilson as even being present at the scene of the demonstration. Nonetheless the all white jury brought in a verdict of guilty on all counts. The 19 year old Wilson was sentenced to three years on the chain gang.

Wilson, a native of West Point, Mississippi is well known for his strenous and serious dedication to the Civil Rights Struggle in the South. Wilson has been arrested 35 times by the state of Mississippi for work in Voter Registration campaigns and

and political organization.

Phase III

Simuel Schutz, Larry Fox, and Donald Stone are due to be tried February 21, 1967 at Fulton County Superior Court before Judge Dan Dukes on assault and Battery charges stemming from the August 18th Demonstration. (Since its a common practice for additional charges to be brought against Blacks in the racist Kangaroo Courts of Georgia, it wouldn't be suprising if more Assault and Battery Charges were brought against the three. Since the Judge, State's Attorneys and the Police Department work in conspiracy together, its likely that additional charges will be brought against the three. Th ee were between 20 and 30 cops at the demonstration scene. It's possible in Georgia that Stone, Schutz, and Fox will be charged with assaulting all of them. The white racist have the power to give these men twenty years on the "chain gang" or "concentration camp" ..... When you have time, do some research on the the methods that were used on the jews .....

Phase IV

The seven named above who were indicted on February 16th by the Federal Grand Jury on the charge of "Interfering" and Destroying Federla Property are the latest victims of the conspiracy. Conviction of interference brings a penalty of 5 years in the Federal Penitentary and a $10,000 fine. The destruction of property brings 1 year in the Federal penitentiary and $1,000 fine.

The following is a list of the names and ages of all 12 victims of the racist conspiracy:

John Wilson -19 years; Donald Stone-31 years, Simuel Schutz-20 years, Michael Simmons-21 years, Larry Fox-23 years, Dwight Williams -22 years, Bob Moore-22 years, Donald Howard-22years, Bob Smith-23 years, Regina Pleasant-19years, and Flora Goodloe-19years.

These are young men and women of America. They are of African Descent. They are too young to accept the conditions which oppress them and their not too much older parents. They are too young not to protest and too young not to resist; too young not to make known their feelings. They are young, strong Afro-american. They are the future of the Afro-american Nation. They have been active in the Civil Rights Movement ofor several years facing the racist Mississippi-Alabama-Georgia officials; the police dogs, the fire hoses, the cattle prods, the billy clubs, the night sticks, the rifle butts, the snipers bullets and now openly the racist US government has entered into the conspiracy to destroy the Black Youth

As proof of the conspiracy take the case of Simuel Schutz. After serving nearly two months in the Atlanta Prison Farm's "hole" Schutz was removed therefrom by the Federal Agents and taken to jail in Montegomery. The charges: Draft Evasion. Schutz had been one day late in reporting for induction. Schutz was working as a Field Secretary for the SNCC in Lowdnes County, Ala. He had been involved with the Black Panther Party since its beginning. On May 3rd, the day of the elections Schutz was organizing the County Convention in order to gain a political voice for the Afro-americans in Lowdnes County. He was told on that day that it was rumored that he had received an induction notice and was suppose to report either "today, yesterday, or tomorrow". The contradictions of fighting against racism in Lowdnes County while being forced to fight in the racist armed forces were the contradictions facing this young man and all Black young men who are concerned about Blacks in this country. Fighting within the armies (reserve, national guard, army, navy, airforce) which have already been used to enforce racist polices in Lowdnes County, Atlanta, Montegomery, Mississippi, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Watts, and in every City, County, and State where Afroamericans have had to do battle with racists for the right to organize other afro-americans. This is the contradiction that Schutz and all concerned Black youth have reaped in this country of vicious white sowers. Schutz reported the next day and was informed by the clerk that he was one day late. Schutz said that he had been called out of turn and was a victim of a racist conspiracy to get rid of him.

Schutz was tried and convicted, October 21, 1966 in the United States District Court for the Middle District of Alabama, Eastern Division, Judge Virgil Pittman, presiding. Racist Judge Pittman would not permit Schutz's attorney to permit any evidence proving that Schutz was a victim of a conspiracy perpertrated against him by racist selective service officials, FBI and local police.

Judge Pittman refused to permit the files of the selective service (which had been gotten by a court order)which proved that Schutz had had been called out of turn to be put in the record or offered as evidence. After the testimoney had been given, Pittman said: "Guilty as Charged; is there anything you would like to day before I pass sentence." He then sentenced Schutz to three years in the Federal Penitentiary. Schutz is presently out on appeal bond.

Southern white racist, northern white racist, Federal agents, selective service boards and officials and white america in general see men like these ten as a Vanguard, or an extension of the collective WILL of Black People to be FREE. These agents, clerks, whites are going to make examples of these young men who penalty is thinking, moving, and organizing Afro-americans for Freedom, Justice and Equality.

They will through them in jails, beat them, starve them, torture them and use, finally kill them until we do something about it.

Only you can stop the torture of Black men.

Bail money should be sent to the Legal Aid and Defense Fund of the SEVEN 360 Nelson STreet SW Atlanta, Georgia.

MR. AND MRS. NATHAN H. SCHWERNER
34 FIFTH STREET
PELHAM, NEW YORK 10803

File

Dear Friend,

The chips are down. The broadsides against SNCC in most of the press, distorting SNCC's position, have caused uneasiness to some of our liberal-minded friends. We've heard criticisms that SNCC is now Black Nationalist -- too militant.

But where does the truth lie? It is as right and necessary for a Julian Bond or a Fannie Lou Hamer to represent a Negro majority in a particular community as it is for an Irishman or an Italian to wield political power in an Irish or Italian-dominated area. Negroes must speak out for their needs through their own representatives. For us, this is what SNCC's Chairman Stokely Carmichael means by "black power." And for us, that is the bare bone of civil rights; that is the goal of SNCC's "new policy" which is, in fact, as old as SNCC itself.

We're enclosing a statement from Mr. Carmichael and an analysis by I. F. Stone. We think they'll be helpful in discussions with your friends.

And then, please join us in supporting this most courageous group of young people. We understand that they are now entering another summer of work and that they will be joined this month by a Freedom Force of over 100 volunteers. We fear for them, and with reason. They are the combat troops of democracy, brave and tough -- but they need your help. Join us in supporting them in their fight to help all of us, black and white, attain those "inalienable rights" which are still unrealized by so many Americans.

Very Sincerely,

Anne Schwerner Nat Schwerner

P.S. We must add that this letter was not solicited by SNCC; it was volunteered.
Please show your support by sending a check to SNCC — The need is Great and most urgent.
A.S.
NS

File

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

National Headquarters: 6 Raymond Street, N.W. • Atlanta 14, Georgia • Area Code 404 — 688-0331

Tel. 387-7445

107 Rhode Island Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20010

Enclosed is a complete copy of a SNCC Special Report on School Desegregation in the deep South. We are sending you the entire 65 page report in addition to the Summary and our open letter to Secretary Gardner because we know of your deep concern for and interest in civil rights information.

Please don't hesitate to contact us if you want additional information.

Someday we shall have our talk. Hope you enjoy the report. Freedom, Betty

Sincerely,

John Robert Lewis

John Robert Lewis
Chairman, SNCC

Marion Barry, jr.
Director, Washington SNCC office

Betty Garman

Betty Garman,
Federal Programs Coordinator, SNCC

"One Man, One Vote"

34

File: SNCC

American Youth in a Social Struggle: The Mississippi Summer Project

Robert Coles, M.D.* and Joseph Brenner, M.D.**

The student sit-in movement is this year 5 years old. (22,39) The willingness of four Negro students to ask for service from a cafeteria in Greensboro, North Carolina soon developed into the determination of hundreds of students to engage in similar non-violent assertions or requests over the South and in the North, too. Though for a number of years there had been a slow progression of decisions in the federal courts (3) which indicated that the high tide of legally sanctioned segregation embodied in the "separate-but-equal" decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson had long passed, it was the post-war climate itself along with the 1954 school desegregation decision which set the stage for the various protest actions we have seen in the South these past few years. (3,27,28) Indeed, a Negro woman's refusal to yield her seat to a white man started a chain of events which progressed from a boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, to the emergence of a national leader in the person of its leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, and his eventual designation as a Nobel Award winner for his contributions toward world peace. (26)

Such events illustrate the way individual lives can engage with a ripe historical moment to produce significant social change. (10,11,17,22) No view of the nature of social struggle in the South can ignore the history of the region, the political and economic climate there, and the long-standing consolidation in the section of an essentially rural caste system. (4,6,12,13,14,25,31,32,34) Psychiatrists looking at the motivations and adjustment of those taking on such a formidable social system must keep these considerations constantly in mind. To walk into a cafeteria and ask for coffee -- and be a Negro -- or to walk into a county court house so as to register to vote -- and be a Negro -- requires a certain kind of person, a certain kind of psychological preparation and endurance in that person; but to realize what such acts <u>mean</u> -- to the white people -- requires placing the desires and deeds of private people in the context of what they have learned in their family rearing, and what generations of Southern families, white and Negro, have learned about themselves and one another. (5,6,7,9,13,31,32,33,34,38) As one Negro student reminded us: "When I go near a voting registrar in Mississippi I feel I'm dueling with the whole history of my race and the white race. It gets you just like that, in your bones. You're not just a person who is scared. You're doing something for the books; for history, too."

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*Research Psychiatrist, Harvard University Health Services.

**Psychiatrist, Medical Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Background of the Project

Similarly, the state of Mississippi must be looked at in some historical depth, so that its current racial struggle fits into a larger significance -- a whole way of life for people. We cannot here do justice to the remarkable series of events which have seized that state over these past decades. Its beautiful land has been touched with the blood of warriors fighting against the North, soldiers fighting for the preservation of the Union, men lynched for the color of their skin, or other men dead prematurely out of a poverty which persisted for them even though they were white, even in the face of their hatred of Negroes.

Particularly relevant are the descriptions of Mississippi's political structure, its social system, the cherished ideals of its white leaders, the grim living of its white yeomen, and the almost unbelievable conditions of existence endured by its Negro sharecroppers. (1,13) Faulkner's novels (19,20,21) are eminently heroic works of literary art, but they are also an incredibly accurate storehouse of psychological and socio-cultural information about life in Mississippi as it is differently yet mutually lived by white and Negro people there. Nor does Faulkner stand alone; from George Washington Cable (5) to Eudora Welty (36,37) a long and fine literary tradition has illustrated the agony of the state, the muted often sad humor, the poverty, the desolation, the loneliness of its people -- afraid of the rest of the country, sometimes even of the rest of their own South, always of themselves, split into dark and light, few rich and many poor, or suspicious, hard-pressed farmers and self-consciously recent city folk.

The intersection of private lives with an enabling time in our national life has its parallel in the meeting of Mississippi's increasingly guarded, aloofly defiant posture in respect to desegregation with the momentum of the student civil rights groups. There is a special quality to the state's resistance to national laws and pressures, a quality of firm, unrelenting opposition described by political scientists, journalists, and its own leaders. (6,7,25,27,28,32,33,35) No other Southern state has committed itself so totally to so unyielding a stand, and no one studying the white and Negro youth in confrontation with such a stand can overlook the psychological climate of fear and hostility likely to arise on both sides, those challenged and those making the challenge.

Relatively isolated forays had been made into Mississippi before, in the few short years of increasingly organized student protest. Several of the organizing leaders of the 1964 project had experienced the threats, jailings, beatings, and injuries that can go hand in hand with trying to work for the voting rights of Negroes in the state. The segregationist racial customs in those towns are so solidly established and that aspect of their living is so effectively removed from the will or practices of the rest of the nation that centuries of difference seem to separate the one from the other.

Such attempts had inevitably persuaded these young men and women that they were no match -- as small groups of committed civil rights

workers -- for the power of those deeply Southern states who were set upon last ditch resistance to federal laws or pressures to obey those laws. Since Mississippi seemed the bastion of such unyielding opposition, and since some of them were tired of seemingly disconnected expeditions often culminating in futile attempts and prolonged arrests, it was decided to attempt a specific, carefully planned project which would try to work toward desegregation in the toughest state of the nation -- and in a large scale fashion which would draw upon the national support of sympathetic students and see itself as taking on not simply one town or county here and another there, but the segregationist laws, frame of mind and resolution of the state of Mississippi itself.

Well before the summer project began these youths travelled over the country making their plans known to student groups in the various colleges and discussing them with various sympathetic educators or religious and political leaders. By the spring of 1964 recruitment on college campuses was well on its way, and plans had become firm for a preliminary, two week period of orientation followed by a summer's project likely to witness hundreds of students from over the nation converging on dozens of Negro communities in the state.

Our Role in the Project

Our role in the project was defined by the students and the ministers of the National Council of Churches, which decided to support their efforts and formally affiliate itself with them. We were asked to help evaluate applicants, be available for any medical or psychiatric advice needed during the two week orientation period in Oxford, Ohio, and continue such work during the rest of the summer in Mississippi. One of us had had four years of experience working with Southern youth involved in the sit-in movement, as well as with Negro and White children involved in the desegregation of the elementary and high schools of the region. The other one of us is an internist with long experience in general medical problems as well as a psychiatrist particularly practiced in working with college students.

We both went out to Oxford several days before the summer volunteers were to arrive, so that we might talk with those who were organizing the project. For several months before that, however, we had been sharing in the preliminary process of interviewing, group discussions, and selection which took place at several New England colleges where students were specially interested in civil rights.

From those first meetings in the early spring of the year, to our work in Oxford, Ohio and then in the experiences of the one of us who spent the summer with the project in Mississippi, records were constantly kept of individual and group interviews. Some of the interviews were taped. Photographs were made, to illustrate the preparation in non-violence at the workshops, and the living conditions and activities of the students in Mississippi. Our intention has been to document -- with clinical material

gathered and recorded -- the manner of survival of a group of American youths embarking upon a serious endeavor in changing the nature of part of their nation.

The Onset of the Project

From the very beginning, even before Oxford, Ohio, we noted that the students interested in the project seemed consistently serious, dedicated, and well aware of the serious implications facing the kind of work they were asking to do. Every effort was made to acquaint them with the hard facts of life facing the Negro citizens of that state, and the firm conviction of its leading white citizens that no change in those facts be accomplished. Some students decided well before the orientation meeting that the risk to life or limb was not only real and substantial, but too much for them. Some of these students were afraid, others insufficiently concerned about civil rights. "I thought it might be an interesting summer," one college junior told us "but I frankly don't care enough to risk my life over this problem."

The real time when motivations were tested and responses to fear and tension quite apparent came at Oxford, Ohio where for two weeks, on the lovely campus of Western College for Women, about 400 college students from every section of the country assembled to learn about their coming summer, and once and for all decide whether it would suit their wishes and capacities. We cannot here recount the background which soon befell that orientation period: the constant presence of reporters and television cameras; the anxiety in the nation and over the world; the threats spoken in Mississippi and the concern expressed by many people in the North, including officials of the government; within a few days the disappearance of three members of the project -- their death appearing an increasing likelihood, then a certainty, as each day passed with no discovery of their whereabouts. Such a grim general atmosphere became for each volunteer a specific confrontation: going to Mississippi meant the concrete, explicit risk of death.

Orientation of the Students

The job of Oxford was one of informing and preparing students for the summer. They had to be made aware of the political, economic and social situation in the state, and given a description of the historical development of the project -- how it came about, at whose initiative, for what purposes. There were serious logistical problems to be solved: transport, housing, security, lines of communication with one another and with the press, congressmen, senators, families and friends; in addition the geographic deployment had to be arranged, the financial basis of the project established, the legal help set up, and provision for the medical and psychological welfare of the workers secured.

Before the students arrived workshops in non-violent technique were prepared by the 100 students who were also veteran activists of the civil rights movement. (They met for several days before the orientation began.) Discussions among these students were held, too. They had also their fears

and anxieties. (2,8,9,10,11,14,22,24) Some Negro Southerners resented outsiders even as they welcomed and needed them -- and particularly resented volunteers who were white and relatively privileged ones at that. Many were afraid, not as they had been before in their comparative isolation and powerlessness, but in the face of the new significance that had come upon their struggle, and the tensions, rivalries and fears of the increasing organizational life which accompanied it. Some felt guilty. Did they have the right to ask aid of others, knowing -- as only those who have fought for civil rights in a small town in the Delta can possibly know -- the fateful hazards and gambles attached to the work, the constant jeopardy of its achievement?

Preliminary Medical and Psychiatric Operations

Our work began as soon as we arrived on the campus. We met with small and larger groups of the project's leaders, and with them individually. We looked upon ourselves as guests, and were at first quite unsure what we could do of value. It soon became clear, however, that there was a good deal for us to do, and that our help was very much wanted by the leaders of the project -- they called it COFO, or Council of Federated Organizations, an alliance of the major civil rights organizations in the state.

Even as those meetings were proceeding the volunteers started arriving. Besides the various tasks already mentioned to be accomplished -- they might be called those of "outer orientation" -- there was perhaps the hardest one of "inner orientation." Within each of these students lived the slowly awakening conscience of much of their country. Yet, there were really few people or groups giving them clear sanction to set out to do what they did. Even many of those morally sympathetic to their aims felt hesitant, doubtful, or fearful before their actions as they slowly took shape. Nor were these volunteers simply lonely or isolated from the approval of others. An aroused conscience does not automatically generate the will to change things, and even given the will such events in the life of the mind as fear, inertia, the onset of rationalizations and denials -- or the legitimate rise of feelings of helplessness or despair before the magnitude of a difficult ordeal -- combine to stay action, to spread doubt, to start anxieties in motion that can become paralyzing worries, suspicions, or tensions between people. (11)

It was thus apparent from the very beginning that this tiny handful of young people, a fraction of 1% of the college population of this country, would have to come to some conclusion -- even if in the private thoughts or the fantasies and dreams of their own minds -- about why they were taking on this kind of summer, and how they would expect to manage it.

First Period of Self-examination

Both the leaders of the project and the volunteers later went through this first period of self examination. They hassled and argued with their guilt and self-doubt, the racking accusations, the continual analysis of motives which bespeak inner uncertainty coming to grips with outer uncertainty. Many of them wondered whether they were hopelessly "neurotic" or "masochistic," perhaps doing the right thing for the wrong

reasons, and if this was the case whether their position was tenable. Some could resolve such conflicts quickly; others did so only with difficulty, or only over time, or only with our help or the help of a person or event which somehow "made it all clear."

For example, during one long heated meeting a young Negro woman from Mississippi replied to a series of remarks which largely reflected apprehension and hesitation with the following words, spoken with a gentleness and simplicity which only added to their force: "I've been listening to you all for two hours, and I suppose if I didn't get up to speak you might be talking two days or two years from now about whether you should go and what will happen when you do. But I'm going to tell you something; I don't want to know why you're here. I want to know what's taken you so long to come; and I want to be thankful you're here."

Racial Tensions Rise

Another issue besides those of anticipatory fear or personal motivation was that of racial attitudes. The very problem summoning them to Mississippi was also part of their own problem as a group of white and Negro Americans with widely different backgrounds and experiences. For many of the white volunteers this was the first time they would be living on "equal" terms both physically and psychologically with Negroes; living with them as a preparatory group in Ohio, and then in the Negro quarters of Southern towns and villages under the strongly disapproving eye of a white society. The common nervousness of all concerned, from poor Southern Negroes to wealthy Northern whites (there were Southern whites and Northern Negroes there, too) was expressed variously: in sly avoidance, in forced, awkward encounters at meal time, in humorous exchanges while watching television, in all the ways that people find to meet and accommodate themselves to one another -- in the hope that the clumsy, embarrassing moments of introduction will ultimately yield to genuinely pleasant friendships at a later time.

Group Formations Occur

Meanwhile overriding all such matters was the central binding obligation of all concerned, teachers and students, long time activists and new recruits, to organize themselves quickly and expeditiously for the hard work ahead. The critical means of accomplishing this were the small groups of about 20 to 30 students. In them the real testing of individual commitment, solidarity, and understanding of the project took place. These groups formed themselves within a day or two of the arrival of the volunteers and were organized in terms of the geography of the state.

The overall project was divided into literally dozens of smaller ones, each one attached to a particular town or county, and each one destined to have its own aims, style of living, traditions, risks and opportunities. Though the state has certain quite general racial customs, it also is by no means without variations in them. Some of it borders on TVA territory. Some of it is on the Gulf of Mexico, anxious for tourists and sandwiched in between two old sophisticated port cities, Mobile and New Orleans. The capitol is a growing city, a distribution center for

national business concerns. On the other hand there are those miles of plantation country in the Delta, or those small-farm counties along the hill country.

While a psychiatric report cannot do justice to the intricate historical and social forces at work in shaping racial relations in these areas, neither can such a report ignore the very real psychological consequences of those forces. What has been reported by Allport, Clark, Dollard, Myrdal or Kardiner and Ovesey (2,8,13,24,29) as happening to Negroes under various kinds of isolation and discrimination simply begins -- and only that -- to describe the way many Negro families in the rural areas of the South feel about themselves and the white people for whom they largely work. Nor is it fair to overlook the long and deeply held feelings of white people in those regions. Those sections of the South which have found themselves able and willing to change such feelings -- or at the very least the customs grounded in them -- have been heavily persuaded by other changes, economic, political and cultural, which have so far largely ignored the rural South.

In each of the small groups there were several staff members who knew such facts all too well. Joining them were the volunteers, ranging from 5 or 6 to about 20 in each group. The volunteers were encouraged to move from group to group so as to get a sense of the people with whom they would be working, and their particular interests. As these groups were forming, general lectures were being given -- about the state as a whole, its economy and traditions; or about the history of the civil rights movement, or the nature of non-violent protest. Other lectures dealt with more specialized problems, such as the legal ones likely to arise in the face of unfriendly police or the medical and psychiatric ones brought on by hot, humid weather coupled with the strains of everyday life as a worker for the voting rights of colored people.

Openly and quietly the members of these groups came to know one another. At first there was a good deal of shifting about from one group to another. Someone interested, say, in teaching might find herself in a group seeing itself as primarily geared toward voter registration; or a young man interested in helping rural folk become aware of public health programs or those sponsored by the department of Agriculture might sense other concerns in his group -- teaching history or reading and writing. Mutual trust and respect and a clear knowledge of the order of command within the group was stressed. The need to accomplish such attitudes and feelings, the urgent need to do so in a short time, seemed to accelerate the cohesion and willfulness of the groups.

Our Work as Consultants

We shared in giving general lectures and leading more informal discussions on medical and psychiatric topics. Our major task was initially felt to be the evaluation of those who -- at their own behest or because of the doubts of others -- were referred to us as possibly unsuitable for the project. It certainly would not be possible for us -- two among 500 staff and volunteers -- to interview even a majority of the students individually. Moreover, what criteria were we to use in evaluating the fitness of these students for this project? One of us has already discussed this problem

elsewhere: (10). standards which might apply in determining the "mental health" of certain kinds of people -- white, suburban, middle-class -- do not necessarily apply to others, be they Negroes or a kind of idealistic youth struggling to find their own identity or sense of themselves.

We did, however, give over long stretches of hours, day and night, to individual interviews, sitting in as well with the various groups, where we might help spot any particularly anxious or troubled person. In addition, one of us is an internist, and thus acted as the general physician as well as a psychiatrist to the assembled youth.

General Reassurance for the Majority

There is no doubt that we were able to be of some help. There were a good number of frightened, anxious students on that campus, particularly so following the news of the disappearance of three of their fellows. Many students were ashamed to admit their doubts, their mixed feelings. They felt able to talk with us about them because we were doctors -- psychiatrists who were a bit removed from the immediate moral thrust of the project. Many talked of their lack of commitment, their sense of inadequacy before the anticipated ordeal facing them. For most of these students we could directly relieve some of their feelings of isolation and worthlessness by telling them what we had come to know was the truth: all the students there, in one fashion or another, shared such worries with them. Facing uncertainty and a good chance of injury, arrest, or even death, many of them were lonely and perhaps secretly preoccupied as well as frightened. It was relieving for individuals to know that in fact such sensations were quite common, and to be expected.

Individual Problems

Indeed, the few who troubled us were those who were not fearful and mildly to moderately anxious. There were several kinds of such youths. One group relied almost exclusively on bodily expressions of tension or nervousness. These were the young men and women who came to us with headaches, stomach and intestinal disorders, troubles with insomnia, muscle aches or back pain or with menstrual irregularities. We think it fair to say that for a while we were rather hard pressed with such complaints. In large measure bearing them were fresh "recruits" from various colleges who not only had no experience in the South, but little sustained contact with Northern civil rights work. They suddenly found themselves confronted with all the difficulties of making contact with Negro students -- often from a different class and region as well as race -- as well as those specially hard problems associated with facing danger. Being highly conscientious, and responsive to firm ethical ideals and goals, they found it particularly hard -- in so short a time -- to acknowledge their quite reasonable apprehensions.

Our job with them was both to treat their somatic symptoms and gently assist them in becoming more comprehensively and less fearfully aware of their inner conflicts. In example, a 19 year old student from Minnesota, a white farm girl who was a junior in college and from a highly religious Lutheran family, came to see us with complaints of a "head cold," including a headache and post-nasal drip. Further questioning revealed insomnia

starting directly with her first night at Oxford. When asked about how she was managing at the orientation meetings she replied with a tense, defensively assured "fine." She followed that quickly with a reference to the headaches which plagued her. In a while she acknowledged that she rarely suffered headaches; and that was our clue to indicate to her that she -- or anybody else -- rarely became involved in the kind of activity and peril now facing her. Her reluctance to accept such an observation appeared fairly quickly on her face. Yet, on the basis of past experience with youth in the sit-ins, we felt that we should press on with an amplification of our view of her inner struggle between on the one hand her ideals and her willingness -- her determination -- to put those ideals to the test of action in their behalf, and on the other hand her perfectly natural want of confidence in how she would be able to cope with a kind of physical danger and psychological intimidation that was daily being spelled out for her, and coming closer to her.

We saw her for 3 interviews during her stay at Oxford; and she was able to talk openly with us about her feelings. We always emphasized the many, very important possibilities open to civil rights workers outside of Mississippi; but at the same time stressed the fear and uncertainty common to all there, each person calling upon his own style for expression of it. She decided to go South, and once her decision was made (or confirmed in her mind once again) she lost her headaches and slept more soundly. We had given her a small supply of miltown and aspirin. She returned her unused pills to us after the last interview. "I think I can make it without these," were her words, followed by "I guess it takes time to find out that what bothers you bothers everyone."

More Serious Problems

There were other medical and psychiatric problems of a more serious nature, requiring the usual clinical diagnostic work-up and finally a decision about the person's fitness for the project. We encountered three youths near psychosis -- one suspicious and withdrawn, the other two clearly near panic. It was of interest to us that they were referred to us by the students themselves as a bit odd or seemingly "troubled" or "distracted" and in need of our help. They were willing to leave the project, in fact pleased to do it for medical reasons.

A more difficult few to evaluate were those with "neurotic" personalities or "character disorders" which did not seem to be working to the advantage of them as participants in the project. (We have surely reached a stage of sophistication in psychiatry that asks us to consider t the person's personality in relationship to his environmental condition rather than abstractly.) Our experience at Oxford was that 5 students knew that they were "in trouble," realized that however well they had managed before, they were headed for serious difficulty under the kinds of stresses likely in Mississippi. Three of them sought us out fairly quickly, and were helped to leave without excessive guilt, or sense of failure. Two others were spotted by their roommates or friends, and similarly helped to decide upon departure from the project. They themselves had wanted to see us, hesitating out of guilt at abandoning their summer's objectives. Three of these five had been in treatment for depression, anxiety, or phobias. The other two were of rather rigid, brittle make-up, each of them quite attached

to an orderly, punctual kind of living. The "confusion" of Oxford, that is the lack of precise timing for meetings, the tendency for lectures and discussions necessarily to carry on so long as there were intense pre-occupations and uncertainties to be aired, bothered them and showed them and us that the similar but even more marked disorder (and consequent need for flexibility) of active social struggle was not for them.

There were 4 others who presented a different order of problems. In each case the way the person came to the conference was an important clue to the kind of person we were seeing. One 19 year old Northern Negro arrived on the second day without any advanced notice. He had gone through none of the preliminary registration procedures at his college; he had in fact, we learned later, shunned them. His behavior and reasons for coming seemed appropriate at first, but within a few days he had managed to summon attention to himself by complaining about a variety of trivial things -- weather, food, length of orientation sessions. In his group he was either stonily silent or else registering a lone dissent on matters not very arguable, such as "choice" of living quarters in rural towns where there was in fact no choice to be had.

Seen by one of us we learned that he had twice been in jail for petty thievery, was now on probation, and had just been discharged from a part time job for reasons uncertain to us. Psychotherapy had once been suggested to him, and refused. He was trying to obtain the support of the group, but was unable to do so. His childhood had been confused and impoverished both in socio-economic fact and psychological experience. We suggested psychiatric care in his native city, and made referral for him to a clinic there. He showed no reluctance to leave.

A 20 year old white student made another impulsive arrival at Oxford. He called by phone the first day to say that he was hitchhiking, and only 200 miles away. He came the next day, lean, jaunty and filled with excitement and enthusiasm. Yet, in a short time his good-spirited eagerness became tiresome as its nervously excessive quality wore upon others -- several of whom suggested we talk with the youth.

He showed no surprise when one of us asked to talk with him, and with evident relief his story tumbled out, punctuated with pleas to be allowed to stay. After one and a half years of college he had become acutely psychotic and had been in a mental hospital for several months. Though now recovering, he still feared a recurrence of his illness, and in point of fact, as we learned later, had supposed that participation in the project would help him integrate himself emotionally with others of like purpose and ideals. It was not his rather open display of feeling that bothered others but the rather forceful, slightly inappropriate nature of their expression. They feared that while he might well be able to make a worthwhile contribution to the project, in sensitive situations his fragile controls might give way.

He was relieved that we were able to get some perspective on his life situation, and he was able to accept reassurance that his history indicated that while it would not be wise for him to participate in the program this year there was every hope that with continued personal progress he might help in a variety of ways in the future. We had to help him leave

and get on a bus; he was sad and near tears. Again, referral for further psychiatric treatment was made.

Our Conclusions as the Orientation Period Ends

Important questions in our minds at Oxford (and of course, later, in Mississippi) were what kinds of youths came there, for what reasons, and how did they manage the strains of preparing themselves for a hard and threatening summer -- particularly since the death of 3 of their comrades came upon them as they were preparing themselves to do so. We realized after one day's interviews and observations followed another that we were dealing with a wide range of personality types -- quite similar to the many kinds of college students we each customarily see in our respective jobs. Largely absent were the psychotic, the sociopathic or psychopathic. These were almost uniformly intelligent, determined youth, willfully desirous of ending what to most of them was a deeply felt state of injustice in their country. A few were more abstract: they did not so much feel the indignity of others as respond to the momentum of their own ideas; they objected to "injustice" or deprivation of "constitutional rights."

Doubtless the age of these youths, their position in our society as still predominantly single (or newly married, without children) and concerned with achieving, and consolidating their own rights and opportunities, their own dignity and self respect, made them specially sensitive to the plight of others similarly struggling for freedom in its many senses. Moreover, as Erikson (15,16,17,18) indicated, growing up in our middle-class Western world involves a rather long and complicated effort and struggle within the mind as one's individual past engages with social, cultural and historical events in pursuit of some feeling of coherence about oneself and the world.

At this particular moment in our national life, the civil rights movement, its ideals and struggles, has strong general interest for all of us; but for young Negroes and young white college students -- each for different reasons -- it has added relevance. For many young Negroes it is a chance to assert their worth in a new and increasingly successful way. In this regard, as one of us has discussed at some length, (10) the natural, partial estrangement of youths from their parents becomes even more pronounced as even children do things (in schools or demonstrations) never dreamed possible by their parents. Moreover, for many white students the civil rights movement seems the only possible way for them to work practically toward some improvement in our society. As one of them said to us in Ohio: "It's real, like work, and it's doing something for people we can see and who need it; and they're American citizens, like us; and we seem to be the only ones who go out and do it in the tough places. Then the country follows along."

If most of these youths were idealistic, intelligent and hardworking, if few were ruled out because of mental or physical disease, then the fact remains that even before they left for Mississippi they had to contend with the ominous news of the disappearance of three of their co-workers, and the beginning of the arrests, explosions, and beatings which would continue the rest of the summer.

We were struck at how successfully they kept their spirits high, their resolve undiminished. The purposes of the orientation session were to instruct the students in what they would be doing, and where; to help them get to know one another, and form some cohesive bond among themselves; to prepare them for the challenges and problems ahead, by lectures, demonstrations and even films; and to filter and select out those not quite suited to the project. The terrible news from Philadelphia, Mississippi revealed how effectively these aims had been accomplished.

There was a noticeable increase to the consultations we made. In point of fact we worked almost round the clock because the conference almost did. Minor medical complaints, bruises, cuts, aches and pains came in higher numbers, we thought because many students were quite doubtful of their strength -- of body and mind both -- to face a continuation of what had happened in Philadelphia. There was an increase in those openly anxious, fearful or unable to sleep soundly. Yet the general drift of those tense hours and days after Philadelphia was toward a final consolidation of the entire group of several hundred youths. They assembled in song and prayer, in silent marches, in circular, hand-holding communication and recital of their collective determination to proceed. The emotional power and support of those songs can hardly be conveyed here. One has to be there, feel the emotional strength and reassurance of the words, the melodies, the youth united in saying and singing.

In Mississippi

The Activities of the Project

The rest of the summer, from mid-June until late August, was spent by these youths, and one of us, in Mississippi. The activities of the project can only be briefly summarized here. To nearly every part of the state, from its larger cities to its very small towns, groups of students came, settled, and lived. They established a variety of programs: schools, libraries, food and clothing distribution centers, efforts at voter education and registration, research into ways of making federal programs in health or agriculture more available to people most in need of them, cultural activities, such as drama classes or music hours, even instruction in sewing as well as in history, writing and spelling, science, or foreign languages.

The general purpose of the project was to help the cause of civil rights in Mississippi by introducing a state-wide community of willing and able volunteers who by their very presence would symbolize the interest of the entire nation. These volunteers would also contribute their various skills to people badly in need of them. Of course not only students were among the volunteers, but a number of teachers, and an additional number of lawyers, doctors, nurses, clergymen, all interested in making the project work. The leaders of the project hoped that such an infusion of heavily white, middle-class youth would inspire as well as help educate the fearful Negro people who would be housing and often feeding them as well as listening to them and taking lessons from them. They also hoped that the volunteers would learn a bit about the realities of life for the people they would meet

in the state -- something hard to do merely by reading newspapers or books. They hoped, finally, that the project would itself serve as an instrument of social and political change, creating a force of its own, of national origins, within this state.

One of us entered the state with some of these volunteers, and spent the summer moving from town to town, staying with the students, talking with them, observing their work, in several cases (instances of emergency injuries secondary to bombings) treating some of their medical problems, and generally obtaining a sense of how these youths (and at times the psychiatrist studying them) managed under stress. We were interested in the medical and psychiatric responses of these young men and women to what was for many of them a rather trying and even dangerous summer. We also wanted to know how the project affected the attitudes of the participants and those they encountered: that is, how Negroes and whites managed together, and how the whites of the state responded to the experience of a social system developing before their eyes unlike any before allowed -- indeed only feared and hated. The one of us who went to Mississippi had lived there for two years long before racial unrest had come upon the state, and had visited the state continually since then. Having excellent sources of information there, he followed his summer's observations of the project with extensive interviews of ordinary white citizens there whose lives had been significantly confronted by the project. "It was a spectacle," one of them said. Our job was (and is) to find out what such a continuing sight or spectacle does to her and those like her -- does to their thoughts and feelings about Negroes, segregation, Northern students, about, in sum, the continuing and accelerating social change occuring in their region.

Our Work in the State

Before taking up the brunt of our work, which concerned the "normal" responses of people under heavy pressures, we should report that in only two instances was it necessary for psychiatric intervention to be of such a kind as to suggest the separation of a person from the project. In both people psychotic behavior was becoming manifest and disturbing to all concerned, and we were able to use tranquillizers to calm the young man and woman and arrange for them to go home without mishap. In each case we obtained evidence of pre-existing difficulties, experience with psychotherapy, and somewhat rigid personality structure.

It was of course part of our work to talk continually with students temporarily anxious, depressed, fearful and suffering from a variety of medical expressions of stress, such as trouble sleeping, loss of appetite, headaches, stomach ailments of one sort or another, or menstrual irregularities. Individually and in groups, through talks and often with the recommended help of such mainstays of general practice as aspirin, miltown, phenobarbitol, donnatol, vitamin preparations, and paregoric we were able to assist in diminishing the severity of what might appropriately be called "war-neuroses." Indeed, as in war, in several cases we had to recommend temporary removal of one person or another from an "exposed" or dangerous location to a quieter and safer station. In general cases, too, there was some incompatibility of members in these small groups or "outposts," and we would talk with the people involved and try to point out some of the

sources of friction. Then, too, some shifts in personnel to other areas were occasionally needed.

In the youths we noted a variety of responses to stress. Again, this report cannot do justice to those stresses simply by documenting their variety and severity. Arrests, jailings, bombings, shootings, beatings, threats occurred by the hundreds in the weeks of June, July and August. To some extent those facts are known to the country more than the harder-to-establish ones of psychological adaptation, change and growth in both the volunteers and the citizens of the state, Negro and white alike.

Four Psychological Stages Noted

There are certain definite trends to be reported among the volunteers. In a general sense they went through four psychological stages during the project -- though we hasten to insist that these are not meant to be inflexibly defined, universally applied or even temporally sequential. (A past attitude can emerge again when the present makes it "suitable.")

First Stage

At first there was the naive and awkward period. Many of these youths had never been South, had never been face-to-face with the kinds of poverty they were now calling upon themselves to live with intimately, had never had to contend with the twin difficulties of the considerable gap in social and cultural customs between them and their Negro hosts (with all the personal effort and trials required on both sides to overcome such a gap) and the equally significant gulf that separated them from the white people of the state. It may be one thing to read of poverty in the Delta; it is another matter to enter a sharecropper's cabin and live there -- eat and sleep there, attempt to make conversation there. Two gifted writers, James Agee and George Orwell (1,30) have perhaps written all that can be written on such a challenge, but the experience has to be each individual's who takes it up.

Here are the recorded words of one volunteer, indicating some of the psychological problems encountered in this first stage: "It's like I never could have imagined. I read all the books, but they don't tell you what to say when you're left with a family and you're there to help them, but you find they're scared stiff of you, and pretty soon you're scared of them. . . . They treated me as if I was some strange God, and I mean a dangerous one as well as a good one. They tried to be nice, but they were so respectful; and I kept trying to be "equal" with them, because that's what we were there to do . . . . Well, it was awkward as hell. First I told them not to call me 'Sir.' Then I could see they couldn't help it . . . and I stopped trying to pretend, too. I didn't like being without running water and good toilet facilities; and I didn't like some of their food either. It was too fried and greasy. . . . Well, we grew accustomed to one another, and then we'd slip up once in a while, let our guard down; really, let it down, like getting annoyed, or just plain speaking the truth of how we felt. . . . And the work we did was what made a go of it for us. My teaching, and their learning and they taught me so much, too -- about farming and animal life and how to live with nature. I never did anything but study nature, coming from a city."

That same volunteer described the other part of his difficult accommodation as follows: "You know, at first I thought 'who cares about the whites; they're blind, and we'll just show them the light.' Well, it's not that simple. You go down town to mail a letter, or buy some razor blades, and they stare at you, and make you feel like an enemy spy. . . . It's not the way we dress, they call us beatnik if we don't wear a tie in 100° weather, when they don't themselves. Look at the way the klansmen dress; not just 'on duty' but 'off-duty,' with sweatshirts and khakis just like ours. . . . What you slowly begin to realize is that they're not just enemies. They're you, in a different society; or what you're struggling with yourself. . . . So, sometimes I feel lonely for them; just to have a good talk with them. It's easier in ways than with the people I'm with. All I have to do, though, is think about what the whole system of segregation does to half of those in it, and I lose that idea pretty fast. . . . No, I don't hate them . . . I feel sorry for them. . . . Yes, sometimes I do hate them, maybe. It's hard not to hate, sometimes. Like when a guy is swearing at you and has a gun in his hand. . . . I think this summer has made me a better friend of theirs [the white Mississippian] than ever, because now I see what they pay for their hate. . . . I mean, what hate does to them, too. . . . Yes, it took a while to see it; I'll admit. . . ."

Second Stage

The time taken to integrate the experiences of such a summer includes, as we saw it, two intermediate periods. Following the first "naive" encounters came a period of what we think of as "isolated, determined sophistication." The volunteer realizes how much he hadn't known. He now feels he knows so very much that the ignorance of others (including his previous self) seems almost unforgivable. This is a dangerous time, in the sense that arrogance and self-defeating withdrawal from the life of the state and nation can result. The volunteer sees himself not only progressively "removed" from the immediate hostility of the local area, but from many people over the country whose commitment, he feels, is not as strong as his. To some extent he is necessarily trying to disengage from the very real antagonism nearby; but the price sometimes becomes a more general emotional disengagement from our society. He feels abandoned and then angry at it. The sense of abandonment measures his increasing adjustment to his tasks in Mississippi. The anger shows that such tasks take time, energy, and perhaps some unacknowledged pain and frustration.

Third Stage

In any case, the project aims to integrate the Negroes (and ultimately the whites) of the state into the nation; and this purpose will hardly be achieved when bitterness dominates the emotional tone of the volunteers. A third stage marks the more realistic yielding of such withdrawal and anger to self-examination with considerable attendant risk and incidence of depression and despair. The volunteer realizes that he and his cause are going nowhere when his own work is purchased constantly at the price of haughty, self-righteous -- and sometimes exclusively ideological -- criticism of others.

One student describes his tired despondent feelings (and their relationship to earlier feelings) as follows: ". . . I suppose you'd call

it a 'depression.' Some of us just wonder if we're getting much done in the long run, or whether it's a drop in the bucket, and we'll never see the bucket filled. . . . Last month I was mad at everyone who wasn't down here with us. Now I realize that it's a tough job, and we're making tremendous progress if you look at it with perspective. So I keep my perspective, until I see those cops patrolling and arresting us for nothing. Then I lose it fast, I'll tell you. . . . But there's no point calling everyone names who isn't here, that's using the project like a club over the world. . . . I think it's a danger, though. You do it, and forget you're doing it, and you become as unrealistic and cut-off down here, in one way, as you were in another way back home. There's got to be a balance. You take the 'long view' most of the time, but grit your teeth and try to get the work done the rest. If you don't take the 'long view' you get depressed . . . and if you take it too much, you get lethargic or so philosophical you don't do anything because you say, 'What's the use?'"

Fourth Stage

Better than any description or analytic remarks from us, these tape-recorded words -- and there are many others like them -- indicate the delicate balance needed by these students in such work. When that balance is accomplished -- and it has been by many, but not all the volunteers -- a fourth stage of what might be called effective confidence is achieved. There may be times of low spirits or bitterness, yet on the whole the young man or woman can both do his job and relate it in some reasonable not fatuous way to the national and even world changes occurring simultaneously.

Psychological Mechanisms Seen

The psychological mechanisms employed in these various "periods" in what is, of course, a continuity of time are of some interest. Considerable denial and projection of personal doubt or ambivalence occurs in the early period of adjustment, when the volunteer finds it necessary to protect himself from many of his own uncertainties and fears. The identification of these youths with their Negro hosts, with their problems and attitudes, even their ways of talking, eating, and walking, is quite moving to witness over a period of months. Nor can their hosts resist a similar tendency to pick up the habits and ways of the volunteers.

We saw, naturally, a variety of maneuvers meant to ward off the fears and tensions of near battle-like situations. Denials and reaction-formations enabled youths to maintain a spirit of hopefulness when in fact they felt gloomy and frightened. Displacements caused them to worry over minor details of teaching or daily life (the spark plugs of a car, the vitamin content of food) when in fact they feared arrest and even death. Much of their energy went into work, so much so and so zealously so -- in the face of a hot, soggy climate that is unnerving to resident and stranger alike -- that doubtless energies coming from their consciences, their compassions and affections, and their fearful collective sense of awareness were gathered and chanelled into work. The powerful help of one another, of group feeling, songs and discussions must again, as in our discussion of the orientation meetings, be mentioned. Help from visitors, lawyers, ministers, doctors, and reporters was also valuable and sometimes quite protective, too. When those people left they may have felt the mixed feelings of the volunteers -- who recognized the need for them to leave, to move about the state, but also wished they perhaps might stay longer.

Postlude to the Project

What of the postlude to the project, both for the volunteers, the people they met and lived with, and the white population of the state? Even now what we say must be considered tentative, because there is a continuity to both the civil rights movement in Mississippi, the involvement of these volunteers in it, and the relationship of white Mississippians to local and national events. Many of these volunteers will be back in the state next summer, and a whole new set of experiences will probably befall them. Some (about one fifth of the students) stayed longer than the formal limit set at the beginning as from June to August, over 100 staying for the whole year. One of us made follow-up visits to the state during the months after the summer project ended, and also interviewed at length many volunteers who have returned to school or work. Moreover, in Mississippi we were concerned not only with the psychological development of the project's workers, but the attitudes of the white population in the state once the project had ended.

Some Students Remain

With respect to the students we first wondered why some chose to stay the year. No one explanation holds. Prominent contributing causes were strong identification with the movement, deep empathy with the Negro people and their hard living conditions, anger at such misfortune and an idealistic determination to fight for a better world, guilt at being able to return or for leaving, or finally a fear of returning to what many called a more commonplace and less fulfilling kind of life as a student or even professional (teacher, nurse, lawyer). In some we could see personal problems strongly at work. In others it seemed almost a matter of fear -- for instance, that a return would be marked by a time of depression and a sense of uselessness or futility. As one 19 year old woman said to us: "How can I go back to books and lectures after really doing something here? I'm afraid I'll just go into one big slump. . . ."

Most Students Leave

Those who did return -- a majority -- thus had their problems in "readjustment." Some became depressed -- now that it was "safe" to become so. ("I knew it was in me down there, but I just kept on working and fought it off" were the words of one young lady.) Others became fighting mad at the police or segregationist organizations who had so constantly harassed them during the summer. ("I couldn't dare let even myself know how angry I was at them when I was down there, or I would have landed myself in jail for a long time," said a boy two months back in Boston.) Many felt a sense of temporary "unreality" in northern campuses. The contrast between active work in a social struggle and reading or going to lectures was strong, and the necessary accommodation clearly difficult and slow. The "group spirit" of many of these students still persists, sometimes to the point of excluding rather arbitrarily all others. Their attachment to Mississippi and its struggles persists. Many plan to return next summer. Many returned during vacation time -- as with the summer project itself, at their own expense. Some brought their Negro friends north for the holidays.

Letters and phone calls back and forth persist. As we noticed even at Oxford, Ohio -- when the maps of the state were examined and its land, economy and traditions discussed -- there develops in these youths a real concern and interest in the state as a whole, not only for some of its Negroes, that becomes a genuine affection. They savor the names of the towns and counties, the provincial words and colloquialisms; they seek after, often in vain, the special food; they even find in mid-winter a nostalgia for the steamy summer weather.

Changing Attitudes of the Whites in the State

In these students -- as we have indicated -- many new attitudes develop based on actual experience with conditions heretofore only known abstractly. Yet the whites of the state have not been untouched by this project either. Six years ago, when one of us lived in the state, a project such as this one would have been utterly inconceivable. The very spring before the project started was filled with rumors, fears, and anxieties on the part of a population often as frightened as resentful of desegregation. Yet, the state "survived" the project, and witnessed its determination, even in the face of continual threats and worse. In repeated interviews we have seen again and again subtle changes in many white Mississippians. Still opposed to desegregation, they now accept its inevitability. Many now feel the stirrings of interest in solving some of the problems between the races, and even have found themselves with a certain grudging respect for the students who "involved" them. One lady said before the project: "I think it's the worse thing that will ever happen to us. They're awful, just awful people to do this." In October she remarked, "Some of them looked like my sons. I think they're foolish, but they're harmless -- I think we've learned that. I think in the long run the nigras will have to talk with us and not them." That once feared and hated people can be seen as only "foolish" and even resembling one's own kin, that recognition of the need for talking about some of the issues besetting both races is acknowledged, represents no small change in attitude to be achieved, to some extent, over a summer's time.

One doctor in the state told us: "Those college kids have given a kind of psychotherapy to many of our moderate whites. They've watched them work all summer, and lost some of their anger and fear about the whole thing. It's a kind of desensitization."

Summary and Recommendations

We have described an attempt by American youth to participate in an active social struggle. We have tried to give some of the background to the issue itself, then a view of the kinds of students involving themselves in it, their purposes, their adjustment under the strains of it all, and our job in both documenting all this and working to make it a more effective effort. We have also tried to indicate the psychological processes at work over time in these youths, and indeed in those with whom they worked or in the sight of whom (unfriendly, often enough) they worked. We feel strongly

that there is a specific role for psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers in the civil rights struggle. (11) We are in a good position to see clearly some of the individual and group tensions at work, and help diminish them with our various skills. To do so requires a respectful willingness on the part of the professional. These are not "sick" people; nor is their struggle in its essence anything but part of our common need for the dignity of all men. Yet, a struggle can founder upon psychological distractions and blind alleys as well as political resistance or social rigidities. Many of these students are defiantly suspicious of any outside help; but many are not, and welcome it -- indeed seek it out. We feel that when asked by them, some of us should be available to them, really for the sake of all of us as well as those we see and try to help.

We would like to close with Anna Freud's words prompted by viewing the English face the Nazi blitz: "We have seen plenty of evil in the world, but one can have only respect and admiration for these human beings." (23)

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
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Telephone: 688-0331

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SNCC FILM "WE'LL NEVER TURN BACK" IS RELEASED

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, August 12--The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee announced today the release of its film "We'll Never Turn Back". The film, produced by Harvey Richards of Atherton, California, has been described by the San Francisco Sun Reporter as "an extremely moving documentary film depicting the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Mississippi." The story of Mississippi violence and the struggle to gain the right to vote is told by local citizens and SNCC workers. The San Francisco Chronicle noted that the film was "so truly moving that the British Broadcasting Corp. promptly bought it."

"We believe this film will be one of the most significant means at our disposal for helping people outside the South understand the work we are attempting to do here," commented Sandra Hayden, SNCC Northern Coordinator.

The film, which runs 24 minutes, is available free of charge from the Atlanta or New York SNCC offices or from the office of any Friends of SNCC group. Copies of the film may be purchased from Harvey Richards, 14 Flood Circle, Atherton, California. Purchase cost is $50.00.

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ATLANTA PROJECT AIDS STRIKING CAR WASH WORKERS

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, August 14 -- A field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) reported the successful end of a one-day strike of female car-wash workers.

Judy Walborn, a SNCC worker who has been active in desegregation campaigns and a community improvement project with the Committee On Appeal For Human Rights - the local student sit-in group - said that woman workers at the Atlanta Car Wash voted last night to strike for higher pay and better working conditions.

After a half-day of picketing, the workers met with management and signed an agreement.

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PRESS RELEASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
688-0331

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SENATOR SALTONSTALL ASKS J.D.
PROBE OF SNCC WORKER'S ARREST

WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 20 -- Massachusetts Senator Leverett Saltonstall has asked Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and the Civil Rights Commission to investigate the arrest in Americus, Georgia of a field secretary from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Saltonstall said in a letter to SNCC Chairman John Lewis he had asked Kennedy and the Civil Rights Commission head Berl I. Bernhard to investigate the arrest of Ralph Allen, a white SNCC worker from Melrose, Massachusetts.

Allen and two other SNCC workers was arrested August 8 in Americus. The three have been charged with attempting to incite insurrection, a capital offense in Georgia. A CORE worker, Zev Aleong, jailed in Americus on August 20, also face the insurrection charge. The SNCC workers have also been charged with unlawful assembly, and obstructing a lawful arrest. The three also face 8 peace warrants, filed against them by local Americus citizens.

In Atlanta, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said three Colorado lawmakers - Senators Peter Dominick and Gordon Allot and Representative Byron Rogers - had made a similar request on behalf of SNCC worker John Perdew, who is in jail with Allen. The SNCC office said New York Senator Jacob Javits and Representative William Fitts Ryan had also asked for investigations into the arrests on behalf of Don Harris of New York, the third SNCC worker held in Americus.

SNCC Chairman John Lewis said appeals in Allen's behalf had also been made to Massachusetts Senator Edward M. Kennedy and to Representative Bradford Morse.

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
Tel: 688-0331

Lena Turner, being duly sworn deposes and says:

I Lena Turner, am willing to testify in court that I saw the police of Americus, Ga., bring into the jail the beaten bodies of Milton Wilkerson, James Williams and Mr McClendon, who is 67 years old. I could clearly see that they had been beaten and told the FBI investigators that during the week of Aug. 12.

After they came in I saw Milton with blood all over his shirt. I said to Milton, "What happened?" And he said, "It was rough, it was rought." He turned his head and I could see blood all running down his face. By this time they brought James Williams in, and he was crying and moaning and the others who had been arrested crowded around him. Someone hollered out, "His leg is broken, call the cops!" The cops had gone out the back into the hall leading to the white cell. Then they stood aside and I could see him lying down on the floor. He was stretched out on the floor and I could see blood on his pants and his head was rolling from side to side. I could tell he was in pain. I was in my cell. They kept yelling and yelling that James' leg was broken and finally the cops came back with more prisoners. They were told again that his leg was broken. So they said, "Okay, all you guys who are hurt bad enough--let's go." The prisoners said, "We can't carry him, his leg is broken." Everybody crowded around him again and then moved through the back door and someone must have picked him up and carried him out.

When they came back Milton Wilkerson had his head bandaged. Mr. McClendon had a bandage on the top of his head and others had bandages on their heads and arms. You could see cuts on their arms. They were open wounds, not exactly bleeding, just that somehow the skin had been opened. It was awful. I had never seen anything like it before. The cuts looked like what you see when you go to the movies see wierd tales.

About thirty minutes before the arrests I had seen the policemen come in, go to their lockers, get their equipment. They got their hats, the kind they use to play football, the billy sticks and a box with wires and something on the front of it. One of the officers said, "You want to use that tear gas?" But I don't know whether they ever got it.

The following week of Aug. 12 I was upstairs in the courthouse cleaning the floors. Lorine Sanders and I were singing freedom songs as we mopped the floors and the men who later turned out to be the FBI men went into the courtroom. We went into courtroom and Lorine asked one of the two men for a match. He introduced himself as an FBI man by showing us his credentials. He asked us why we were there. He asked us if we were among those arrested Friday, Aug. 9. I told him that we weren't among them, but that we surely know about it. He said he already knew about it! That was the reason he was there, he said.

I then volunteered to tell him about the fact that several people had been beaten, that James Williams had his leg broken by the police and about the others, too, although I didn't actually mention their names. I did tell him that many had required stitches and gone to the

hospital. I explained to him that there was a man 67 years old, Mr. McClendon, still in the city hall and that he had been beaten.

In a few minutes I saw him talk with McClenden and I saw him talk with three or four cops.

Sworn to before me this 10th day of September, 1963.

sig.: Lois Barnum Holley
Notary Public Ga. State
at large. My commission
expires Aug. 29, 1967

sig.: Lena Turner

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 8/10

Pat:

Curry informs me they are selling this report for $210.00 per copy! -- to help raise money.

!

File

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Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

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please order 6 copies
Pat

Dear Sir,

Just off the press of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is an exclusive comprehensive report entitled, "Stokely Carmichael Responds to Vital Questions America Asks," edited by George Curry. $2.10.

The report hits on such hard core issues as black power, integration, the use of violence, free elections, hypocrisy and civil rights legislation, S.N.C.C. 's direction, finance of SNCC, coalition, a special message to white America, and many other topics of immense concern.

For our Communications Department's special news service we charge the same rate you pay for a regular news service,

If you are interested in this report you may make requests through me.

Sincerely,

George Curry

George Curry, Editor
"Stokely Carmichael Responds to
Vital Questions America Asks"

"One Man, One Vote"

WASHINGTON STUDENTS PROTEST ALABAMA
RACISM

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 8 - One hundred Negro and white students from the Washington area picketed two Alabama senators yesterday here and will continue to demonstrate until "violations of humab rights cease in Alabama."

The students, from American University, George Washington University, Howard University and Catholic University, were sponsored by the Nonviolent Action Group, and affiliate of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The student demonstrators had an open letter to Senator John Sparkman which they intend delivering in person to his home on May 10.

They also visited congressmen and senators and asked them to speak on the floor of both houses against the arrests of "Freedom Walkers" and about police brutality in Birmingham. Picketing will be held every day from 4 to 7 p.m. They are requesting that government representatives urge the release of all walkers and demonstrators in Alabama, a halt to police brutality, the guarantees of the right of peaceful protest, and the beginning of talks to end segregation.

Charles McDew, Chairman of SNCC, wired Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell, William Dawson, Charles Diggs, Robert Nix, Augustus Hawkins and Senator Jacob Javits asking them to take a public stand "in behalf of the 18 Freedom Walkers imprisoned in Alabama and on behalf of innocent Negroes being jailed and beaten in Birmingham."

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Southern conference for students (Thanksgiving)

Study of Economics of the South w/ reference to creating a system of political

Why could it be held in the United States. I don't see how it could be held in the United States.

JACK

How to stay relate to each other, treat women — research etc.

Programs

1. Intensive seminar in direction of revolutionary ethics this summer to which we would invite revolutionari from Africa, Latin America. History of SNCC to be included in seminar (Mrs. Baker)

2. That our programs move in direction of independent black political organizing (Ike)

3. That we develop ways to speak to black communities about "black cutlure" specifically through a magazine or newspaper (Cobb)

4. That we set up educational workshops for students being placed on staff (Bob Smith)

5. Interstaff education workshops (Cleve)

6. Develop new Campus-oriented program (Cleve)

7. Examine concept of "independent political organizing" (Cleve)

8. Hold writers' conference in Oct. geared to Negro students who work on college newspapers (Forman).

9. Set up project in Texas (Tex)

10. Consider setting up affiliated but independent black studnet organizations with separate budget (hamlett)

11. In-group training in how certain skills are carried out efficiently, eg. typing, mimeo-ing, etc. (Monroe)

BEAUTIFUL → 12. That SNCC initiate a program of protest against the selective service system (Shutz)

→ 13. That we open projects in areas where the black populations represent less than 50% (Shutz)

14. That we set up a sel-evaluation program (Shutz)

15. That we set up some alternate source of research information so that we're not dependent upon Minnis (Shutz)

16. That SNCC make it possible for all its violent personnel to set up a violent Liberation Front (Matthew

Programs continued

17. That we
   1. Have workshops in the Audio Room on tape recording
   2. " " on use of radios in states where they are needed
   3. Make a list of counties or staff where better communication system other than telephone is needed.
   4. Have a one-week workshop on communication equipment, its importance and how to operate it

(Mr. Sellers)

18. That SNCC accept no more speaking engagements unless they are within the Negro community (Wise)

19. We should send no news to any publications except the Negro community, i.e. Africa, Latin America and Caribbean

20. We should have no news conferences except for the above mentioned groups.

21. We should not report any act of violence ever again to any official governmental agency, such reports and mechanisms for combating violence must come from communities and from ourselves.

22. We must cancel all contracts that we have with "capitalist " agencies, i.e. (insurance, tele-type,) etc.

23. We should enter no more contracts with the capitalist agencies and concentrate on making contracts with Negroe or just forget it.

24. Before we consider organizaing Negro males to evade the draft, I believe that black males in SNCC must take such a position.

25. Projects should invite African groups into their areas.

26. Printing of the Freedom Primers be stopped and that the majority of space in such publications be developed to the revolutionary thought and people before us such as Pres. Nkrumah, Malcolm X, Patrice Lumumba, Marcus Garvey, Frederick Douglas, and perhaps a few others

27. We should invite college theatical groups, spiritual groups, rock and roll groups and jazz into our areas for mass rallies, etc.

Programs continued

28. Our policy on insurrections scuh as Watts, Harlem, etc. be "pro" whatever occurs.

29. We must seek never again to involve the "Church" in our activities outside the Black community, i.e. the Catholic church

30. Psychologically, mentally, physically, we must seek to develop ties and friends among the countries of our heritage--Africa

31. None ofour forthcoming meetings should be without revolutionaries who have engaged physically in revolution, especially those from African countries.

end of Stanley's proposals

Proposal --- Fred Meely

Committees be formed within SNCC responsible to Chairman and to Executive Secretary and Executive Committee

I. National **Propaganda** Committee
(Chairman to be member of Ex. Com.)

A. Publications

B. Written speeches

II. National **Action** Committee

A. Area Coordinators

B. Sub Committees

C.

coordinate protest action

III. National **Economics** and **Political** Committees

A. Study Area (Histoyy, Economics, etc.)

Sub committee

IV. National **Organizing** Committee

A. Project Heads

Training sub Committee

V. **International Affairs** Committee

VI. **Cultural** Affairs Committee

VII. **Welfare** Committee

A. Medical Aid

B. Insuranne

C.

VIII. **Skills** Committee

A. College opportunities (sub committee)

B. Basic skills Committee

C. Conferences

Offices

1. That we abandon all northern offices (Porter)

2. That SNCC support a central office for project (McLauren)

3. That the Selma office be closed, and the Alabama office re located for a more equal distribution of funds and resources among Alabama projects (John Tircuit)

4. That the function of northern offices be revised to accomodate new direction in SNCC (Lyn Wells)

Miscellaneous proposals

1. Drop "non-violent" from name of organization (Ike)

2. That we appoint a Committee on Meetings and Conferences (Porter)

3. Create mechanism to interpret to sympathetic whites what SNCC is doing (Ed Hamlett)

P R E F A C E

In attempting to analyse where the movement is going, certain questions have arisen as to the future roles played by white personnel. In order to make this issue clearer, we have written a few paragraphs, stemming from our observations and experiences, which serve as a preview to a broader study on the subject.

The answers to these questions lead us to believe that the form of white participation, as practiced in the past, is now obsolete. Some of the reasons are as follows:

The inability of whites to relate to the cultural aspects of Black society; attitudes that whites, consciously or unconsciously, bring to Black communities about themselves (western superiority) and about Black people (paternalism); inability to shatter white-sponsored community myths of Black inferiority and self-negation; inability to combat the views of the Black community that white organizers, being "white", control Black organizers as puppets; insensitivity of both Black and white workers towards the hostility of the Black community on the issue of interracial "relationships" (sex); the unwillingness of whites to deal with the roots of racism which lie within the white community; whites, though individual "liberal", are symbols of oppression to the Black community -- due to the collective power that whites have over Black lives.

Because of these reasons, which force us to view America through the eyes of victims, we advocate a conscious change in the role of whites, which will be in tune with the developing self-consciousness and self-assertion of the Afro-american people.

[illegible]

In [illegible]

have [illegible] by which [illegible]

make this issue [illegible]

In concluding, we state that our position does <u>not</u> stem from "hatred" or "racism" against white people, but from a conscientious effort to develop the best methods of solving our national problem.

The myth that the Negro is somehow incapable of liberating himself, is lazy, etc. came out of the American experience. In the books that children read, whites are always "good" (good symbols are white), Blacks are "evil" are seen as "savages" in movies, their language is referred to as a "dialect", and Black people in this country are supposedly descended from savages.

Any white person who comes into the Movement has these concepts in his mind about Black people, if only subconsciously. He cannot escape them because the whole society has geared his subconscious in that direction.

Miss America coming from Mississippi has a chance to represent all of America, but a Black person from neither Mississippi or New York will ever represent America. So that white people coming into the Movement cannot relate to the Black experience, cannot relate to the word "black", cannot relate to the "Nitty Gritty", cannot relate to the experience that brought such a word into being, cannot relate to chitterlings, hog's head cheese, pig feet, ham hocks, and cannot relate to slavery, because these things are not a part of their experience. They also cannot relate to the Black religious experience, nor to the Black church unless, of course, this church has taken on white manifestations.

Negroes in this country have never been allowed to organize themselves because of white interference. As a result of this, the stereotype has been reinforced that Blacks cannot organize themselves. The white psychology that Blacks have to be watched, also reinforces this stereotype. Blacks, in fact, feel intimidated by the presence of whites, because of their knowledge of the power that whites have over their lives. One white person can come into a meeting of Black people and change the complexion of that meeting, whereas one Black person would not change the complexion of that meeting unless he was an

obvious Uncle Tom. People would immediately start talking about "brotherhood", "love", etc.; race would not be discussed.

If people must express themselves freely, there has to be a climate in which they can do this. If Blacks feel intimidated by whites, then they are not liable to vent the rage that they feel about whites in the presence of whites---especially not the Black people whom we are trying to organize, i.e., the broad masses of Black people. A climate has to be created whereby Blacks can express themselves. The reason that whites must be excluded is not that one is anti-white, but because the efforts that one is trying to achieve cannot succeed because whites have an intimidating effect. Oft times the intimidating effect is in direct proportion to the amount of degradation that Black people have suffered at the hands of white people.

It must be offered that white people who desire change in this country should go, where that problem (of racism) is most manifest. That problem is not in the Black community. The white people should go into white communities where the whites have created power for the express of denying Blacks human dignity and self-determination. Whites who come into the Black community with ideas of change seem to want to absolve the power structure of its responsiblity of what it is doing, and saying that change can only come through Black unity, which is only the worst kind of paternalism. This is not to say that whites have not had an important role in the Movement. In the case of Mississippi, their role was very key in that they helped give Blacks the right to organize, but that role is now over, and it should be. People now have the right to picket, the right to give out leaflets, the right to vote, the right to demonstrate, the right to print.

These things which revolve around the right to organize have been accomplished mainly because oftthe entrance of white people into Mississippi, in the summer of '64. Since these goals have now been

accomplished, their (whites) role in the Movement has now ended. What does it mean if Black people, once having the right to organize, are not allowed to organize themselves? It means that Black's ideas about inferiority are being reinforced. Shouldn't people be able to organize themselves? Blacks should be given this right. Further (white participation) means in the eyes of the Black community that whites are the "brains" behind the Movement and Blacks cannot function without whites. This only serves to perpetuate existing attitudes within the existing society, i.e., Blacks are "dumb", "unable to take care of business", etc. Whites are "smart", the "brains" behind everything.

How do Blacks relate to other Blacks as such? How do we react to Willie Mays as against Mickey Mantle? What is our response to Mays hitting a home-run against Mantle performing the same deed? Is our interest in baseball ordered by our appreciation of the artistry of the game, or is it ordered by the participation of Negroes in Baseball? One has to come to the conclusion that it is because of Black participation in baseball. Negroes still identify with the Dodgers because of Jackie Robinson's efforts with the Dodgers. Negroes would instinctively champion all-Black teams if they opposed all-white or predominately white teams. The same principle operates for the Movement as it does for baseball: a mystique must be created whereby Negroes can identify with the Movement.

Thus an all-Black project is needed in order for the people to free themselves. This has to exist from the beginning. This relates to what can be called "coalition politics". There is no doubt in our minds that some whites are just as disgusted with this system as we are. But it is meaningless to talk about coalition if there is no one to align ourselves with, because of the lack of organization in the white communities. There can be no talk of "hooking-up" unless

Black people organize Blacks and white people organize whites. If these conditions are met, then perhaps at some later date- and if we are going in the same direction- talks about exchange of personnel, coalition, and other meaningful alliances can be discussed.

In the beginning of the Movement, we had fallen into a trap whereby we thought that our problems revolved around the right to eat at certain lunch counters or the right to vote, or to organize our communities. We have seen, however, that the problem is much deeper. The problem of this country, as we had seen it, concerned old Blacks and old whites (and therefore) if decisions were left to the young people, then solutions would be arrived at. But this negates the history of Black people and whites. We have dealt stringently with the problem of "Uncle Tom", but we have not yet gotten around to Simon Legree. We must ask ourslves who is the real villian? Uncle Tom or Simon Legree? Everybody knows Uncle Tom, but who knows Simon Legree?

So what we have now (in SNCC) is a closed society. A clique. Black people cannot relate to SNCC, because of its unrealistic, non racial atmosphere; denying their experiences of America as a racist society. In contrast, SCLC has a staff that at least maintains a Black facade. The front office is virtually all-Black, but nobody accuses SCLC of being 'racist".

If we are to proceed towards true liberation, we must cut ourselves off from white people... We must form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories. One illustrating example, is the SNCC "Freedom Primer". Blacks cannot relate to that book psychologically, because white people wrote it and, therefore it presents a white viewpoint.

To proceed further, let us make some comparisons between the

Black Movement of the (early) 1900's and the Movement of the 1960's -- the NAACP with SNCC. Whites subverted the Niagra Movement which, at the outset, was an all-Black Movement. The name of the new organization was also very revealing, in that it presupposed that Blacks have to be advanced to the level of whites. We are now aware that the NAACp has grown reactionary, is controlled by the power-structure itself, and stands as one of the main roadblocks to black freedom. SNCC, by allowing the whites to remain in the organization, can have its efforts subverted in the same manner, i.e., through having them play important roles such as community organizers, etc. Indigenous leadership cannot be built with whites in the positions they now hold.

These facts do not mean that whites cannot help. They can participate on a voluntary basis. We can contract work out to them, but in no way can they participate on a policy-making level.

The charge may be made that we are "racists", but whites who are sensitive to our problems will realize that we must determine our own destiny. If persons insist on remaining because of their longevity, or because they have feelings that we are indebted to them. We, as Black people, must re-evaluate our history, our ideas of self, the world, Africa and her contributions to mankind. We must take the credit for our contributions to this society and to the world. Credit will be given to white people where it is due, but surely our contributions must be given credit. These myths (of inferiority and "savagery") must be broken by Black people, so that no mistake can be made about who is accomplishing what for whom. This is one way to break the myths.

As to the charge of "Black racism", as against white supremacy: we can say that the racial makeup of any organization does not make it racist, i.e., supreme court makeup of all white judges, Black

churches and Black businesses being all Black.

The naming of the newspaper, "Nitty-Gritty", which served to polarize the feelings of race, illustrated in a very graphic manner the attitudes that whites have towards cultural aspects of our society. The whites were opposed to the name and Blacks were affirmative on the issue. The alternative was the "Atlanta Voice" surely such a name could not speak to the needs of grass-roots Black people.

Black people can say to the "Nitty-Gritty": I can see myself there. Can say to Mays hitting a home run: I see myself there. Can say to the Atlanta Project: I see myself there!

In an attempt to resolve an internal crises that is now confronting SNCC, the Black-White issue (which is causing eruptions that are seriously hampering our struggle for self- determination) must now be dealt with.

In an analysis of our history in this country, we have been forced to come to the conclusion that 400 years of oppression and slavery suffered in this country by our Black forebears parallels in a very graphic way the oppression and colonization suffered by the African people. The questions can be rightfully asked, what part did the white colonizers play in the liberation of independent African Nations; who were the agitators for African independence?, Answers to those questions compel us to believe that our struggle for liberation and self- determanation can only be carried out effectively by Black people.

The necessity of dealing with the question of identity is of prime importance in our own struggle. The systematic destruction of our links to Africa, the cultural cut-off of Blacks in this country from Blacks in Africa are not situations that conscious Black people in this country are willing to accept. Nor are conscious Black people in this country willing to accept an educational system that teaches all aspects of western civilization and dismisses our Afro-American contribution with one week of inadequate information (Negro History Week) and deals with Africa not at all, Black people are not willing to align themselves with a western culture that daily emasculates our beauty, our pride and our manhood. It follows that white people being part of western civicization in a way that Black people could never be are totally indequate to deal with Black identity which is key

to our struggle for self-determination.

When it comes to the question of organizing Black people, we must insist that the people who come in contact with the Black masses are not white people who, no matter what their liberal leanings are, are not equipped to dispel the myths of western superiority. White people only serve to perpetuate these myths; rather, organizing must be done by Black people are able to see the beauty of themselves, are able to see the important cultural contributions of Afro-Americans, are able to see that this country was built upon the blood and backs of our Black ancestors.

In an attempt to find a solution to ourdilema, we propose that our organization (SNCC) should be Black staffed, Black controlled and Black financed. We do not want to fall into a similar dilema that other Civil Rights organizations have fallen. If we continue to rely upon White financial support we will find ourselves wntwined in the tentacles of the white power complex that controls this country. It is also important that a Black organization (devoid of cultism) be projected to our people so that it can be demonstrated that such organizations are viable.

More and more we see Black people in this country being used as a tool of the white liberal establishment. Liberal whites have not begun to address themselves to the real problems of Black people in this country; witness their bewilderment, fear and anxiety when Nationalism is mentioned concerning Black people. An analysis of their (white liberal) reaction to the word alone (Nationalism) reveals a very meaningful attitude of whites of any ideological persuasion towards Blacks in this country. It means that previous solutions to Black problems

in this country have been made in the interests of those whites dealing with those problems and not in the best interests of Black people in this country have been made in the interests of those whites dealing with those problems and not in the best interestof Black people in this country. Whites can only subvert our true search and struggle for self-determination, self-identification, and liberation in this country. Re-evaluation of the white and Black roles must NOW take place so that whites no longer designate roles that Black people play but rather Black people define white people's roles.

To long have we allowed white people to interpret the importance and meaning of the cultural aspects of our society. We have allowed them to tell us what was good about our Afro-American music, art and literature. How many Black critics do we have on the "jazz" scene? How can a white person who is not a part of the Black psyche (except in the oppressor's role) interpret the meaning of the Blues to us who are manifestations of the songs themselves?

It must also be pointed out that on whatever level of contact that Blacks and whites come together, that meeting or confrontation in not on the level of the Blacks but always on the level of whites. This only means that our everyday contact with whites is a reinforcement of the myth of white supremacy. Whites are the ones who must try to raise themselves to our humanistic level. We are not, after all, the ones who are responsible for a genocidal war in Vietnam; we are not the ones who are responsible for Neo-Colonialism in Africa and Latin America; we are not the ones who held a people in animalistic bondage over 400 years.

We reject the American Drean as defined by white people

and must work to construct an American reality defined by Afro-Americans.

One point I would like to emphasis is the failure on the part of conscious whites and Blacks in dealing with the American reality in terms of differences. We are beginning to emphasize the analysis of the differences between Black and white people.

There has been an escapist attitude on the part of SNCC of looking at the problem as if race did not matter. This negates the special history of Black people in this country, mainly the slavery period and the inhuman forms of segregation we have been forced to suffer. Another important point is that most Blacks and whites tend to view Blacks in the light of the myth that the power structure has created and perpetrated in this country. Black people are considered as "citizens" along the same lines as white people in this country, when in reality, Black people are a semi-colonialized people, victims of a domestic colonialism. Our introduction into this country occured during the same time as the partition of Africa and Asia by the European powers, so that the American institution of slavery was, too, a form of Western Colonialism. Therefore Black people in this country act in the same way as do other colonial peoples to their environment and experience, but the myths of America labels them citizens which is an unreal attitude.

Also, one of the main blocks in terms of Black self-recognition and self-identification in this country has been interference from the dominant white society. From the 1900's to the present time Afro-American writers and thinkers have had to contend with the encroachment of white intellectuals upon their culture and upon their thoughts. Not only did the white intellectuals encroach upon their thought and culture

but they brought to it their whole American background of racism and paternalism so that Black culture was potrayed as something being base, second-rate or below the culture of the United States, which was considered "serious" or "real". One graphic example of this is modern Afro- American music. This music which is rooted in the whole experience of our people in this country was not even named by Black people. Modern Afro-American music is named "jazz", which is a term that is derived from white American society. It is white slang for sexual intercourse; so that our music which may be called the mainstram of our culture was looked upon as being base and second-rate or dirty and containing sensousness, sexuality and other exoticisms. This however says more about the white American psyche than it does about aspects of Afro-American culture.

One of the criticisms of white militants and radicals is that when we view the masses of white people we view the overall reality of America,we view the racism, the bigotry, and the distortion of personality, we view man's inhumanity to man; we view in reality 180 million racists. The sensitive white intelectual and radical who is fighting to bring about change is conscious of this fact, but does not have the courage to admit this. When he admits this reality, then he must also admit his involvement because he is a part of the collective white America. It is only to the extent that he recognizes this that he will be able to change this reality. Another concern is how does the white radical view the Black Community and how does he view the poor white community in terms of organizing. So far, we have found that most white radicals have sought to escape the horrible reality of America by going

into the Black Community and attempting to organize Black people while neglecting the organization of their own people's racist communities. How can one clean up someone else's yard when one's own yard is untidy? Again we feel that SNCC and the civil rights movement in general is in many aspects similar to the anti-colonial situations in the African and Asian countries. We have the whites in the Movement corresponding to the white civil servants and missionaries in the colonial countries who have worked with the colonial people for a long period of time and have developed a paternalistic attitude toward them. The reality of the colonial people taking over their own lives and controlling their own destiny must be faced. Having to move aside and letting this natural process of growth and development taking place must be faced. These views should not be equated with outside influence or outside agitation but should be viewed as the natural process of growth and development within a movement; so that the move by the Black militants in SNCC in this direction should be viewed as a turn towards self-determination.

It is very ironic and curious how aware whites in this country can champion anti-colonialism in other countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but when Black people move towards similar goals of self-determination in this country they are viewed as racists and anti-white by these same progressive whites. In proceeding further, it can be said that this attitude derives from the overall point of view of the white psyche as it concerns the black people. This attitude stems from the era of the slave revolts when every white man

was a potential deputy or sheriff or guardian of the State. Because when Black people got together among themselves to work out their problems, it became a threat to white people, because such meetings were potential slave revolts. It can be maintained that this attitude or way of thinking has perpetuated itself to this current period and that it is part of the psyche of white people in this country whatever their political persuasion might be. It is part of the white fear-guilt complex resulting from the slave revolts. There have been examples of whites who stated that they can deal with black fellows on an individual basis but become threatened or menaced by the presence of groups of Blacks. It can be maintained that this attitude is held by the majority of progressive whites in this country.

It is a very grave error to mistake Black self-assertion for racism or Black supremacy. Black people in this country more so than the colonial peoples of the world know what it means to be victims of racism, bigotry, and slavery. Realizing our predictament from these inhuman attitudes it would be ridiculous for us to turn around and perpetuate the same reactionary outlook on other people. We more than anyone else realize the importance of achieving the type of society, the type of world whereby people can be viewed as human beings. The means of reaching these goals must be, however, from the point of view of respecting the differences between peoples a and cultures and not pretending that everyone is the same and the refusal to respect differences is one of the reasons that the world is exploding today. Also expanding upon the differences among peoples and the respect it should be accorded:

if one lookes at "integration" as progress then one is really perpetuating the myth of white supremacy. One is saying that Blacks have nothing to contribute, and should be willing to assimilate into the mainstream of Great white civilization, i.e. the west.

A through re-examination must be made by black people concerning the contributions that we have made in shaping this country. If this re-examination and re-evaluation is not made, and Black people are not given their proper due and respect, then the antagonisms and contradictions are going to become more and more glaring, more and more intense until a national explosion may result.

When people attempt to move from these conclusions it would be faulty reasoning to say they are ordered by racism, because, in this country and in the west, Racism has functioned as a type of white nationalism when dealing with Black people. We all know the havoc that this has created throughout the world and particularly among non-white people in this country.

Therefore any re-evaluation that we must make will, for the most part, deal with identification. Who are Black people; what are Black people; what is their relationship to America and the World?

It must be repeated that the whole myth of "Negro Citizenship", perpetuated by the White Power Elite, has confused the thinking of radical and progressive blacks and whites in this country. The broad masses of Black people react to American Society in the same manner as colonial peoples react to the west in Africa, and Latin American, and have the same relationship - that of the colonized towards the colonizer.

File
SNCC

I have been asked to tell you tonight just what it is that Negroes want. I think I should warn you that I don't - and no one should - presume to speak for any or all of America's Negroes. Anyone who does misleads himself.

Before I can tell you what "Negroes" want, I think I'd better tell you what SNCC is, how it was organized, and what it does.

We are not a membership organization, like the NAACP, but what lawyers call a voluntary association. We were founded on Easter Weekend in 1960, at Raleigh, North Carolina, at a conference of student sit-in leaders, called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

You must all remember the times. "Sit-ins" were news then and you gentlemen - unknowingly - were helping to spread the movement by printing, in your papers, detailed blue-prints of "how" to hold a sit-in. I can remember sitting in a drugstore near Morehouse College here in February, 1960 and reading "The Negro college students, each well dressed and carrying a text book, entered the store and took seats. They sat quietly and did not strike back when white hoodlums attacked them."

At the Raleigh Conference, students leaders from Nashville, Louisville, Atlanta, Birmingham and other Southern cities came together and decided they needed an organization that would speak directly to their needs, an organization that would be student run and student staffed. They set up an office in Atlanta, and began to publish a newsletter. They didn't really do anything for almost a year. They did send delegations to the Democratic and Republican platform committee meetings that year, but they took no real action

until January of 1961, a year after the first sit-ins. Students in Rock Hill, South Carolina, had sent SNCC a plea for help. In the past, we had responded to such pleas with an answering telegram, sort of a "We're with you" message. But this time, four members of our Executive Committee left school, went to Rock Hill, demonstrated, were arrested, and served 30 days in jail.

To me, this marked the beginning of a new phase in the movement. For the first time, people who lived in one area and who went to school in another area had gone to a third area to lend assistance to people with whom they shared a knpwledge of what it means to be black in America.

That summer, the Freedom Rides were news. SNCC became a member of the Freedom Ride Coordinating Committee, and helped to steer riders through Atlanta and Nashville and New Orleans into Jackson and Parchman Penitentiary.

That summer saw the second great change in the movement. If you remember the Freedom Rides, those who made it to Jackson and were arrested spent 49 days in jail. On the 49th day, they paid their appeal bonds and left the state, confident they would win their cases on appeal. Incidentially, the Mississippi Supreme Court is just now hearing some of those cases.

But some of them remained. We set up our first project in Southwest Mississippi, sent in student volunteer workers, lived and sweated with the farmers, sharecroppers and laborers of that state. Workers from that project moved into Albany, Georgia, and began working there, trying to persuade Southwest Georgia Negroes that politics is not "white folks business".

That was 1961. We had 16 workers then. We have 135 now, and we work in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, and North Carolina.

We are entering the third phase of the movement. This summer, in Mississippi, we will have over 1500 full time workers, most of them Northern college students, who will teach in Freedom Schools, work in Community Centers, register at least 400,000 Negroes on a Freedom Registration list, and will challenge the right of Mississippi's white Demonratic party to send representatives to the convention in August and to elect representatives from the state.

There are four Negroes running for Congress in Mississippi today, one in Alabama, one in Georgia and one in North Carolina.

If the Mississippi candidates lose - there are fewer than 20,000 registered Negroes in the state.- they plan to challenge, on the floor of the House and Senate, the right of Senator Stennis and Representative Whitten to represent only the white voters in their state.

We have begun a campaign - in Mississippi and across the South - which we call "one man - one vote". By this we mean that all prerequisites to voting - especially literacy - should be removed and the only requirements should be residence and age.

In other words, we don't think Mississippi should refuse to give Negroes andequal education, and then require them to be literate before they can vote.

The United States Department of Justice agrees with our "one man - one vote" program. They have pending now in the federal courts a suit which would declare Mississippi's literacy requirements unconstitutional, because Negroes in that state - and other states- are denied the opportunity to become literate.

Certainly one dpesn't need to know how to read or write to be able to choose intelligently the best - or worse - of two candidates for public office.

We've discovered ~~that~~ - and the Justice Department has also - that literacy requirements are being administered unfairly in the South, and that white illliterates are being allowed to vote.

The Mississippi Summer Program and the "One Man One Vote" slogan mean two things.

First, that the ordinary avenues of social shange - the courts, institutionalized education, persuasion, the ballot even protests - will not work in the deep South. The forces of reaction and repression are too strong in Mississippi and Alabama and rural Georgia to permit these forces to operate freely. There have been five murders in Southwest Mississippi since December, and cross burnings across the state. The Ku Klux Klan is re-organizing in Mississippi, an indication that the more respectable methods of the White Citizens Councils are not sure enough, or brutal enough.

Second, it means that a regular voter registration drive - like that going on in Atlanta now - will not work in the face of ~~imposed and~~ arbitrarily administered literacy tests, of police repression of voter registration drives, of police state tactics aimed at halting all legitimate voter registration activity. It means the Federal government is either unable or unwilling to move forcibly against Southern registrars and Southern law enforcement officials - under exisiting laws - to prosecute and restrain inteference with legitimate voting activity. It means that ~~subtle~~ subtle patterns of disrcimination must be proved, suits must be filed, testimony heard, judgements made, by racist judges in a hostile situation.

It means that the federal government has failed its responsibility. It means that the federal government - or President Johnson, to be more explicit, must act to insure that Negroes in the deep South have the right to vote, the right to peacefully assemble, and the right petition their government for a redress of greievances.

It means that this summer - with 1,000 white and Negro workers doing in Mississippi the things people are allowed to do in most other states in the union - may provide the first real test of the government's willingness or reluctance to insure that democracy, in this country, is for everyone.

The ~~I can~~ only answers I can give you when you ask what Negroes want, is to ask you, what do you want?

You want a job, the right to vote, the chance at a decent education, a chance at every thing every other American has a chance to get.

You want to know that your country respects you as a person, and that your country will back you up when your rights are in danger.

You want the right to eat where you choose, to buy a home anywhere you can afford to, and to earn enough money to buy that home.

You want to know that when you go downtown in Atlanta you don't have to go to Rich's or a dime store to get something to eat, but that if your clothes are neat and you have money in your pocket, you can go anywhere and order anything.

I think you all ~~wanted~~ want to be treated decently. You want to know that the Constitution means you, too.

File
Civil Rights Organizations = CRIS

C I V I L R I G H T S I N F O R M A T I O N S E R V I C E
1810 N. Larrabee St. Chicago 14, Illinois 312/ 664-8707

Dear Friend,

This is to announce the formation of the Civil Rights Information Service, an organization which intends to function as a central clearing house for news of the civil rights movement in the United States. It is the purpose of the service to exploit all possible communications techniques in an effort to remedy the generally acknowledged insufficiency of civil rights coverage in the conventional news media.

To begin with, we have set up an audio news service, a facility for providing radio stations with on-the-spot news of civil rights activity all over the country. The substance of these reports is tape recorded telephone interviews with persons involved in or affected by (or resisting) specific protest actions wherever they occur. Certain technical innovations and the extensive cooperation of the telephone company make it possible for us to make in-person reports available to broadcasters over the phone with little or no delay, thereby providing the radio audience with current and sustaining coverage of developments in the movement as they occur. This service is already being used by nine stations in eight cities.

Another immediately contemplated CRIS project is the inception of a weekly or biweekly newsletter, composed of written communications from persons involved in the movement, whoever and wherever they may be; a newspaper, so to speak, consisting entirely of letters to the editor and want-ads; devoted to reports, impressions, information, requests, announcements, etc. - whatever, subject to practical limitations, movement people may have to say to each other in print. This newsletter will be the subject of a further communication in the near future.

A third project already under way is the establishment of a teletype service which will provide a daily national roundup of civil rights activity to all public (TWX Public Teletype System) subscribers. This service will be begun as soon as available resources permit.

It will readily be seen that such a service cannot hope to function without the active participation and support of the people and organizations involved in the struggle for civil rights We are able only to provide a central connecting point for the collection and distribution of news and information. We must look to the people in the movement for our material, with the idea that we can build a network of contacts within local civil rights organizations, on whom we can rely as reporters. It is furthermore our belief that by thus dealing with the news directly from its actual sources, rather than through the agency of what are called disinterested observers, we can better serve the interests of both the movement and the public.

Such services as it can muster will be offered by CRIS free of charge, and we must regretfully announce that we are entirely dependent on the contributions of interested parties for our financial support. We have an application before the Internal Revenue Service for tax exempt status, and while it is pending we are known as the Civil Rights Information Service Administration Fund. Our needs are modest but will be continuing, and our success depends absolutely on the interest and support of all freedom fighters. Accordingly we hereby invite comments, suggestions and, above all, contributions, from all concerned.

Sincerely,

Robert C. McNamara
Director

NOTICES

Sam Lynde of 892 Oak St., Winnetka, Ill., who is Chairman of the Winnetka Human Relations Committee is attempting to organize forty of the spontaneously formed human relations groups in the Chicago area. He asks that anyone with practical experience in organizing coordinating councils of such pro-civil rights homeowners groups to write him detailed suggestions.

Arthur Evans, Chairman of Cleveland CORE, wants information in the form of studies and research on the psychological effects of de facto school segregation. Write him at 1740 Crawford, Cleveland, Ohio.

COFO wants a fairly accurate polling of the number of workers planning to go to Mississippi this summer. Church groups, news organizations, and student groups sending people there should write to Robert Wylde , 1017 Lynch St., Jackson, Miss., the COFO Headquarters. COFO is the "Umbrella Group" that was founded late last year by SNCC leader Robert Moses to coordinate all Mississippi educational and voter registration efforts.

Mary King at SNCC in Atlanta asks for ideas on where to place articles on the Mississippi Summer Project. She also asks the people to read the April 11 New Yorker piece on the Free Southern Theater Project and the coming Redbook article on SNCC Southwest Georgia Director, Don Harris. Write her at 8½ Raymond St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

SZOO

We, the . . . . students who make up the staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the thousands that make up its base, have staked our lives on the principle that an interracial democracy can be made to work in this country, even in the fields, bayous, and deltas of our deep South.

We have not spared ourselves in attempting to make that faith good. We call on the federal government to do likewise. We would have it understood that we are not calling on the country for what she might do for us, but rather to inform her of what she must be prepared to do for herself.

. . . from S N C C testimony, before
the House Judiciary Committee,
May, 1963

HISTORY

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was born out of the history-making sit-in movement that erupted across the South in the spring of 1960. At Easter of that year, the first southwide meeting of sit-in leaders was held in Raleigh, North Carolina. Here a temporary committee to promote communication and coordination of activities among protest groups was set up. This Committee met monthly during the summer, opened an office in Atlanta, and at a second conference held in Atlanta, October, 1960, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was formally organized. One representative from each Southern state and the District of Columbia made up the Coordinating Committee.

Participation in the Freedom Rides in 1961 and a growing sense of the depth of fear that shackled most Negroes of the South convinced SNCC leaders that *some one would have to TAKE the freedom movement to the millions of exploited, disfranchised and degraded Negroes of the Black Belt. . . .*

SNCC DID JUST THAT.

. . . August, 1961—SNCC launched its first voter-registration project . . . choosing Walthall, Pike and Amite Counties of Mississippi.—This sparked nonviolent direct action by hundreds of high-school students in McComb, Miss., and led to the development of a statewide voter registration program, recently dramatized by the use of snarling police dogs to stop Negroes from registering in Greenwood, Mississippi.

. . . October, 1961—SNCC workers went to Albany, Georgia, and became the catalytic fuse for the massive protests of the Albany Movement.

. . . By November, 1961, some sixteen students had volunteered to take out a year or more from school to work in the hard-core rural areas for subsistence only.

SAVANNAH, GA.

PROGRAM

SNCC's grass-roots approach is designed to .
college and high school campuses, and in local c

*** * * In recruiting potential student leaders**
work in rural communities, SNCC hopes to bri
the work-a-day communities.

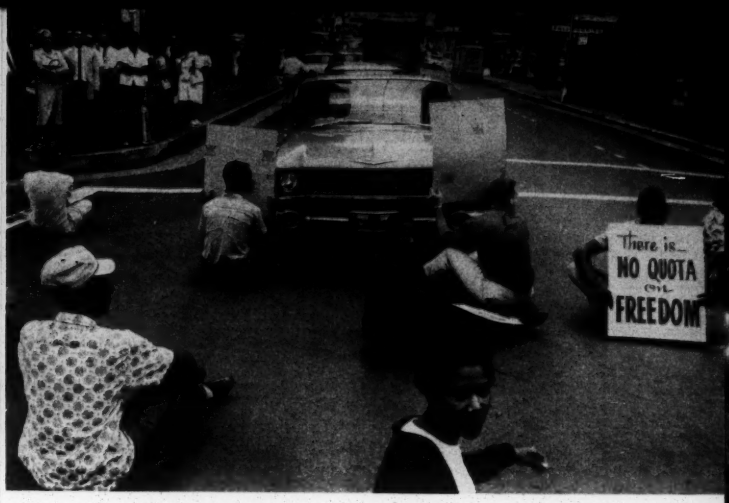
*** * * SNCC workers have organized and guid**
identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its
ening indigenous leadership.

This program has captured the imagination c
than 150 SNCC field secretaries are symbols of
often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous wo
Mississippi—Southwest Georgia—Central Ala

These students work for subsistence salaries wh
chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food.
of local residents, for the weeks and months that a
and intimidation. The students' courage helps em
strength to act. Sustained personal contact, discuss
with them and their problems, give the local people
he advocates. The people then begin to gain eno
their rights.

In the community SNCC workers organize fo
registration efforts give disenfranchised Negroes t
denied this right since Reconstruction. And, fully
of the meaning of first class citizenship, develops
and support among people who too often have be

As of summer, 1963, SNCC had initiated an
49 cities in 13 states. . . .



ATLANTA, GA.

. . . . *build indigenous, trained leadership* . . . on
communities . . .

s from college campuses and sending them to
ridge the gap between centers of learning and

ided local protest movements which are never
s program of developing, building, and strength-

of students all over the country, and today *more*
of courage and dedication as they undertake the
vork, *in the most difficult areas of the South*. . . .
labama—Eastern Arkansas—Southern Virginia

hen funds are available, but at times they have
d. They live in the community, often in the homes
are required to break through generations of fear
merging leaders achieve a new self image and the
ssion and persuasion and his determination to stay
le confidence in the SNCC worker and the program
ough confidence in themselves to seek and assert

or voter registration and direct action. SNCC voter
the right to vote in areas where they have been
as important, the program deepens an awareness
a community of action, and creates mutual trust
een suspicious and divided by fear.
nd participated in . . . . direct action campaigns in

THE FUTURE...

The future means redoubled efforts to continue . . .

—introducing educated and determined young workers into hard core areas;

—maintaining a college contact that leads to militant action in cities and provides new recruits for full time work.

The future means . . .

—expanding our pilot voter registration projects in cities to provide workers in surrounding counties.

—finding more funds to support students willing to work at subsistence wages and share the life of the Southern rural Negro while trying to convince him of his rights.

—providing more and better workshops and conferences on the meaning and techniques of nonviolent community action and political involvement.

Change will be slow, but change must take place. SNCC will need *three times our current staff* to do the job we have only begun. We will also need *three times our current budget.*

The future means your support . . .

—in contributions and in stimulating your local community to break down every form of racial discrimination now.

—in letting us know how we can help you and how you can help us.

DANVILLE, VA.

WE BELIEVE AND WE ASK YOU TO BEL

ELIEVE WITH US: **WE SHALL OVERCOME!**

SNCC

SNCC: Structure and Leadership

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements.

The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program.

Chairman: JOHN LEWIS
Executive Secretary: JAMES FORMAN
Staff Coordinator: WORTH LONG
Communications Director: JULIAN BOND
Project Directors:
Mississippi: ROBERT MOSES
Southwest Georgia: CHARLES SHERROD
Central Alabama: BERNARD LAFAYETTE
Arkansas: WILLIAM HANSEN
Eastern Shore: REGINALD ROBINSON

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
8½ Raymond Street, N. W., Atlanta 14, Georgia
Telephone: 688-0331

Photos: Danny Lyon
August, 1963

NEWS RELEASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
688-0331

For Immediate Release

SNCC WORKER BEATEN IN SELMA, ALABAMA

SELMA, ALABAMA, JUNE 12 - A young minister, brutally beaten here last night because of his voter registration activities, has vowed to continue his drive to get Negroes registered to vote.

Reverend Bernard Lafayette, clubbed three times last night by a white man who had asked him to give his car a push, said from a hospital here that he would continue his work. His head wounds required six stitches. Lafayette, a field secretary for the Atlanta-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), has been working here with his wife since February. He said today that over 190 Negroes had registered since February.

The Lafayettes' have also been working in neighboring Wilcox County where no Negroes had even made registration attempts before they set up voter schools.

Lafayette said he was parking his car in front of his house when one of two white men parked across the street asked him to give them a push. He agreed, and when he bent over to see if his car's bumpers would match, he was slugged three times. When he tried to rise, he was hit again.

In Atlanta, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee protested the beating to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. The SNCC office asked Kennedy to send Federal Marshalls to Dallas County, to "protect Negro citizens and voter registration workers."

The SNCC office also protested the jailing and beating of seven voter registration workers arrested in Winona, Mississippi on Sunday.

-30-

SNCC WORKERS JAILED IN ALABAMA

GADSDEN, ALABAMA, JUNE 12 - Two field secretaries from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) were jailed here today during anti-segregation demonstrations.

Arrested were: Eric Rainey and Landy McNair. Both were leading a march through downtown Gadsden, climaxing the third day of anti-segregation protests here. Charges against them could not be learned.

-30-

SNCC COMMITTEE HOLDS ATLANTA MEET

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - The Coordinating Committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will meet in Atlanta this weekend, June 14 - 16.

V.E.P.
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, INC. • 5 FORSYTH STREET N.W. ATLANTA, GA. 30303 (404) 522-7495

June 4, 1971

Mr. Robert Keighton
Curry College
Milton, Massachusetts 02186

Dear Mr. Keighton:

In regard to your request for permission to use material from Negroes and the New Southern Politics by Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., owns the copyright to this publication, and permission would have to come directly from them. A credit line naming the authors, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., copyrighted 1966, should be acceptable to them.

When your college textbook, One Nation, is published, we would appreciate receiving a copy for the Voter Education Project, and one for the Southern Regional Council, which are now separate organizations.

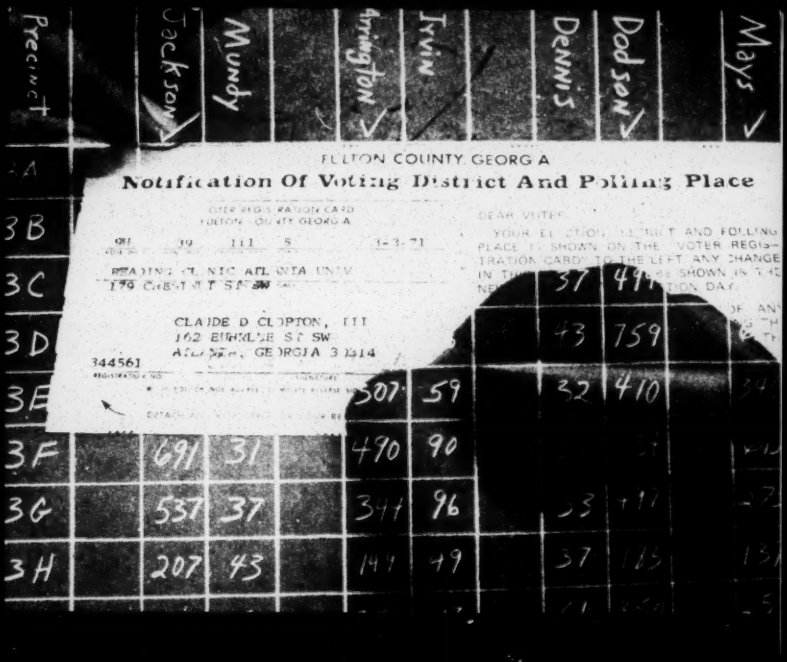
If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary

jcs

cc: SRC – Research Dept.



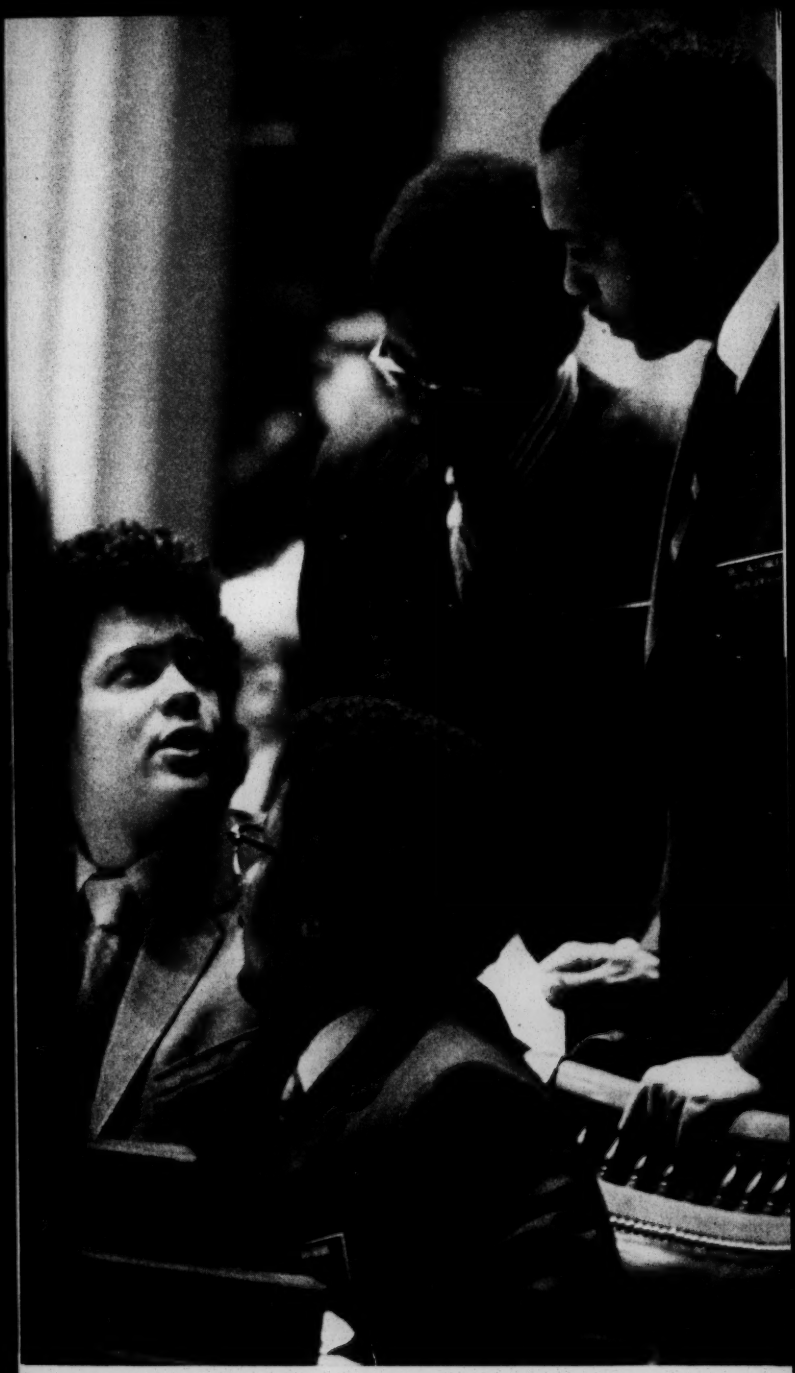
The Voter Education Project, Inc.

A New South

During the 1960's black Americans in the South made remarkable gains in their struggle for full citizenship and the right to participate meaningfully in the political process. Registration of black voters more than doubled; the number of black elected officials increased over six-fold; and many white officials have begun to display greater sensitivity to black constituents.

These are extremely important accomplishments. It is crucial, however, to recognize just where they have brought us. The fetters of political acquiescence have been shattered. The march toward an equal share of political power has begun. Many barriers, particularly the most blatant ones, have been overcome. Yet, the goal of a truly representative system of government is still distant.

If we fail to realize how incomplete this movement now is and do not attend to the remaining needs, the accomplishments thus far may turn out to be an empty achievement, a cruel hoax leading to the final embitterment of those who have invested so much faith and work in trying to make democracy a reality.

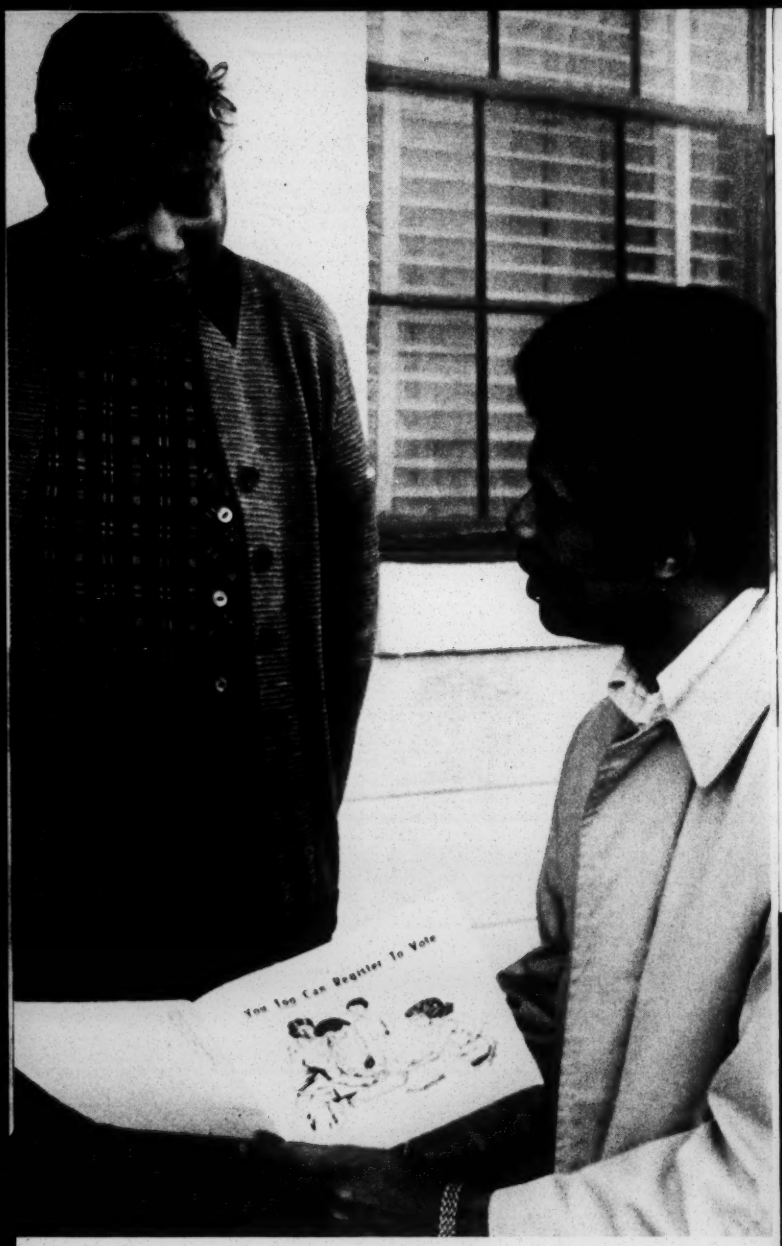


Julian Bond, Ben Brown, Bobby Hill, and Bill Alexander, four of the fifteen black members of the Georgia legislature.

Fred Gray, one of two black members of Alabama legislature, addressing VEP-sponsored statewide meeting of black elected officials in Montgomery.

We must not allow this to happen. All of us who are concerned about the health and justice of this society must support those men, women, and children who are still struggling for some control over their destinies in urban ghettos, small towns, and rural areas all over the South. Their progress during the last decade was one of the most promising developments in this troubled land. This promise must be fulfilled. The Voter Education Project, Inc., is dedicated to this mission.

Jefferson Davis
HOTEL

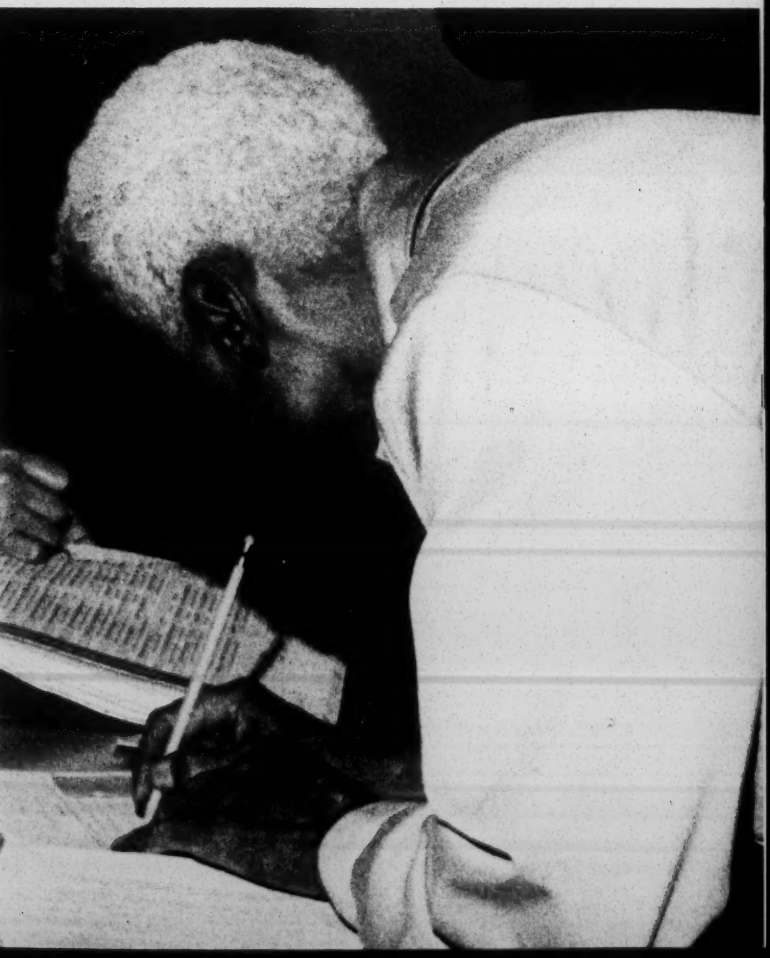


The Voter Education Project

The Voter Education Project (VEP) was created in 1962 as part of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a bi-racial organization devoted to equal opportunities for all peoples of the South. In June 1970 VEP separated from the Council and became an independent corporation with its own tax-exempt status. This separation was prompted by certain provisions of the 1969 Tax Reform Law.

VEP was established to investigate the causes and remedies of low political participation by southern blacks. By using the method of direct grants for voter registration drives, VEP was able to promote greater participation and also document the problems and progress of these activities. Voter registration continues as a major concern of VEP, but recently attention has also been given to citizenship education and assistance to black elected officials.

VEP works primarily out of Atlanta, but there are state VEP offices in Arkansas, North Carolina, and South Carolina. VEP also sponsors college-related service centers for elected officials in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi.



Voter Registration

When VEP began its work in 1962, less than a million-and-a-half black voters were registered in the eleven states of the Old Confederacy. By 1971 the number had passed three million. During this period VEP made thousands of grants to communities throughout the region to support the voter registration drives which brought about this change.

Today there are still approximately two million voting-age blacks who are unregistered, not including those under twenty-one years of age. Clearly the work is not finished. Many areas of the South were relatively untouched by the movement of the last decade; other areas face the necessity of re-registering when redistricting takes place. While most of the blatant obstacles of an earlier day have been destroyed, there remain in many places subtle but effective hindrances to registration of black people. Financial and technical support of local groups is still needed, if the proportion of eligible blacks who are regis-

tered is to equal the registration percentages of other groups in the population.

VEP is also beginning to expand its registration activities into Mexican-American and poor white communities. And VEP will be sponsoring registration programs aimed at the newly enfranchised youth between eighteen and twenty years old.

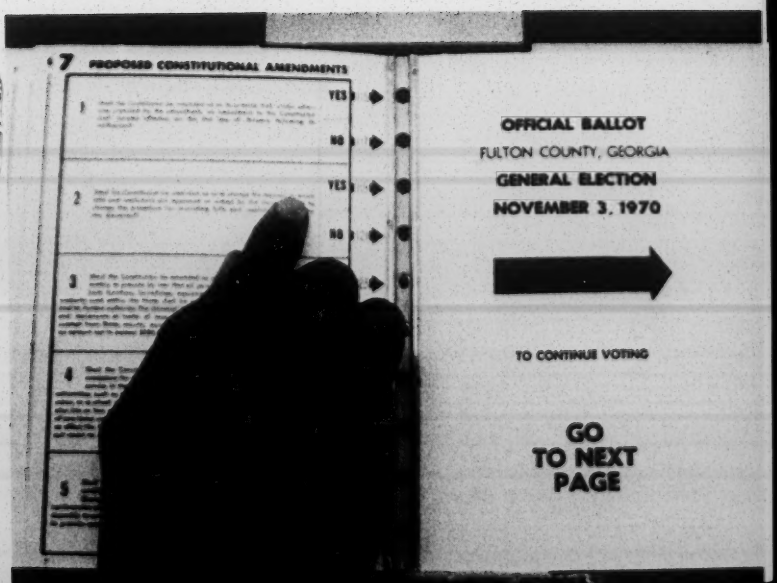
Groups receiving grants from VEP differ widely in their make-up; some are temporary ad hoc organizations, while others are local branches of national organizations. Grant applicants must indicate the need for registration in their area, the methods they will use, and the nature of their organization. The typical grant ranges from one to two thousand dollars and helps defray the unavoidable costs of training workshops, publicity, canvassing, and transportation to registration offices.

Grant recipients are instructed that no funds can be used for partisan purposes, and they must submit weekly financial and program reports. VEP staff members monitor and assist these groups during the period of the registration drive.

Citizenship Education

Registration to vote is indispensable to political participation, but by itself it is not enough. Persons who have long been excluded from the political process need instruction in the ways this process works. They need to be informed of their rights and the procedures used in exercising and protecting these rights. They need information about the nature and operation of various government offices and programs. They need to be acquainted with how their participation may influence the manner in which government affects their lives.

VEP has promoted citizenship education of this kind through the sponsorship of workshops and conferences and the production of written and audio-visual materials. VEP believes there must be greatly increased attention to such educational services if the expanded suffrage is to yield meaningful returns.


7 PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS
YES
NO
YES
NO
OFFICIAL BALLOT
FULTON COUNTY, GEORGIA
GENERAL ELECTION
NOVEMBER 3, 1970
TO CONTINUE VOTING
GO
TO NEXT
PAGE

Assistance To Elected Officials

One of the dramatic and rewarding results of the expanded black suffrage in the South is the increasing number of blacks elected to public office. This number climbed above 650 in the 1970 elections. Since blacks were excluded from political office in the past, most of these newly-elected men and women lack governmental experience. Also many of them must operate in still hostile environments. And the resources available to most of their white counterparts are not so accessible to them.

Thus there is a real need and justification for various kinds of assistance to these black officials. It is critical that they be given every opportunity to demonstrate that the election of blacks to public office can bring significant benefits to their constituents. Otherwise, it will be hard to maintain the belief that adherence to the rules of the political system is a fruitful activity for poor and aggrieved people.

As these needs have emerged in recent years, the Voter Education Project has tried to develop programs to meet them. Conferences and workshops have been held. Materials have been distributed. Legal and professional consultation has been supplied. Interns have been provided.

On four predominantly black college campuses, Centers for Elected Officials have been established. They are located at Clark College in Atlanta, Miles College in Birmingham, Southern University in Baton Rouge, and Tougaloo College in Jackson. They are

designed not only to serve the needs of elected officials, but also to involve students and faculty in this undertaking. Assistance to officials in other states is conducted by the VEP office in Atlanta and the state VEP offices in Arkansas, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

The resources presently available to assist minority group officials are not adequate even for the current number, and this number is certain to grow each year. In addition to providing these officials with a proper orientation to their new positions, there is an urgent need to give them technical assistance in their efforts to tap the only source of large-scale aid for their communities—federal assistance programs.

Workshop for Coroners, sponsored by VEP.

Sheriff John Hulett (L.) and deputy, Lowndes County, Alabama. Hulett is one of four black sheriffs recently elected in Alabama.

Research

VEP maintains statistics on registration and voting, data on black elected officials, and other information concerning black political participation in the South. VEP also undertakes on occasion in-depth studies of elections or other events which promise to reveal more about the problems and progress of this participation. This research not only is useful to the other functions of VEP, but it has become the main source of such information for government agencies, the news media, scholars, and others.

Reports From Recent VEP-Sponsored Projects

"A 93 year old woman was registered for the first time. Said she was glad to be able to vote before she dies."

Ripley, Tennessee
August 1970

"A 70 year old man said that he had gone to register a long time ago, but because of the inhuman treatment he received and the literacy test, he was just afraid to go back and try again."

Coahoma County, Mississippi
September 1970

"I went into the Register's office with 5 people Saturday morning. Four walked out, one got registered, they was afraid that the Plantation owner would make them move or maybe the Welfare would cut them off, someone must have said something to them."

Sharkey County, Mississippi
March 1969

"Some persons feared going out of there area to register. They feared taking a test, the publicity of being there, trouble they may cause, losing there jobs if they would get off to register, and the long ways over town."

Moore County, North Carolina
April 1969

"Our only registration day is the second Saturday in each month from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. We asked for two extra days but did not get them.

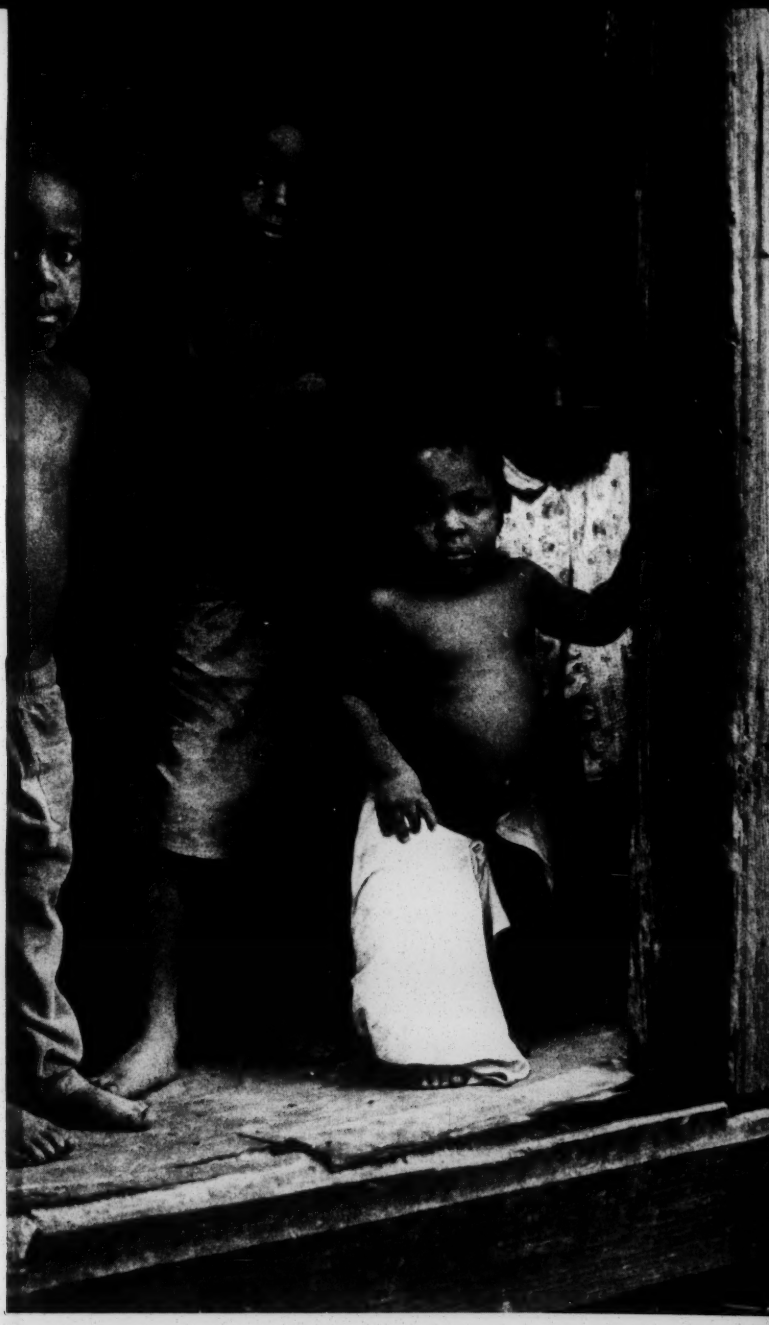
Amelia. Virginia
September 1970

"This project represented a new involvement of a segment of the poor community which has never been involved in political affairs and were never thought about by prior political leadership."

Laurinburg, North Carolina
April 1969

"We know there is only two things the white man know, and that is the ballot and dollar, he understand both very well. He has done a good job of selling them the idea that their ballot does not mean anything. I long to see the Negro wake up and take his rightful place in this America."

Baton Rouge, Louisiana
August 1969



"There is not a water or sewage system there, nor do they have a paved street in the Black vicinity. They invited the Mayor for the July 7 meeting, he failed to respond."

Lincoln County, Arkansas
July 1969

VEP's Future

Virtually all of VEP's funding in the past has come from foundations. In 1969 the Tax Reform Law greatly restricted the use of tax-exempt funds for voter registration activities. Among the new conditions are requirements that an organization must operate in five or more states and in more than one electoral period. VEP is one of the few organizations in the country which is able to comply with these requirements. Another new condition is that no more than twenty-five percent of an organization's budget can come from a single source. This means that VEP cannot rely on one or two large foundations for the bulk of its support.

Thus VEP must broaden its base of support if the continuation and expansion of its programs is to be assured. Efforts are being made to find new contributors not only among foundations and corporations, but also among private citizens throughout the country.

VEP is confident that progressive individuals and groups will support the efforts to achieve real democracy in the South. This nation cannot allow the 1970's to become a time of retreat from the needs and promises that face it.

You can help support the programs of VEP by sending a contribution to the address below. Donations are tax deductible.

Voter Education Project, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Board of Directors of the Voter Education Project, Inc.

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Regional Director
Equal Employment Commission
Atlanta, Georgia

VICE PRESIDENT
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Tennessee Valley Authority
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Institute of Politics
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana

The Hon. Julian Bond
Georgia House of Representatives
Atlanta, Georgia

Robert J. Palmer
Businessman
Sumter, South Carolina

John Lewis
Executive Director

Organizer of Nashville student "sit-in" movement in 1960. One of original "Freedom Riders" in 1961. National Chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 1963-66. One of leaders of 1963 March on Washington and 1965 March from Selma to Montgomery. Associate Director of Field Foundation, 1966-67. Community Organization Project Director for Southern Regional Council, 1967-70.

VOLUME XLVII

The Reader's Digest

An article a day of enduring significance, in condensed permanent booklet form

Humbly starting with $1.65 and a vision, Laurence Clifton Jones has enriched the lives of thousands of Negroes

The Little Professor of Piney Woods

Condensed from The Rotarian

NELSON ANTRIM CRAWFORD

A HUSKY black boy of 13 lifted a gunny sack to the top of the teacher's desk. Behind the desk the short, scholarly-looking Negro glanced up.

"What is it, son?" he asked with a smile.

"Sweet 'taters — they's all Ah got," answered the boy. "Pappy says Ah needn't to come here without no money, but preachah says you'd take me. Ah'll wuhk hahd to learn things." He wriggled his bare toes in an agony of uncertainty.

"Of course I'll take you," said the teacher. "Nobody's ever been turned away from Piney Woods School because he hadn't any money."

Today, grown to manhood, that boy, R. P. McGhee, is head of the manual-training department in a Mississippi Negro high school. "I'd be an ignorant field hand if it hadn't been for the Little Professor of Piney Woods — and so would a lot of the boys I've taught," says McGhee. "He taught me to do things. What's more, he inspired me to help other people do things."

"The Little Professor" is Laurence Clifton Jones, Missouri-born, northern-educated Negro, who turned his back on good jobs and comfortable living to bring practical education and opportunity to members of his race in the most backward region he could find. In 1909 he founded Piney Woods Country Life School, near Jackson, Miss., on a pine stump with three illiterate pupils and $1.65 cash. The school now has a $250,000 plant, 1700 acres of well-tended land, and an enrollment of 440 pupils ranging in age from six to 40, drawn from 15 states and one foreign country. It has sent out to rural communities thousands of trained farmers, mechanics and housekeepers and hundreds of practical, competent teachers. In addition it has carried the gospel of good farming, healthful homemaking, sensible religion and stimulating social life to Negroes for miles around.

The only Negro in his class, at

Copyright 1945, Rotary International, 35 E. Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Ill.
(The Rotarian, October, '45)

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the University of Iowa, Laurence Jones was a favorite of faculty and students because of his musical and dramatic talent, his scholastic ability and his sterling character. When he was graduated in 1907, the white owner of the hotel where he had worked as night clerk was ready to set him up in business. Fathers of wealthy classmates offered him positions. One wanted to finance a dramatic and musical career for him.

But the young man had his mind made up. "I want to do something for my people," he said.

He went to the deep South, where he had never been before, and worked as a farm hand, a cattle herder, a porter. In the heart of the piney woods, 25 miles south of Jackson, he found hundreds of blacks who sharecropped cotton, watched over a few razorback hogs, drank corn liquor hot from the still. They were 80 percent illiterate.

Here Jones started teaching, his pupils three illiterate boys. He made his living picking cotton and peas and cutting hay. When he tried to interest Negroes in the region he met suspicion and misunderstanding. They didn't want education, especially from a "furriner." Within three months, however, his pupils showed off their newly acquired learning so well that he had 29 students. A well-to-do Negro in the community donated a tumble-down cabin and 40 acres of land. Jones and his pupils fixed up the old cabin for a schoolhouse and living quarters for himself. The county board of education appropriated $18 a month.

As the school grew, another building was needed. Jones approached a wealthy white mill owner, who listened to his story and said: "I've always claimed it was plumb silly to try to educate these Negroes. But, young man, you've got guts and a practical idea. I'll give you 10,000 feet of lumber, and you can have credit for any more you need."

Other white men made contributions. The Negroes gave their mites. With their own hands Jones and his students put up a substantial building. Enrollment leaped to 85. The 40-acre tract was planted to corn and garden truck. When a white farmer gave the school a Duroc-Jersey sow that was about to farrow, the professor and his pupils built a hog-tight fence — a lesson to a community where swine were allowed to run wild. Jones was soon able to devote the arithmetic lessons to figuring profits from good crops and well-cared-for livestock, and the English classes to essays about sound farming.

Then one day two brothers, who were members of the college fraternity where Jones had waited on table, paid a surprise visit. "I made up my mind to ask for $100," Jones says, "but before I could get my courage up, one of them said, 'We own 800 acres near your school. If you want that land, it's yours.' "

A local family started a fine herd of purebred Ayrshires for the school, and a retired businessman whose hobby was orcharding gave 500 fruit and pecan trees. More gifts arrived daily — clothing which the students made over, bedding, old furniture, a plow.

Money came in, too, but not fast

enough. Jones organized a group of singers from the student body, built a makeshift bus on an old chassis, and took them over the country giving concerts. At Marshalltown, Iowa, where he had grown up, the Rotary Club sponsored a concert and cleared $1000 for the school. Jones wrote a song, "Sweet Memories of Dixie," which brought in enough money to provide for 40 penniless boys and girls. He gave Chautauqua lectures, and organized a semipro baseball team that earned money for Piney Woods by playing in many communities.

Now, in addition to a fine farm which produces 60 percent of the food consumed by the students, the school has five handsome brick buildings and 20 frame structures. Students made the brick, cut the lumber and put up the buildings.

From the beginning Jones's formula has been: Teach boys and girls how to work with their hands so they will be able to make a living, academic subjects to make them articulate and adjusted to American culture, and sane moral and religious training as a substitute for superstition and fear. Today 30 teachers, mostly Negro, offer first-class vocational training in agriculture, carpentry, plumbing and steamfitting, auto mechanics, masonry, printing, cooking, sewing, laundry work, bookkeeping, stenography. Every student must learn at least two trades, so that if work is scarce in one he can turn to the other. Courses range from primary grades through junior college.

The students learn by doing. They milk 50 cows daily, learn modern farm methods such as terracing and contour plowing, and experiment in growing tung trees and kudzu. From the school garden they put up 15,000 quarts of fruit and vegetables each year. The girls make out menus, cook and serve the meals.

On a press obtained for the school by C. W. Winn, the white publisher of the Brandon (Miss.) *News*, students in printing get out two papers, one for themselves, one for distribution to friends of the school. There is no piece of machinery on the campus that students in mechanics cannot repair. Piney Woods boys can roof a building or grind a valve, build a kitchen cabinet or weld a broken iron rod.

A blind colored girl who had formerly begged for a living learned chair caning at Piney Woods. Other blind children followed her example. One of the teachers studied Braille. Now there are 26 blind students. Every blind boy or girl who has gone out from the school is self-supporting.

Seriously crippled children are also trained at the school. Beatrice Price, crippled by infantile paralysis, became an expert seamstress. John Gilmore, legless, is now telephone supervisor in a New Orleans factory.

Commencement exercises at Piney Woods are like those in no other school in America. For example, Milton Weathersby, valedictorian of the Class of 1945, spoke for three minutes of Negro opportunities, then took off his dark-blue cap and gown and stood in overalls. "Bring in the pig," he called out.

Two colored youngsters brought in a young Duroc-Jersey and laid

it on a table. "I am going to demonstrate how to vaccinate against hog cholera," Weathersby said. As he explained the process and its scientific basis, he took a syringe and plunged the needle into the pig's shoulder so skillfully that the animal made no sound.

Lenora Collins, salutatorian, laundered and ironed a blouse that would have taxed the skill of an expert. Gertrude Adams canned a mess of beans in a modern pressure cooker, while Epsy Jane Johnson canned tomatoes by the hot-water-bath method. A group of girls exhibited a luncheon set made from flour sacks, sheets made from bleached feed bags. Every one of the 27 graduates presented something that could be used to improve the life of the vast Negro population of the region.

Piney Woods has never departed from its original ideal of education for poor children. If a boy or girl can pay, the charge, including board and room, is $20 a month. Most of the students pay what they can and earn the rest of their way by working.

Through the extension department of the school — reaching 15,000 Negroes annually — and the influence of its graduates, three fourths of the colored farmers in two adjacent counties own land, as against less than five percent when Piney Woods was started. Twenty home-economics graduates are now housekeepers for well-to-do families, at $75 to $175 a month. Others teach in 26 states.

Georgie L. Myers, a member of the first graduating class, started teaching a one-room country school. She and her pupils gave entertainments, made and sold candy, picked peas, begged contributions, and erected a three-room schoolhouse costing $2500. She repeated this achievement in two other communities. The counties, seeing what she had done, furnished funds to maintain the schools adequately.

Bettye Mae Jack, graduate of Piney Woods and of the University of Chicago, has for eight years been supervisor of three Negro high schools and 46 grade schools in Scott County, Mississippi.

Small wonder that Piney Woods has won the continued confidence and support of white and Negro alike. And small wonder that Laurence Clifton Jones is called "one of the first citizens of Mississippi" by Dr. J. S. Vandiver, state superintendent of public instruction.

I asked the Little Professor how he managed to persevere through the long years of his early struggles. He smiled.

"I just kept on praying as if everything depended on God, and kept on working as if everything depended on me. You can't get discouraged if you do that."

Politics } =

CIO

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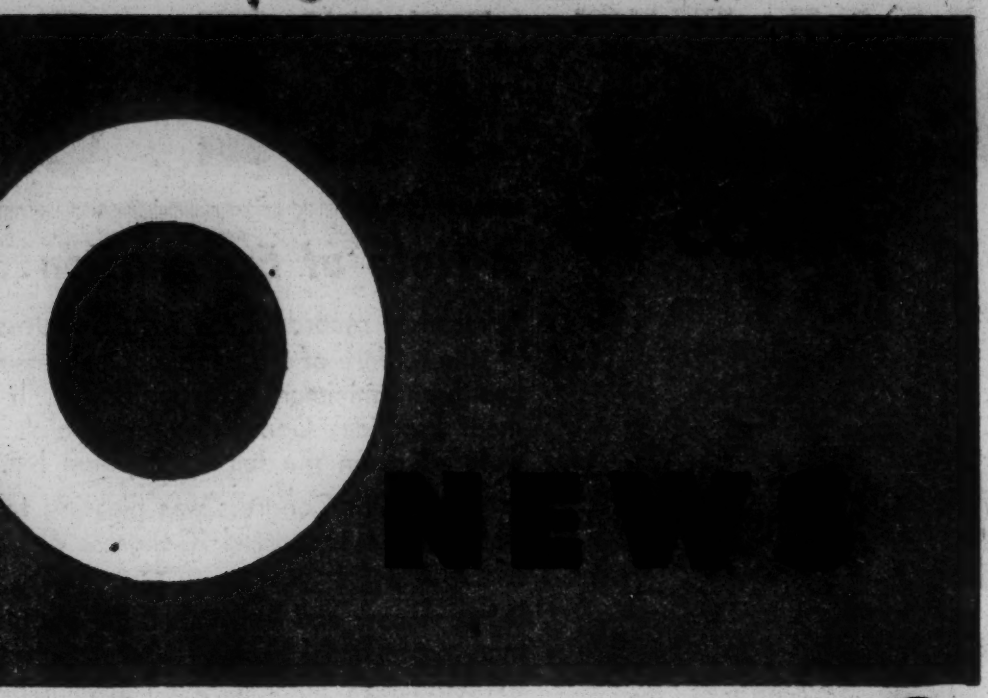
The CIO NEWS

August 19,

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT PREPARED BY CIO

VOTING RECORDS



19, 1946

O & CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

BREAK REACTION'S GRIP

WHAT THE SENATE DID

"This last Congress did a bum job. I'm here to say that the next one had better be better!"

A Note of Explanation...

THIS is a record of the 79th Congress that failed to act on many of the most important issues affecting the welfare of the people. Congress mangled price control. It looked the other way on housing. It buried health and minimum wage legislation. It refused even to debate the question of an extended Fair Employment Practices Committee, to abolish racial discrimination. It failed to act on the anti-polltax bill. It watered down the full employment bill.

The 79th Congress was pleasing to the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers. Congress adopted 11 bills which NAM supported; Congress defeated 10 bills which the NAM opposed.

The American people fared less well at the hands of the law makers than did the powerful NAM. Between now and November the people must rally their forces. Labor, farmers, consumers, small businessmen, professional people—all must turn to political action to make sure that the next session of Congress will heed their plight and act in their behalf.

This special supplement was prepared by the CIO Legislative and Publicity Depts. and the CIO-Political Action Committee, as a weapon in the coming battle of ballots. On the following pages, you can find how your Congressman and Senators voted on 12 issues of major importance to the American people.

This voting guide does not constitute a "black list" or a list of endorsed candidates. Political action comes from the people at home, in the state or the Congressional district. PAC endorsement of a candidate is based on many factors. This voting record attempts to turn the spotlight on only one factor—the formal votes on the floor of House and Senate.

A voting record must be read with an understanding of its limitations. It does show the black-and-white record of votes. It does not show how a Congressman or Senator voted in committee or how he talked in debate. It does not show whether he fought aggressively for or against a particular issue, or whether he merely went along. Your Representatives and Senators know that. Frequently they play for the record in the same way that a ball player "plays for the grandstand."

Nevertheless, the voting record shows—in general—how your Congressmen acted during the past session. If you want further details, contact the PAC committee of your local or international union; or write to your union's legislative representative in Washington; or to Nathan Cowan, CIO Legislative Director, 718 Jackson Pl. N. W., Washington 6, D. C.; or to CIO-PAC, 205 East 42nd St., New York, N. Y.

ISSUES IN THE SENATE*

Here's an explanation of the issues selected for the voting record on the next page. Read these summaries to understand the significance of the major votes—then see how your Senators stand up.

1. CASE BILL—HOBBS "ANTI-RACKET" AMENDMENT. This was one of several amendments added to the Case Bill by anti-labor Senators. It wrote into the Case Bill all the provisions of the Hobbs Bill, which would hamstring labor in the courts. (After the Case Bill was vetoed, the Hobbs Bill was passed separately by Congress and signed by Pres. Truman). It gives anti-union employers a chance to shout "racketeer" when they fight labor. Opposed by CIO. Passed 59-22 on May 25, 1946.

2. CASE ANTI-UNION BILL. This was the measure which "threw the book" at labor with a spicey brew of restrictions. It would have watered down the Wagner Act, repealed the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction act, permitted widespread suits against unions in Federal courts. Opposed by CIO. Passed, 49-29, on May 25, 1946, but President's veto was sustained in the House.

3. TRUMAN ANTI-LABOR BILL. This measure, outlawing strikes in plants seized by the government, was a blow at civil rights. It provided for drafting of strikers into army, sweeping penalties against strikers and union leaders. Opposed by CIO. Passed 61-20 on May 31, 1946; but House failed to act and the bill never became law.

4. PATMAN VETERANS' HOUSING BILL—REVERCOMB AMENDMENT. This removed price ceilings from existing homes; it was a blow at price control and at the federal home-building program. Opposed by CIO. Amendment passed by 41-33 on April 10, 1946. Patman bill, in weakened form, was eventually passed and became law; but Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, badly needed to spur homes program, failed to come up for vote in House. It had been approved by voice vote in the Senate.

5. FEPC—CLOTURE RULE. This was the Senate's key test on racial discrimination. Supporters of the Fair Employment Practices Commission sought a cloture rule, which would have limited debate and avoided a polltaxers' filibuster. Supported by CIO. With a two-thirds vote needed, results were 36-48 against, on February 9, 1946. As a result, the FEPC bill never came up for a vote.

6. 65c MINIMUM WAGE BILL—RUSSELL AMENDMENT. The 65c Wage Bill would have lifted base pay for workers from 40c-an-hour starvation level to 65c and more. Unable to defeat it, opponents of the bill tacked on the Russell amendment to give big price bonuses to farm commodity speculators. Amendment brought a warning from Pres. Truman that he would be forced to veto. Senators voting for the Russell amendment knew they were voting to kill the Minimum Wage Bill. Amendment opposed by CIO. Passed by Senate, 43-31, on March 29, 1946.

7. BRITISH LOAN—McFARLAND AMENDMENT. This would have given U. S. an option on British strategic bases; it would have made loan impossible for Great Britain to accept without humiliation. Loan was necessary to spur international trade and recovery from war. Amendment opposed by CIO. Amendment passed 43-31 March 29, 1946; subsequently Senate reconsidered and without a record vote defeated the crippling amendment and approved the loan.

8. PRICE CONTROL—TAFT AMENDMENT. This would have guaranteed price mark-ups to manufacturers and distributors of goods, without regard to their present profits, by basing ceilings on "average" increase of production costs since October, 1941. Would have destroyed effective OPA. Opposed by CIO. Amendment passed, 44-29 on June 12, 1946.

9. PRICE CONTROL—WHERRY AMENDMENT No. 1. This amendment would have lifted all price ceilings and controls from livestock, poultry, eggs and their by-products. Opposed by CIO. Passed by 49-26 vote on July 9, 1946.

10. PRICE CONTROL—WHERRY AMENDMENT No. 2. This would have lifted all controls and price ceilings from milk and such by-products as cream, butter, cheese, ice cream, etc. Opposed by CIO. Passed by 51-27 vote on July 10, 1946.

11. PRICE CONTROL—PEPPER "AS IS" AMENDMENT. This would have substituted a simple extension of the old price control act for the amendment-ridden bill then under consideration. Strongly supported by CIO. Defeated by 52-23 vote, on July 12, 1946.

12. ANTI-POLLTAX BILL—CLOTURE RULE. This was an effort to limit debate and forestall filibuster on the bill to remove the polltax in federal elections in seven southern states. Cloture rule was only method possible of avoiding filibuster and bringing the issue up for a vote before Congress adjourned. Cloture was strongly supported by CIO. With two-thirds vote necessary, cloture was defeated, though its supporters mustered a majority, 39-33, on July 31, 1946.

*READING THE SENATE RECORD

A plus symbol (+) means a favorable vote from the progressive point of view, supported by the CIO.

A minus symbol (—) means an unfavorable vote.

A zero (O) means that the Senator did not vote.

Party designations: D, Democrat; R, Republican; P, Progressive.

	Party	1. Case Bill—"Racket" Amdt.	2. Case Anti-Union Bill	3. Truman Anti-Union Bill	4. Patman Housing—Revercomb Amdt.	5. FEPC—Cloture Rule	6. 65c Wage—Russell Amdt.	7. British Loan—McFarland Amdt.	8. OPA—Taft Amdt.	9. OPA—Wherry "Meat" Amdt.	10. OPA—Wherry "Milk" Amdt.	11. OPA—Pepper "As Is" Amdt.	12. Anti-Polltax Bill—Cloture Rule
ALABAMA													
John H. Bankhead	D	O	O	O	+	—	—	—	O	Deceased			
Lister Hill		—	+	—	O	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—
G. Robin Swift	D									—	—	—	—
ARIZONA													
Carl Hayden	D	—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	O	—
Ernest McFarland	D	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	O	O	O	—
ARKANSAS													
J. W. Fulbright	D	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	O	+	O	—	—
J. L. McClellan	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CALIFORNIA													
Sheridan Downey	D	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
William L. Knowland	R	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	+
COLORADO													
Edwin C. Johnson	D	—	+	—	+	+	—	—	O	—	+	—	+
Eugene Millikin	R	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CONNECTICUT													
Thomas C. Hart	R	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
Brien McMahon	D	—	+	—	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE													
Clayton D. Buck	R	O	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	—	—	—	O
James M. Tunnell	D	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
FLORIDA													
Charles O. Andrews	D	—	O	O	+	—	O	O	—	—	—	O	—
Claude Pepper	D	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
GEORGIA													
Walter F. George	D	—	—	—	O	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Richard Russell	D	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
IDAHO													
Glen H. Taylor	D	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Charles C. Gossett	D	O	O	O	O	O	—	O	O	O	—	—	—
ILLINOIS													
C. Wayland Brooks	R	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—	O
Scott W. Lucas	D	—	—	—	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
INDIANA													
Homer E. Capehart	R	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	O	O	—	—	O
Raymond E. Willis	R	O	O	—	O	+	O	—	O	—	—	O	O
IOWA													
Bourke B. Hickenlooper	R	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	O	O	O	O
George A. Wilson	R	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	O
KANSAS													
Arthur Capper	R	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
Clyde M. Reed	R	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	O	+
KENTUCKY													
Alben W. Barkley	D	—	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+
William A. Stanfill	R	—	—	—	—	O	—	+	—	—	—	—	O
LOUISIANA													
Allen J. Ellender	D	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	+	O	O	O	O
John H. Overton	D	—	O	—	+	—	—	O	—	—	+	—	—
MAINE													
Ralph O. Brewster	R	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	O	O	O	—	O
Wallace H. White, Jr.	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
MARYLAND													
George L. Radcliffe	D	O	O	—	O	—	—	+	O	—	O	—	—
Millard E. Tydings	D	—	—	O	O	—	O	—	—	O	O	O	O
MASSACHUSETTS													
Leverett Saltonstall	R	—	—	—	—	+	O	+	—	O	O	O	O
David I. Walsh	D	—	O	—	O	+	+	—	+	+	O	+	+
MICHIGAN													
Homer Ferguson	R	—	—	—	O	+	+	+	O	—	—	—	+
Arthur H. Vandenberg	R	—	—	—	—	O	+	O	—	O	O	O	+
MINNESOTA													
Joseph H. Ball	R	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	+
Henrik Shipstead	R	+	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	O	O	O	O
MISSISSIPPI													
Theodore G. Bilbo	D	O	O	O	—	—	—	O	—	O	O	O	—
James O. Eastland	D	—	—	—	O	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
MISSOURI													
Frank Briggs	D	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	—	O
Forest C. Donnell	R	—	—	—	+	O	+	+	—	—	—	—	+
MONTANA													
James E. Murray	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+
Burton K. Wheeler	D	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	O	O	O	—

	Party	1. Case Bill—"Racket" Amdt.	2. Case Anti-Union Bill	3. Truman Anti-Union Bill	4. Patman Housing—Revercomb Amdt.	5. FEPC—Cloture Rule	6. 65c Wage—Russell Amdt.	7. British Loan—McFarland Amdt.	8. OPA—Taft Amdt.	9. OPA—Wherry "Meat" Amdt.	10. OPA—Wherry "Milk" Amdt.	11. OPA—Pepper "As Is" Amdt.	12. Anti-Polltax Bill—Cloture Rule
NEBRASKA													
Hugh Butler	R	O	O	—	O	+	O	—	O	O	O	O	O
Kenneth S. Wherry	R	—	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	—	—	—	+
NEVADA													
E. P. Carville	D	O	O	O	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	O
Patrick A. McCarran	D	+	+	+	—	—	O	—	+	—	—	—	—
NEW HAMPSHIRE													
Styles Bridges	R	—	—	O	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Charles W. Tobey	R	—	—	O	O	+	O	+	—	—	—	O	O
NEW JERSEY													
Albert W. Hawkes	R	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	O
H. Alexander Smith	R	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	+
NEW MEXICO													
Dennis Chavez	D	O	O	O	O	+	O	O	O	+	+	+	+
Carl A. Hatch	D	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	O	O	O	O
NEW YORK													
James M. Mead	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Robert F. Wagner	D	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA													
Josiah W. Bailey	D	O	O	O	O	—	—	O	O	O	O	O	O
Clyde R. Hoey	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—
NORTH DAKOTA													
Wiliam Langer	R	—	+	O	+	+	—	—	O	—	—	—	+
Milton R. Young	R	—	—	O	—	O	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
OHIO													
Harold H. Burton	R	Resigned											
James W. Huffman	R	—	—	—	O	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+
Robert A. Taft	R	—	—	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	+
OKLAHOMA													
E. H. Moore	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Elmer Thomas	D	O	+	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	+
OREGON													
Guy Cordon	R	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
Wayne L. Morse	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	—	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA													
Joseph Guffey	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Francis Myers	D	+	+	—	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND													
Peter G. Gerry	D	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	—
Theodore Green	D	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	O	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA													
Olin D. Johnston	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Burnet R. Maybank	D	O	O	—	O	—	—	+	—	—	—	O	—
SOUTH DAKOTA													
Harlan J. Bushfield	R	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	O
Chan Gurney	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
TENNESSEE													
Kenneth McKellar	D	O	O	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	—	—
Tom Stewart	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TEXAS													
Tom Connally	D	—	—	—	O	O	O	O	—	O	O	O	—
W. Lee O'Daniel	D	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
UTAH													
Abe Murdock	D	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
Elbert D. Thomas	D	+	—	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
VERMONT													
George D. Aiken	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	O
Warren R. Austin	R	—	—	—	—	+	O	+	—	—	—	—	+
VIRGINIA													
Harry Flood Byrd	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	+	+	O	—
Carter Glass	D	O	O	A	O	O	O	O	Deceased				
Thomas G. Burch	D	A	A	—	A	A	A	A	—	+	O	—	—
WASHINGTON													
Warren G. Magnuson	D	+	+	+	O	+	O	—	+	+	+	+	+
Hugh D. Mitchell	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA													
Harley M. Kilgore	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+
Chapman Revercomb	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	O
WISCONSIN													
Robert M. LaFollette	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	—	+
Alexander Wiley	R	—	—	—	—	O	—	+	O	—	—	—	+
WYOMING													
Joseph C. O'Mahoney	D	—	+	—	+	O	+	+	O	—	—	+	+
Edward V. Robertson	R	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	O

WHAT THE HOUSE DID

"Sure I've tried to find a decent house to live in. I like my mother-in-law, but not enough to live with her all the time. But housing is scarcer around here than a blonde in Tokyo.

"I wrote my Congressman about it. It didn't seem to do any good.

"Frankly, mister, I'm sore that Congress missed the boat on the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill. They'd better do something about it next time — or I'll know the reason why."

ISSUES IN THE HOUSE*

Scores of bills were acted upon by the House of Representatives. On these pages are the record of how your Congressmen voted on 12 key issues involving the people's welfare. Here's a quick look at the highly significant issues chosen for this record. After reading them over, see how your Congressman stacks up.

1. HOBBS BILL—RULE. The House passed the Hobbs "anti-racket" bill without a record vote—but the votes were noted on the rule by which the measure was brought to the floor for debate. A vote for the rule was a vote for the bill; the bill is a vicious instrument to tie labor up in the courts and to interfere with bona fide picketing and strike activities. Opposed by CIO. Rule was approved by House 259-108, Dec. 11, 1945; bill became law after Senate vote and Presidential signature on July 3, 1946.

2. CASE ANTI-UNION BILL. This would have cut Wagner Act protection to the bone, practically repealed the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction law, severely restricted labor's rights to organize and strike. Opposed by CIO. Passed by House 257-155, Feb. 7, 1946.

3. CASE BILL—PRESIDENT'S VETO. The Case Bill, passed by House and Senate, was vetoed by Pres. Truman because of its loose language, sweeping attack on unions. Veto supported by CIO. House sustained the veto, 255-135—insufficient for the necessary two-thirds to over-ride the President's action, on June 11, 1946.

4. U.S.E.S.—DIRKSEN AMENDMENT. The Dirksen Amendment was intended to return the United States Employment Service to the states on June 30, 1946. This would have tied service up in knots of varying state rules and regulations, hindered the task of placing war workers and vets in new jobs. Opposed by CIO. Passed by House, Jan. 29, 1946.

5. PATMAN HOUSING BILL—PRICE CEILINGS ON EXISTING HOMES. The Patman Housing Bill was intended to help finance homes for vets—a program badly hampered by Congress' failure to pass the long-range Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill. A key section of the Patman Bill provided for price ceilings on existing homes, which would have helped keep down prices on new ones, too. Supported by CIO. This provision was defeated 246-134 on March 6, 1946. The Patman Bill, without this feature, became law May 22, 1946.

6. NLRB—ELLIOTT RIDER. The Elliott Rider was a back-door amendment to the Wagner Act, which took the form of limiting the Labor Board's appropriation. It barred the NLRB from acting in all cases involving hundreds of thousands of food processing workers. It was opposed in the Senate, finally adopted in the form of a limitation only on workers employed on farms. The Elliott Rider was opposed by CIO. Passed by the House 213-136 on July 16, 1946.

7. ATOMIC ENERGY BILL—MOVE TO RECOMMIT. The key issue on the atomic energy bill was whether our greatest potential "powerhouse" would be controlled by civilian government or by the armed forces. With popular and Congressional sentiment favoring civilian control, the Representatives favoring military supervision sought to recommit the bill rather than have any action at all. The move to recommit was opposed by CIO. It was defeated in the House 195-146 on July 20, 1946. The bill subsequently passed.

8. UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE—APPROPRIATION. Involved in this vote was the question of protecting civil liberties of majority and minority groups from the unprincipled and irresponsible staff of the Wood-Rankin Committee. CIO opposed granting the committee its request for an additional $75,000. House voted the appropriation, 240-81.

9. OPA-WOLCOTT AMDT. No. 1. This proposal would have guaranteed "cost plus" prices on all products controlled by OPA, and would have led to across-the-board increases. This was the strongest amendment offered by price control foes in Congress. Strongly opposed by CIO. Adopted by House, 259-137 on April 17, 1946. Subsequently eliminated from compromise OPA bill.

10. OPA—WOLCOTT AMDT. No. 2. This would have drastically reduced all government subsidies on food commodities and forced an immediate rise in prices. Opposed by CIO. Adopted by House, 245-150 on April 17, 1946.

11. OPA—FLANNAGAN AMDT. This called for ending immediately all government subsidies aimed at keeping down the retail price of meat. Opposed by CIO. Adopted by House, 214-182, on April 17, 1946.

12. OPA—GOSSETT AMDT. This called for removing price ceilings on all commodities when their 12-month production was greater than in 1940-41. It ignored growing population, increased demands, changes in buying habits—and would have "taken the lid off" many products. Opposed by CIO. Approved by House, 228-166, on April 17, 1946.

	District	Party	1. Hobbs Bill—Rule For Vote	2. Case Anti-Union Bill	3. Case Bill—President's Veto	4. U.S.E.S.—Dirksen Amdt.	5. Patman Housing Bill—Price Amdt.	6. NLRB—Elliott Rider	7. Atomic Energy Bill—Move to Recommit	8. Un-American Committee Appropriation	9. OPA—Wolcott Amdt. No. 1	10. OPA—Wolcott Amdt. No. 2	11. OPA—Flannagan Amdt.	12. OPA—Gossett Amdt.
ALABAMA														
Andrews, George W.	3	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Boykin, Frank W.	1	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Grant, George M.	2	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Hobbs, Sam	4	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—
Jarman, Pete	6	D	—	—	—	—	O	—	+	O	O	O	O	O
Manasco, Carter	7	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Patrick, Luther	9	D	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Rains, Albert	5	D	O	—	+	—	O	—	+	—	O	O	O	O
Sparkman, John J.	8	D	—	—	+	+	—	O	O	—	+	+	+	+
ARIZONA														
Harless, Richard F.	AL	D	—	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	—	+	+	+
Murdock, John R.	AL	D	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O
ARKANSAS														
Cravens, Fadjo	4	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Gathings, E. C.	1	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harris, Oren	7	D	O	+	O	—	—	O	+	O	—	+	—	—
Hays, Brooks	5	D	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	+	+
Mills, Wilbur D.	2	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Norrell, W. F.	6	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Trimble, James W.	3	D	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	+
CALIFORNIA														
Anderson, Jack Z.	8	R	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Douglas, Helen Gahagan	14	D	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Doyle, Clyde	18	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Elliott, Alfred J.	10	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Engle, Clair	2	D	—	+	+	+	—	—	+	O	—	—	+	+

(Continued on next page)

*READING THE HOUSE RECORD

A plus symbol (+) means a favorable vote from the progressive point of view supported by the CIO.

A minus symbol (—) means an unfavorable vote.

A zero (O) means that the Senator or Congressman did not vote.

An "A" means the person was not holding Congressional office at time of vote.

Party designations: D, Democrat; R, Republican; P, Progressive; AL, American Labor.

WHAT THE HOUSE DID

(Continued From Page 4)

	District	Party	1. Hobbs Bill—Rule For Vote	2. Case Anti-Union Bill	3. Case Bill—President's Veto	4. U.S.E.S.—Dirksen Amdt.	5. Patman Housing Bill—Price Amdt.	6. NLRB—Elliott Rider	7. Atomic Energy Bill—Move to Recommit	8. Un-American Committee Appropriation	9. OPA—Wolcott Amdt. No. 1	10. OPA—Wolcott Amdt. No. 2	11. OPA—Flannagan Amdt.	12. OPA—Gossett Amdt.
CALIFORNIA														
Gearhart, Bertrand W.	9	R	O	—	O	O	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Havenner, Franck R.	4	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Healy, Ned R.	13	D	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hinshaw, Carl	20	R	O	—	—	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	+	+
Holifield, Chet	19	D	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	—	+
Izac, Ed. V.	23	D	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	O	O	O	O
Johnson, J. LeRoy	3	R	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	+
King, Cecil R.	17	D	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Lea, Clarence F.	1	D	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	O	—	—	+	—
McDonough, Gordon L.	15	R	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	O	—	—	+	+
Miller, George P.	6	D	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	O	O	O	O
Outland, George E.	11	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Patterson, Ellis E.	16	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Phillips, John	22	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sheppard, Harry R.	21	D	+	+	O	+	+	—	+	O	O	O	O	O
Tolan, John H.	7	D	O	+	O	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+
Voorhis, Jerry	12	D	—	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+
Welch, Richard J.	5	R	+	O	O	+	+	O	O	O	+	+	+	+
COLORADO														
Chenoweth, J. Edgar	3	R	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gillespie, Dean M.	1	R	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Hill, William S.	2	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Rockwell, Robert F.	4	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CONNECTICUT														
Geelan, James P.	3	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kopplemann, Herman P.	1	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Luce, Clare Boothe	4	R	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	O	O	O	+	O
Ryter, Joseph F.	AL	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Talbot, Joseph E.	5	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	+	—
Woodhouse, Mrs. Chase Going	2	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE														
Traynor, Philip	AL	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	—	+
FLORIDA														
Cannon, Pat	4	D	O	O	—	O	O	O	O	O	+	+	+	+
Hendricks, Joe	5	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Peterson, J. Hardin	1	D	—	—	O	—	—	—	+	—	O	O	O	O
Price, Emory H.	2	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Rogers, Dwight L.	6	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Sikes, Robert L. F.	3	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
GEORGIA														
Brown, Paul	10	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—
Camp, A. Sidney	4	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—
Cox, E. E.	2	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	O	O	—
[redacted]	8	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	O	O	O	O
Mankin, Helen Douglas	5	D	A	A	+	A	+	O	O	O	+	+	+	+
Pace, Stephen	3	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
[redacted]	1	D	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	—	—	—	+	—
Ramspeck, Robert	5	D	—Resigned											
[redacted]	7	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Wood, John S.	9	D	O	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	—	—	—	—
Vinson, Carl	6	D	O	—	—	Resigned			O	—	—	—	—	—
IDAHO														
Dworshak, Henry C.	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
White, Compton I.	1	D	O	+	O	O	+	—	—	O	O	+	+	+
ILLINOIS														
Allen, Leo E.	13	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arends, Leslie	17	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bishop, C. W. (Runt)	25	R	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chiperfield, Robert B.	15	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Church, Ralph E.	10	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Clippinger, Roy	24	R	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dawson, Wm. L.	1	D	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+
Dirksen, Everett M.	16	R	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
Douglas, Emily Taft	AL	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gordon, Thomas S.	8	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gorski, Martin	4	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Howell, Evan	21	R	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ILLINOIS														
Johnson, Anton J.	14	R	—	O	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kelly, Edward A.	3	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+
Link, Wm. W.	7	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mason, Noah M.	12	R	O	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	O	O	O
McMillen, Rolla C.	19	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	O	O	O	O
O'Brien, Thomas J.	6	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Price, Melvin	22	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Reed, Chauncey W.	11	R	—	—	—	O	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Resa, Alexander J.	9	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Rowan, Wm. A.	2	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Sabath, Adolph J.	5	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Simpson, Sid	20	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sumner, Miss Jessie	18	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O
Vursell, Charles W.	23	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
INDIANA														
Gillie, George W.	4	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grant, Robert A.	3	R	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Halleck, Charles A.	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harness, Forest A.	5	R	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Johnson, Noble J.	6	R	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
LaFollette, Charles M.	8	R	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Landis, Gerald W.	7	R	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ludlow, Louis	11	D	+	+	O	+	+	O	O	O	+	+	+	+
Madden, Ray J.	1	D	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Springer, Raymond S.	10	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wilson, Earl	9	R	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	O
IOWA														
Cunningham, Paul	5	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dolliver, James I.	6	R	O	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Gwynne, John W.	3	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hoeven, Charles B.	8	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jensen, Ben F.	7	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LeCompte, Karl M.	4	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	—	—
Martin, Thomas E.	1	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Talle, Henry O.	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
KANSAS														
Carlson, Frank	6	R	O	—	O	O	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Cole, Albert M.	1	R	—	—	—	O	O	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Hope, Clifford R.	5	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Rees, Edward H.	4	R	O	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Scrivner, Errett P.	2	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Winter, Thomas D.	3	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
KENTUCKY														
Bates, Joe B.	8	D	+	+	+	—	+	O	O	—	+	+	—	+
Chelf, Frank L.	4	D	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	+
Chapman, Virgil	6	D	—	—	—	O	O	—	+	—	+	+	—	+
Clements, Earle C.	2	D	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	O	+
Gregory, Noble J.	1	D	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—	+
May, Andrew J.	7	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	+
O'Neal, Emmet	3	D	O	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	O	O	O	O
Robsion, John M.	9	R	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spence, Brent	5	D	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
LOUISIANA														
Allen, A. Leonard	8	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	O	O	—
Brooks, Overton	4	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—
Domengeaux, James	3	D	O	—	—	—	O	—	O	O	—	+	—	—
Hebert, F. Edward	1	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	—	—	—	—
Larcade, Henry D., Jr.	7	D	O	+	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—
McKenzie, Charles E.	5	D	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Maloney, Paul H.	2	D	O	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	+
Morrison, James H.	6	D	—	+	O	O	O	—	+	—	+	+	+	+
MAINE														
Fellows, Frank	3	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hale, Robert	1	R	—	—	—	—	O	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
Smith, Margaret Chase	2	R	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MARYLAND														
Baldwin, H. Streett	2	D	—	—	—	O	—	O	O	O	—	—	—	—
Beall, J. Glenn	6	R	—	+	+	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
D'Alesandro, Thomas, Jr.	3	D	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
Fallon, George H.	4	D	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+
Roe, Dudley G.	1	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	O	—	—
Sasscer, Lansdale G.	5	D	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	+
MASSACHUSETTS														
Bates, George J.	6	R	—	—	—	O	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	+
Clason, Charles R.	2	R	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	+	+

(Continued on Page 8)

OUR ECONO

MESSAGE FROM TH
ON THE STATE OF

"Sidney Hillman was a crusader for justice and all the principles of democracy.

"I speak these sentiments in behalf of the millions of organized workers in the United States, and I am sure, the organized workers all over the world.

"We of the CIO pledge ourselves to carry forward the attainment of our political emancipation and our true political freedom, both in the CIO and in all matters pertaining to the activities of the Political Action Committee."

—PHILIP MURRAY

"We want a better America, giving its citizens a higher and higher standard of living, so that no child will cry for food in the midst of plenty. An America where the inventions of science will be at the disposal of every American family, for all groups regardless of race, creed or color to live in friendship.

"We want an America carrying forward its great mission of helping other countries to help themselves—not exploiting but creating plenty for all everywhere."

—SIDNEY HILLMAN

IN OUR DAY these economic truths have
self-evident. We have accepted, so to spe
Rights under which a new basis of securi
be established for all—regardless of statio

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerativ
or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;

The right to earn enough to provide ad
ing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and
return which will give him and his family a decen

The right of every businessman, larg
in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair compet
by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent

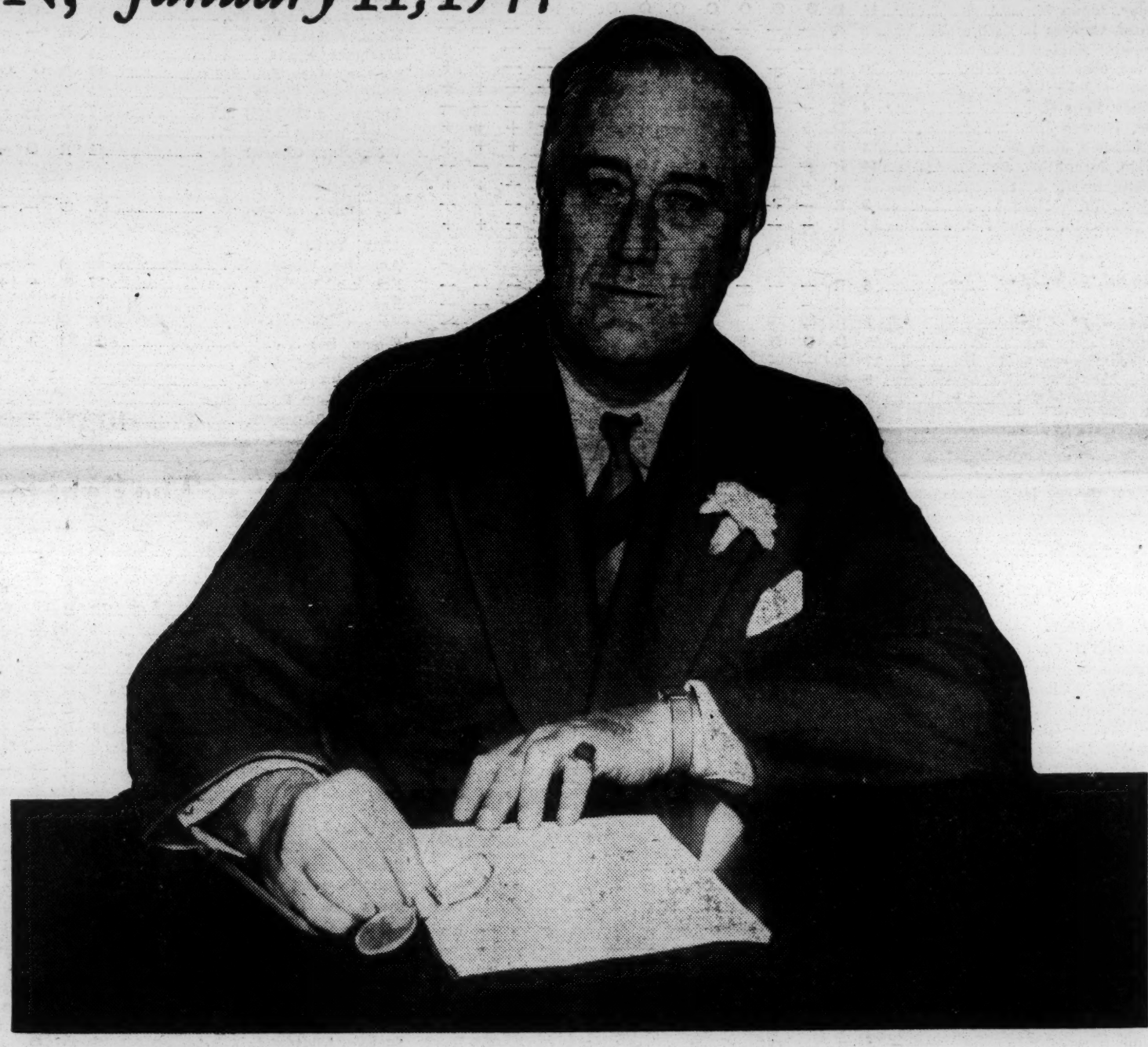
The right to adequate medical care a
achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from
old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

MIC BILL OF RIGHTS

E PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE UNION, *January 11, 1944*



become accepted as
ak, a second Bill of
y and prosperity can
n, race, or creed.

job in the industries,

equate food and cloth-

sell his products at a
t living;

e and small, to trade
ition and domination

home;

nd the opportunity to

the economic fears of

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won, we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

WHAT THE HOUSE DID

(Continued From Page 5)

	District	Party	1. Hobbs Bill—Rule For Vote	2. Case Anti-Union Bill	3. Case Bill—President's Veto	4. U.S.E.S.—Dirksen Amdt.	5. Patman Housing Bill—Price Amdt.	6. NLRB—Elliott Rider	7. Atomic Energy Bill—Move to Recommit	8. Un-American Committee Appropriation	9. OPA—Wolcott Amdt. No. 1	10. OPA—Wolcott Amdt. No. 2	11. OPA—Flannagan Amdt.	12. OPA—Gossett Amdt.
MASSACHUSETTS														
Curley, James M.	11	D	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Gifford, Charles L.	9	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Goodwin, Angier L.	8	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Herter, Christian A.	10	R	—	—	—	O	O	+	+	—	—	—	+	+
Heselton, John W.	1	R	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	+	+
Holmes, Pehr G.	4	R	—	—	—	—	O	+	—	O	—	—	—	—
Lane, Thomas J.	7	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
McCormack, John W.	12	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Martin, Joseph W., Jr.	14	R	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—
Philbin, Philip J.	3	D	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	+	+
Rogers, Edith Nourse	5	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
Wigglesworth, Richard B.	13	R	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	+
MICHIGAN														
Blackney, William W.	6	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Bradley, Fred	11	R	—	O	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—
Crawford, Fred L.	8	R	—	—	O	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Dingell, John D.	15	D	O	O	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dondero, George A.	17	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Engel, Albert J.	9	R	—	+	+	O	—	O	O	+	—	—	—	—
Hoffman, Clare E.	4	R	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hook, Frank E.	12	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+
Jonkman, Bartel J.	5	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lesinski, John	16	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
Michener, Earl E.	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
O'Brien, George D.	13	D	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	—	+	+	+	+
Rabaut, Louis C.	14	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
Sadowski, George G.	1	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Shafer, Paul W.	3	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wolcott, Jesse P.	7	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
Woodruff, Roy O.	10	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MINNESOTA														
Andersen, H. Carl	7	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Andresen, August H.	1	R	O	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gallagher, William J.	3	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hagen, Harold C.	9	R	—	+	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Judd, Walter H.	5	R	—	—	—	—	O	+	+	—	—	—	+	+
Knutson, Harold	6	R	—	O	—	—	O	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
O'Hara, Joseph P.	2	R	O	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pittenger, William A.	8	R	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Starkey, Frank T.	4	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
MISSISSIPPI														
Abernethy, Thomas G.	4	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Colmer, William M.	6	D	—	—	O	—	—	O	+	—	O	O	O	O
McGehee, Dan R.	7	D	—	—	O	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Rankin, John E.	1	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Whitten, Jamie L.	2	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Whittington, William M.	3	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Winstead, Arthur	5	D	O	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MISSOURI														
Arnold, S. Wat	1	R	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bell, C. Jasper	4	D	—	+	+	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	—	+
Bennett, Marion T.	6	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cannon, Clarence	9	D	+	+	+	+	O	—	+	—	+	—	—	—
Carnahan, A. S. J.	8	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+
Cochran, John J.	13	D	+	+	O	+	+	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Cole, William C.	3	R	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ploeser, Walter C.	12	R	O	—	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	—	—	—
Schwabe, Max	2	R	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Short, Dewey	7	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Slaughter, Roger C.	5	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Sullivan, John B.	11	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Zimmerman, Orville	10	D	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—
MONTANA														
D'Ewart, Wesley A.	2	R	—	+	—	—	O	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Mansfield, Mike	1	D	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	—	+	+
NEBRASKA														
Buffett, Howard H.	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Curtis, Carl T.	1	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Miller, A. L.	4	R	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Stefan, Karl	3	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NEVADA														
Bunker, Berkeley L.	AL	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	O	O	O
NEW HAMPSHIRE														
Adams, Sherman	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	+	O	O	—	—	—	—
Merrow, Chester E.	1	R	O	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
NEW JERSEY														
Auchincloss, James C.	3	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—
Canfield, Gordon	8	R	—	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
Case, Clifford P.	6	R	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	—	O	—	+	+
Eaton, Charles A.	5	R	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hand, T. Millet	2	R	O	—	—	O	—	+	+	O	+	—	—	—
Hart, Edward J.	14	D	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	O	O	+	+	+
Hartley, Fred A., Jr.	10	R	O	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	—	—	—
Kean, Robert W.	12	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	+
Mathews, Frank	4	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—
Norton, Mary T.	13	D	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Sundstrom, Frank L.	11	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	O	—	+	—
Thomas, J. Parnell	7	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—
Towe, Harry L.	9	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	O
Wolverton, Charles A.	1	R	O	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	+
NEW MEXICO														
Fernandez, Antonio M.	AL	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NEW YORK														
Andrews, Walter G.	42	R	—	—	O	—	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Baldwin, Joseph C.	17	R	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Barry, William B.	4	D	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
Bennet, Augustus W.	29	R	—	O	—	—	O	O	O	O	—	—	—	+
Bloom, Sol	20	D	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Buck, Ellsworth B.	16	R	—	—	—	—	O	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Buckley, Charles A.	25	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Butler, John C.	44	R	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	—
Byrne, William T.	32	D	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+
Celler, Emanuel	15	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cole, W. Sterling	39	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Delaney, James J.	6	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Delaney, John J.	7	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Elsaesser, Edward J.	43	R	O	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	+
Fuller, Hadwen C.	35	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—
Gamble, Ralph A.	28	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	+	—
Gwinn, Ralph A.	27	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
Hall, Edwin Arthur	37	R	—	+	+	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	+
Hall, Leonard W.	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	+	—
Hancock, Clarence E.	36	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	O
Heffernan, James J.	11	D	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+
Kearney, Bernard W.	31	R	O	+	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	+	—
Keogh, Eugene J.	9	D	+	+	+	+	—	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Kilburn, Clarence E.	34	R	—	—	—	—	O	—	O	—	—	—	+	—
Klein, Arthur G.	19	D	—	+	—	—	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Latham, Henry J.	3	R	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
LeFevre, Jay	30	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lynch, Walter A.	23	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Marcantonio, Vito	18	AL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
O'Toole, Donald L.	13	D	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+
Pfeifer, Joseph L.	8	D	O	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	+	+	+	+
Powell, Adam Clayton	22	D	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	O	+	+	+	+
Quinn, Peter A.	26	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Rabin, Benjamin J.	24	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rayfiel, Leo F.	14	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Reed, Daniel A.	45	R	—	O	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Roe, James A.	5	D	O	+	O	O	+	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Rogers, George F.	40	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rooney, John J.	12	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Sharp, Edgar A.	1	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	+	O
Somers, Andrew L.	10	D	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Taber, John	38	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Taylor, Dean P.	33	R	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	+	—
Torrens, James H.	21	D	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	+	+	+	+
Wadsworth, James W.	41	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NORTH CAROLINA														
Barden, Graham A.	3	D	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Bonner, Herbert C.	1	D	—	—	—	—	O	—	+	O	—	—	—	—
Bulwinkle, A. L.	11	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	+
Burgin, W. O.	8	D	O	—	Deceased									
Clark, J. Bayard	7	D	—	—	—	—	O	—	+	O	+	+	+	+
Cooley, Harold D.	4	D	—	—	+	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Doughton, Robert L.	9	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Durham, Carl T.	6	D	O	—	O	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	+
Ervin, Joe W.	10	D	—	Deceased										
Ervin, Sam J. Jr.	10	D	A	—	—	A	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	+
Folger, John H.	5	D	—	—	O	+	+	—	+	O	+	+	+	+
Kerr, John H.	2	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	—	—	—	+
Pratt, E. Jane	8	D	A	A	—	A	A	—	+	O	A	A	A	A
Weaver, Zebulon	12	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	O	O	O	O	O
NORTH DAKOTA														
Lemke, William	AL	R	O	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Robertson, Charles R.	AL	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
OHIO														
Bender, George H.	AL	R	O	+	—	—	—	+	+	O	—	—	+	+
Bolton, Frances P.	22	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brehm, Walter E.	11	R	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

WHAT THE HOUSE DID

	District	Party	1. Hobbs Bill—Rule For Vote	2. Case Anti-Union Bill	3. Case Bill—President's Veto	4. U.S.E.S.—Dirksen Amdt.	5. Patman Housing Bill—Price Amdt.	6. NLRB—Elliott Rider	7. Atomic Energy Bill—Move to Recommit	8. Un-American Committee Appropriation	9. OPA—Wolcott Amdt. No. 1	10. OPA—Wolcott Amdt. No. 2	11. OPA—Flannagan Amdt.	12. OPA—Gossett Amdt.
OHIO														
Brown, Clarence J.	7	R	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Clevenger, Cliff	5	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Crosser, Robert	21	D	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Elston, Charles H.	1	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Feighan, Michael A.	20	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gardner, Edward J.	3	D	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	—	+	+	—
Gri...ths, P. W.	15	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hess, William E.	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Huber, Walter B.	14	D	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jenkins, Thomas A.	10	R	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Jones, Robert F.	4	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—
Kirwan, Michael J.	19	D	+	+	+	—	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
Lewis, Earl R.	18	R	O	+	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—
McCowen, Edward O.	6	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
McGregor, J. Harry	17	R	—	—	O	—	O	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Ramey, Homer A.	9	R	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
Smith, Frederick C.	8	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thom, William R.	16	D	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Vorys, John M.	12	R	O	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	+	+
Weichel, Alvin F.	13	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OKLAHOMA														
Boren, Lyle H.	4	D	O	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	—	—	—	—
Johnson, Jed	6	D	—	—	—	+	+	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Monroney, A. S. Mike	5	D	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Rizley, Ross	8	R	O	—	—	O	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—
Schwabe, George B.	1	R	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Stewart, Paul	3	D	—	—	O	—	—	O	O	O	—	—	—	—
Stigler, William G.	2	D	—	—	O	+	O	+	+	O	—	+	—	+
Wickersham, Victor	7	D	O	—	—	O	+	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
OREGON														
Angell, Homer D.	3	R	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	—
Ellsworth, Harris	4	R	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Norblad, Walter	1	R	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
Stockman, Lowell	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	+	—	—	—	—
PENNSYLVANIA														
Barrett, William A.	1	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bradley, Michael J.	3	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Brumbaugh, D. Emmert	22	R	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Campbell, Howard E.	29	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corbett, Robert J.	30	R	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	+
Eberharter, Herman P.	32	D	—	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fenton, Ivor D.	12	R	—	+	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Flood, Daniel J.	11	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fulton, James G.	31	R	+	O	+	—	+	+	—	O	+	+	+	+
Gavin, Leon H.	19	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Gerlach, Charles L.	8	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Gillette, Wilson D.	14	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Graham, Louis E.	25	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	O	O
Granahan, William T.	2	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Green, William J., Jr.	5	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gross, Chester H.	21	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hoch, Daniel K.	13	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Hoffman, Carl	23	R	A	A	—	A	A	—	—	O	A	A	A	A
Kelley, Augustine B.	27	D	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kinzer, J. Roland	9	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Kunkel, John C.	18	R	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	O	+	—	+	+
McConnell, Samuel K.	16	R	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
McGlinchey, Herbert J.	6	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+
Morgan, Thomas E.	24	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Murphy, John W.	10	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	—	+	+	+	+
Rich, Robert F.	15	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Rodgers, Robert L.	28	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	O	O
Sheridan, John Edw.	4	D	+	+	+	O	+	O	O	+	O	O	O	O
Simpson, Richard M.	17	R	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	O	—	—	—	—
Snyder, J. Buell	23	D	+	+	A	+	O	Deceased						
Tibbott, Harve	26	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Walter, Francis E.	20	D	—	+	+	+	—	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
Weiss, Samuel A.	33	D	O	O	A	O	O	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Wolfenden, James	7	R	—	—	O	—	—	O	—	O	—	—	—	—
RHODE ISLAND														
Fogarty, John E.	2	D	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Forand, Aime J.	1	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA														
Bryson, John R.	4	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—
Hare, Butler B.	3	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	O	+	—
McMillan, John L.	6	D	—	—	—	+	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Richards, James P.	5	D	—	—	O	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—
Riley, John J.	2	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—
Rivers, L. Mendel	1	D	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
SOUTH DAKOTA														
Case, Francis	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mundt, Karl E.	1	R	O	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TENNESSEE														
Cooper, Jere	9	D	—	—	—	—	+	O	O	—	+	+	+	+
Courtney, Wirt	7	D	—	—	O	—	+	—	O	O	+	+	+	+
Davis, Clifford	10	D	—	+	+	—	+	O	+	—	O	O	O	O
Earthman, Harold W.	5	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Gore, Albert	4	D	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	O	+	+	+	+
Jennings, John, Jr.	2	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kefauver, Estes	3	D	O	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Murray, Tom	8	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Priest, J. Percy	6	D	—	—	—	+	—	O	O	—	+	+	+	+
Reece, B. Carroll	1	R	O	—	O	—	—	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
TEXAS														
Beckworth, Lindley	3	D	—	—	—	O	+	O	O	—	+	+	+	—
Combs, J. M.	2	D	O	+	+	+	—	O	+	O	+	+	+	+
Fisher, O. C.	21	D	—	O	—	O	O	—	+	—	O	O	O	O
Gossett, Ed	13	D	—	—	—	—	O	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Johnson, Luther A.	6	D	—	—	O	+	—	—	O	—	+	+	—	+
Johnson, Lyndon B.	10	D	—	—	—	O	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+
Kilday, Paul J.	20	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Lanham, Fritz G.	12	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lyle, John E.	14	D	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
Mahon, George H.	19	D	—	—	—	+	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Mansfield, Joseph J.	9	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	O	O	O	O
Patman, Wright	1	D	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	O	+	+	+	+
Pickett, Tom	7	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Poage, W. R.	11	D	—	—	—	O	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Rayburn, Sam	4	D	Speaker of the House											
Russell, Sam M.	17	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	—	—
Sumners, Hatton W.	5	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Thomas, Albert	8	D	—	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
Thomason, R. Ewing	16	D	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
West, Milton H.	15	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	—
Worley, Eugene	18	D	—	—	—	+	—	O	+	—	—	—	—	—
UTAH														
Granger, Walter K.	1	D	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	—	+	+
Robinson, J. W.	2	D	O	+	O	O	O	O	O	+	+	+	+	+
VERMONT														
Plumley, Charles A.	AL	R	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
VIRGINIA														
Almond, J. Lindsay	6	D	A	—	—	A	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Bland, Schuyler Otis	1	D	—	—	—	—	O	O	+	O	+	+	—	O
Burch, Thomas G.	5	D	—	—	A	—	—	Resigned		—	—	—	—	—
~~Daughton, Ralph H.~~	2	D	—	—	—	—	—	O	O	—	—	—	—	O
Drewry, Patrick H.	4	D	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	+
Flannagan, John W., Jr.	9	D	—	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Gary, J. Vaughan	3	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	+
Robertson, A. Willis	7	D	—	—	—	O	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	+
Smith, Howard W.	8	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Woodrum, Clifton A.	6	D	O	Resigned		O								
WASHINGTON														
Coffee, John M.	6	D	O	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+
DeLacy, Hugh	1	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
Holmes, Hal	4	R	—	—	—	—	+	O	O	O	—	—	+	+
Horan, Walt	5	R	O	—	O	—	—	—	—	O	—	—	—	—
Jackson, Henry M.	2	D	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Savage, Charles	3	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA														
Bailey, Cleveland M.	3	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Ellis, Hubert S.	4	R	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hedrick, E. H.	6	D	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
Kee, John	5	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Neely, Matthew M.	1	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Randolph, Jennings	2	D	O	+	+	+	O	O	+	—	—	+	—	—
WISCONSIN														
Biemiller, Andrew J.	5	D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Byrnes, John W.	8	R	—	—	—	—	—	+	O	—	—	—	—	—
Henry, Robert K.	2	R	—	—	—	—	O	—	+	—	O	O	O	O
Hull, Merlin	9	R	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Keefe, Frank B.	6	R	O	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
Murray, Reid F.	7	R	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
O'Konski, Alvin E.	10	R	+	+	O	—	+	—	O	—	—	—	—	—
Smith, Lawrence H.	1	R	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
Stevenson, William H.	3	R	O	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
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UNFINISHED BUSINESS

THE LAST CONGRESS didn't do much for the people. There's a big pile of unfinished business awaiting the representatives you elect in November.

It's your job, as a citizen and voter, to know exactly what the issues are. It's your job, to elect Congressmen who will fight and vote for you. You've got to keep your eye on Congress 365 days of the year, or you'll wind.. up ..in.. trouble.

A majority of the 79th Congress was elected to office on the basis of supporting the progressive people's program of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. You know how many of your Congressmen and Senators forgot their pledges during the past two years.

In 1944, under the leadership of a great American, our nation was forging ahead in the world-wide battle against fascism. We looked forward to great social advances at home when our war was won. The 79th Congress failed to live up to that program.

America, in these fluid postwar years, has a golden opportunity to prove to itself and to the world that we can match our great industrial techniques with imaginative programs to help the people.

When the 80th Congress convenes in January, its agenda will be heavy with unfinished business. This is the time to learn the issues— and even more important, to get your future Congressman firmly committed to supporting labor's demands.

"So this bird says, 'Well, what about free enterprise, huh?' That burns me up. Here's Congress giving big business everything but the kitchen sink; but when I want some public health insurance or better social security, they say that's socialism. I say it's baloney.

"I'm for enterprise—but I want protection for my family, too. That next Congress needs to be told to get on the ball and do something for me once in a while."

WHAT ARE those issues?

1. **THE STANDARD OF LIVING** of the American people. The 79th Congress wrecked the possibility of effective price control. The cost of living is up; up at least 5.5% on a national average since mid-June, up considerably more in many industrial centers. Conservative economists estimate it may be up 20% or 25% by the middle of 1947; OPA spokesmen have said it may jump 35% or 40%.

Obviously the cost of living is problem number one for the next session of Congress. Get your Representatives pledged now to fight for more effective price control, to reinstitute subsidies on foods.

Full employment, at decent wages, under conditions where prices are not excessive, is a "must". The 80th Congress must act for the people, as the 79th Congress acted for the big corporations.

2. **HOUSING.** ..America needs millions of homes. The Wagner-Ellenden-Taft housing bill died in committee during the 79th Congress. It was the one measure that would have cleared the way for big-scale building of homes at prices that workers and vets can afford. The W-E-T bill was passed by the Senate; but it was stalled in the House Banking & Currency Committee.

Such inaction at a time of crisis is inexcusable—it can't be allowed to happen again.

3. **65c Minimum Wage.** Millions of Americans are living on close- to-starvation wages. The present minimum pay set by the Wage-Hour Act is only 40c an hour—$16 a week for 40 hours. No family can live on that sum. But a combination of northern Republicans and southern Democrats fought like caged tigers to prevent passage of the 65c Bill.

They succeeded—through the device of the Pace-Russell amendments. These provided for huge government payments to farm commodity speculators, which would only have helped intensify the inflation. Because of the amendments, the bill was not passed.

Get your Congressman committed to a 65c Minimum Wage Bill and to resisting every effort to load it down with defeatist amendments.

4. **THE PEOPLE'S WELFARE.** The country's social security system is beginning to look as old-fashioned as an old Model T. Congress had spent $50,000 to study the situation, and had a report recommending improvements and streamlining. But the advice of the people and of the experts went unheeded—with the result that changes, although good in themselves, were just a drop in the bucket.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill lumps all the needed improvements under one title. CIO and progressive organizations have supported it, and they're going to demand its passage at the next session.

The same thing goes for the Wagner-Murray-Dingell health insurance bill. It would set up a nationwide system of payments to finance a real program for the sick and ailing. It doesn't call for charity—each employee would pay for it, just as he does for social security. It wouldn't be "socialized medicine" either.

But it would make possible real medical attention for the millions who need it and can't afford to pay big doctor's bills.

5. **ANTI-POLLTAX BILL.** If you live in seven southern states, you've got to pay for the right to vote. HR 7, which would have ended that tax on the right to choose your representatives, was stalled in the Senate during the final days of the session.

The fight is going on—and you'd better get your Congressman signed on the dotted line to support the anti-polltax bill and to fight the filibuster bloc from the solid south.

6. **LABOR EDUCATION BILL.** This bill was introduced late in the session, too late for action. It calls for the establishment of an education service in the Dept. of Labor to promote classes for workers, to finance workers' schools and university extension courses. It's long overdue, and badly needed.

THERE ARE LOTS of other good bills that need to pass. And there are lots of bills to rob the people of their progressive gains and civil rights which Congressional reactionaries are sure to push.

The Case bill and other anti-union measures will be in the hopper as soon as Congress reconvenes. There'll be new efforts to cut down the Wagner Act and the Wage-Hour Act. A lot of reactionaries are playing around with schemes to get out from under the tax burden and soak the poor instead. And in the background will be powerful forces trying to move this country into another deadly war.

You've got to be on the alert against them. And you've got to be sure that the Congressmen you elect will be on guard, too.

You can help protect your rights by political action.

Contribute your dollars today. Study the voting record. Get together with your union and help its political action campaign to influence all the voters in your community.

And be sure to register and vote in November for a progressive Congress committed to cleaning up all the unfinished business.

The future is in your hands on election day.

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- To Help Elect a Better Congress
- To See That Your Friends and Union Brothers Know the Score

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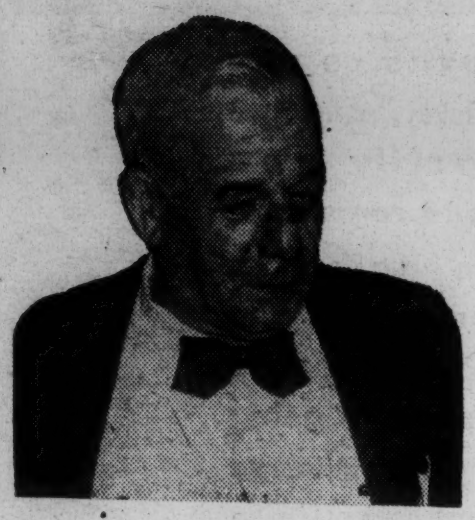


JACK KROLL

Director, CIO Political Action Committee

"Whether or not labor and the people will meet the challenge and realize the opportunity that this Labor Day holds out depends in large measure upon what they do in the short two months remaining before the national elections on November 5, 1946.

"Labor and the common people have the power to reverse the course chartered by the unlamented 79th Congress. They demonstrated that power in 1944 when they showed that, firmly organized and solidly united, they represent the decisive political force in our nation. The success already achieved in the 1946 primary campaigns re-affirms this basic political truth.

"Labor's 1946 political tasks are clear.

"A militant group of fighting progressives in the House and Senate carried on a consistent and courageous fight for the people's program. America needs them in Washington, and we must spare no effort to assure their re-election.

"Other Congressmen and Senators have spearheaded the reactionary onslaught in brazen violation of the mandate which the people gave them in 1944. They must be repudiated by their electorate and retired to private life.

"The CIO Political Action Committee, its national office, its state and local organizations, and the whole membership of CIO in every shop, mine, mill and factory, must dedicate themselves to these key tasks during the coming two months."

DAVID J. McDONALD

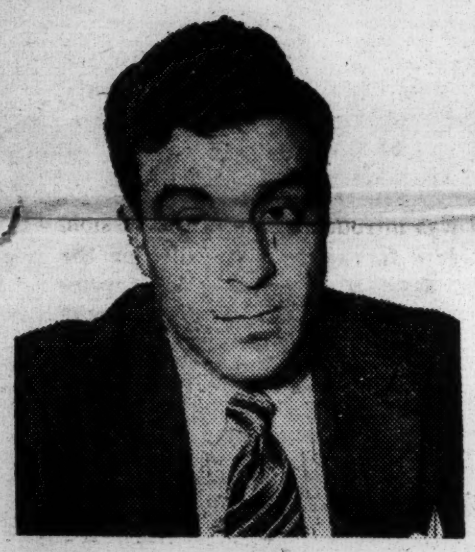
Sec.-Treas., CIO Steelworkers

"After winning a conclusive victory in a long war, America today is facing the problems of peace. They are no less difficult than those of war.

"The United Steelworkers of America are concious of their responsibility to lead in the campaign for effective political action in steel centers throughout the nation. We realize it will be the active participation of every member of our union in cooperation with other CIO groups, in the effort to elect men and women truly representative of the people, which will elect a Congress this year committed to a program of peace, prosperity and progress.

"At our recent international convention, political action was one of the vital subjects to come before the delegates. At that time we resolved to give all-out support to the CIO Political Action Comittee and to carry out our solemn duty and obligation—for the protection of our nation to strive for the complete political unity of all labor and progressive forces to the end that the common people throughout America can attain and enjoy the heritage which is rightfully theirs.

"On this Labor Day, our political action program is clear. To achieve our ends, we are continually striving to strengthen our political action set-up on a local, district and national scale."



GEORGE ADDES

Sec.-Treas., CIO Auto Workers

"The events of the 12 months from Labor Day 1945, to Labor Day 1946, have forced the workers of the U. S. to the conclusion that the brave new world of peace, prosperity, and equality—which had been promised by the war leaders of our nation and others—is in grave jeopardy.

"The reactionary monopolists of Wall Street married the reactionary politicians of Capitol Hill during the past year, and already that marriage has produced such misbegotten offspring as the Case Bill, the monstrous Price Control Act, the Lea Act, and the Hobbs Act. Reaction is on the rampage. FEPC is scuttled; the Full Employment Bill is emasculated; social security legislation is blocked; housing legislation is stymied; anti-polltax legislation is shelved 'by an agreement among gentlemen'; talk of new wars fills the air.

Why? Because an unholy axis of reactionary Republicans and polltax Democrats has succeeded in taking control over Congress.

"This reactionary attack against the welfare of the people must be broken, it can be broken, but only if American labor takes the lead in mobilizing the American people for effective political action during the elections of 1946.

"The job will be tough; it will be long. But it will be done, because the peace and security of the people depend upon it."

JULIUS EMSPAK

Sec.-Treas., CIO Electrical Workers

"During the past few months our membership has seen how an anti-labor Congress acted as the accomplice of the corporations in stealing from the people the benefits of wage increases won through the determined fight of the unions of the CIO.

"We have found that it is necessary for labor to organize its struggle for a better standard of living against the political accomplices of big business, as well as against the corporations themselves.

"The 1946 congressional elections, which will have an important bearing upon the outcome of the 1948 national elections, offer to the ordinary people of America an opportunity to loosen the grip of the corporations upon Congress and to check the drive of American big business against the living standards and liberties of the American people as a preliminary to a new war for domination of world markets.

"The Political Action Committee of the CIO is the instrument through which the working people can most effectively carry forward the political side of their fight for a decent living in a peaceful world.

"Our future standards of living, our security and the peace of our country and the rest of the world will be greatly influenced for better or worse by the amount of effort and support that we throw into the PAC campaign.

"We must register, canvass, vote and contribute financially to the workers' political battle against the corporations with the same energy, determination and unity that we showed on our picket lines."

WILLIAM POLLOCK

Sec.-Treas., CIO Textile Workers

"Our Labor Day celebration comes at a most opportune moment, at a time when out of the chaos of a world struggling for full permanent peace and security there rises as never before the unified spirit of working people throughout America, dedicated unswervingly to the basic rights of man.

"We are the people who have not forgotten these rights and on this 64th observance of Labor Day we take time out to review the progress labor has made during the past generation, to mirror our achievements against the job that is yet to be done, and to renew our determination to achieve our ends.

"We know now that economic and political action are indivisible. We know today that we cannot sit idly by while uncontrolled prices, prices legislated by Congress, devour the wage gains won on the picket line.

"Textile workers, who have just won the largest wage increases in their history, are as determined in their new and enthusiastic flowering of political activity as are all workers of CIO to correct this situation.

"American labor speaks out today with one voice for peace, equality and security by bringing to the American people the vital isues of the 1946 elections, by accelerating its drive to register every eligible voter and get them to the polls on Election Day, November 5 in support of progressive candidates.

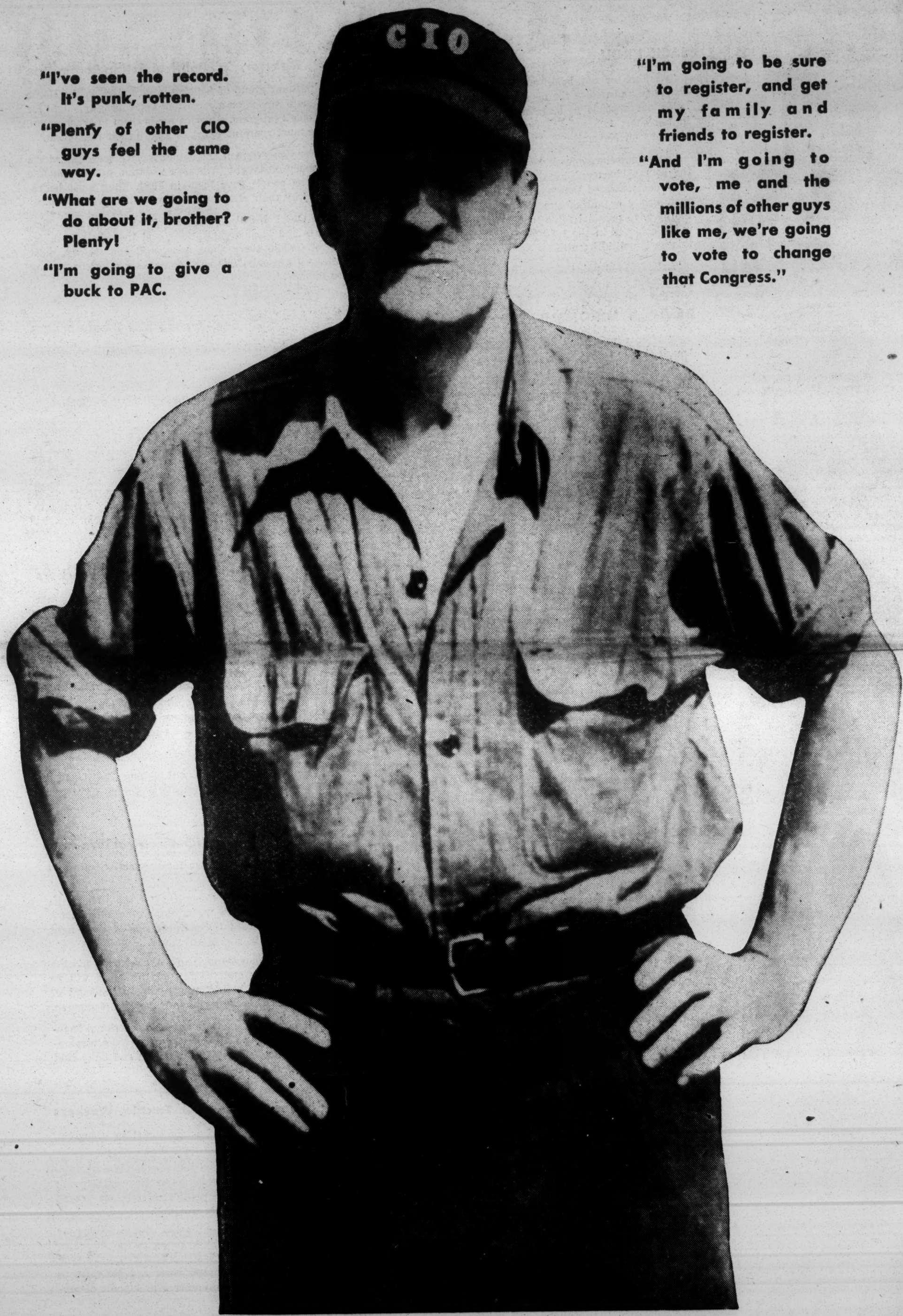
"This is American labor's answer to enemies in the Congress who seek to destroy it."

"I've seen the record. It's punk, rotten.

"Plenty of other CIO guys feel the same way.

"What are we going to do about it, brother? Plenty!

"I'm going to give a buck to PAC.



"I'm going to be sure to register, and get my family and friends to register.

"And I'm going to vote, me and the millions of other guys like me, we're going to vote to change that Congress."

The Presbyterian Outlook

Established 1819

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Printed by Richmond Press, Governor Street.
Served by (RNS) Religious News Service.
Subscription—$3.00 a year.
Editorial and Business Offices
Room 203, 13 North Fifth Street
Telephone 2-9492
Richmond 19, Virginia

EDITORIAL

A Church Must Grow—But How?

Last year, as the Assembly's moderator, Dr. Young, made his way across the church he never ceased to try to shake lethargic Presbyterians out of their complacency, to stir the fires of evangelism, to awaken some degree of pride in building up the church, in branching out, in extending the message and ministry of Christ. Here and there he used an illustration which should make many a church look at itself to discover its right to add numbers to an already unwieldy membership; to consider frankly and honestly the fundamental principle of growth.

Looking back at his biology, he said a growing thing will do anything to preserve itself. Pointing to the activity of the unicellular organism, he underscored its expansion from nucleus to circumference until it breaks in two and forms others. Hear him:

"Being alive, it is natural to want to grow. Throughout the full reach and variety of living things the most persistent characteristic of healthful life is the principle of growth. . . . So strong is that tendency that when by its nutrition it expands so as to imperil its existence, it divides itself into portions by some strange venturing impulse, and then each part assumes responsibility for living so as to fortify and fulfil its ever-complicating destiny. As the scale ascends, the organism becomes increasingly complex . . . but with the same urge. . . ."

This deeply rooted law of the universe has something to say to us if we have ears to hear; and there are other laws of the gospel which have more to say toward the same end. Let us see, in the paragraphs which follow, how it worked out in one situation.

One Became Two

When the new White Memorial Presbyterian Church was organized in Raleigh, N. C., last May, it could have been, to the superficial observer, just another church being started. It was far more than that. It was a pattern of heroic and adventurous faith on the part of minister and people which needs to be told and re-told—and then emulated—throughout the church.

The White Memorial church is not an outpost organization, looking simply for detached or unenlisted prospects for church membership. It is a colony of the well-established First church of Raleigh, inspired by the minister and leaders of the mother church. That colony is made up of 250 of the finest members of the First church, including five of its elders and nine of its deacons. It will have its own plant as soon as building conditions permit. Meanwhile, after organization in the building of the First church, it is using a convenient school building.

The pastor did so good a job of selling his idea of decentralization to his people that his own son, along with many other young people of his own age, decided to become a charter member of the new church and to give it his full support. Like a good many other people, this pastor (M. O. Sommers) has become convinced that a church begins to lose in efficiency when it passes the 1,000-mark and that the only way to keep people active and interested, considering themselves as much more than cold statistics, is to organize smaller churches where they may know each other and be known. (At least one student of the subject maintains that the church of 300-500 is the most efficient size.)

Demands which are made upon the parent organization test its real Christianity. In such times will it develop its latent leadership? Will it put its nominal members to work? Will it dig deeper to provide the essential finances for its tasks? Will it advance or retrench? Will it continue to grow or will it die? This, of course, is the crucial test; it is the test of any living organism.

Is there any record of a church killing itself by colonizing? There are abundant illustrations of spiritual death by failing to obey this demanding law. As for Raleigh's First Church, there are evidences of awakening interest and a greater life even than before—while the White Memorial Church, named for the late great colonizer, Dr. W. McC. White —goes on to bring merited pride to a worthy parent.

"And My People Love To Have It So"

On the South's Political Leaders

"A wonderful and a horrible thing is committed in the land: The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and **my people love to have it so**" (Jeremiah 5:30, 31). The words which we have quoted are the words of Jehovah to Jeremiah. The prophets of the time were prophesying falsely. They were obscuring the real gravity of the situation which Judah faced and lulling the people into a false sense of security which made impossible the genuine repentance which might have saved the nation. A corrupt priesthood was using the voice of the prophets as a means of staying in power. But this was not the wonderful and the horrible thing that was being committed in the land. The horrible thing was that the people of Judah knew in their hearts that the prophets were prophesying falsely and that priests and prophets were feeding them with lies as a means of power. The people knew this and loved to have it so. What could Jehovah do with a nation in which the people themselves were in favor of lying prophets and corrupt priests?

It would be proper to draw a parallel between the situation in Judah and religious situations which often appear. Even in their religious life the people demand at times that they be comforted with illusions. But an equally valid application of it can be made to that which is happening in the political scene in the South today. Progressive leaders of the South are becoming increasingly concerned at the character some of the political leaders who have been elected or re-elected to high office in the South. They are concerned about the character of the political machines which dominate cities and in some cases states. The individual reader of this editorial can fill in the details out of his own knowledge but the general character of the thing that is happening must be obvious to all.

The really alarming thing, however, is not that we have demagogues, and bigoted and ignorant politicians, corrupt political machines, and groups dominated by race prejudice and hatred. There always have been men and groups of this kind. The horrible thing is that **the people love to have it so.**

Of course, all the people do not love to have it so. In many elections, probably in the great majority of them, the people have chosen men of character and ability. And where men of a different type have been elected they have never had the unanimous support of the voters. In many cases they have received a bare majority.

But the fact remains that in a democracy the people are responsible for the character of the men they elect. A wonderful and a horrible thing is committed in the land when the people elect to high office men whom they know are not fitted, either in terms of character or ability, for the responsibilities of the office. The Germans were not responsible for all that Hitler did but those who voted for him were responsible in that they knew his character before they placed him in power. (Cf. Sunday School lesson, page 14.) In the end it is usually true that a people get just about the kind of government they deserve. What kind of government do a people deserve when they persist in reelecting to important positions in state and national life men of obvious incompetence and proven dishonesty? What kind of government will they get?

HOLMES ROLSTON.

MAN IN A JALLOPY

By KENNETH J. FOREMAN

"There shall in no wise enter into the city anything unclean."—Rev. 21:27.

ONCE THERE WAS A MAN riding in what was in former times an Automobile; but it was old and not all of it was there, and it was called no longer a Car but a Jallopy. The seat covers were torn and insects made their home within, and the windshield suffered from cracks and a permanent fog, and the brakes were not to be trusted and the bumpers had bumped once too often, the dashboard dials gave out no information and nothing about the engine was as it should be with proper engines. The man who drove it did the best he could, but he was a menace to traffic and to himself, for it was evident that the end of that jallopy was near at hand.

Now, there were certain philosophers sitting by the roadside, and they observed the jallopy how it drove, and they perceived that it was insanitary and uncertain and full of dangers within and without. And they said one to another, What shall now be done about yonder jallopy?

One of them said to his companions: The end of all jallopies is at hand. No jallopy deserves to survive; its doom and judgment are sure. Let us rejoice that it falls to pieces, for all attempts to mend it are but putting off the judgment and flying in the face of destiny.

And another spake and said: A jallopy is nothing, but man is everything. If the driver's heart be right, and he be a man of prayer and integrity of soul, the sort of thing he drives makes no difference. Let the guardians of public safety improve the man and let the jallopy go.

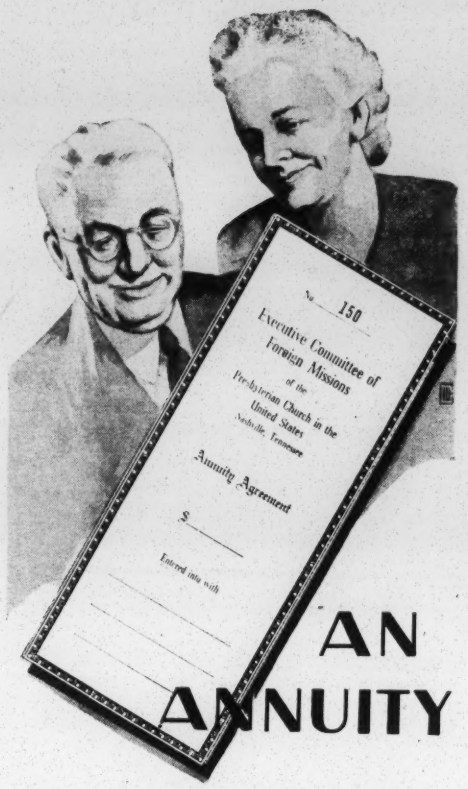
Nay, said another, but the jallopy makes the man. The driver is a menace only because of that which he drives. Give him a real car, perfect in all its parts and pistons, and he will turn into a perfect driver.

Then spake another roadside philosopher, and he said, There is no getting a new car, the man will have to make his jallopy do. We cannot get a new man over the week-end, but the jallopy can be made roadworthy by a good mechanic. Let us hail our friend and help him, and that right speedily, and aid him to become a better member of society by driving in a safer car.

Which of these philosophers gave the best counsel?

THE driver of the jallopy is Man and the vehicle is his Environment; the institutions in and by which he lives—home and school and society—all that touches his life and affects him, all that he touches and affects. The first philosopher is the religionist who sees nothing ahead but the Great Bonfire, who holds back from every effort to make the world better, who sits like Jonah waiting for fire to consume the city which he has condemned but which he will not help. The second is the thinker who sees so clearly that the key to man's problems is man himself that he forgets how much man is made by his very environment, that he is a child of his time and circumstances as truly as ever he was a child of his father and mother. The third is the type of person who sees so clearly that man is a product of his environment that he overlooks man's actual freedom and power of will, and fails to see that a bad man may misuse a better environment to his own destruction.

The last is the practical Christian who agrees that a wreck is predictable, but not that it is inevitable; recognizes that man is more important than his institutions yet sees that institutions help to make the man; realizes that something new is needed, yet learns from history that new worlds do not come overnight, that we always have to begin with what we have. Aware that the best he can do is never enough, he nevertheless does what he can. He does not suppose that good laws are a substitute for goodwill, but he works for better laws, for the sake of better men. He does not think that bathtubs cleanse the soul, but he will vote for waterworks. He does not look on education as a patent medicine, but he pays his school tax gladly. He does not expect the United Nations to inaugurate the Millennium, but he thinks this better than Disunited Nations. If environment actually makes no difference, if the soul can live in one as well as in another, then why should God go to the trouble of shutting out of the New Jerusalem any evil at all?



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THE REAL SOUTHERN SPIRIT

Back in the old days, colored people called white folks who were good to colored people "Shunuff white-folks."

This was the result of good-will and cooperation.

Modern times have caused us to drift apart. We need a revival of good-will and cooperation.

The above thoughts always come when I experience or read of a manifestation of the spirit of good-will between white and colored people.

A few days ago brought it forcibly to mind when the telephone rang and a friendly voice said "Professor Jones, because of the good work you are doing in our state and your standing among our white folks, Mrs. Williams and I have decided to quit the dairy business and donate my herd of seventy-five registered milk goats to your school. I value the herd very highly, some of the individuals cost as much as $150.00 each. We get fifty cents a quart for their milk. You may come for them anytime."

The voice was that of Mr. Otto Williams of the widely-known "Tourist Goat Milk Dairy," the voice of a present day Southern white man with the spirit of the "old school of Southern Aristocracy."

This gift near the time of my sixty second birthday makes him Colonel Otto Williams - how come?

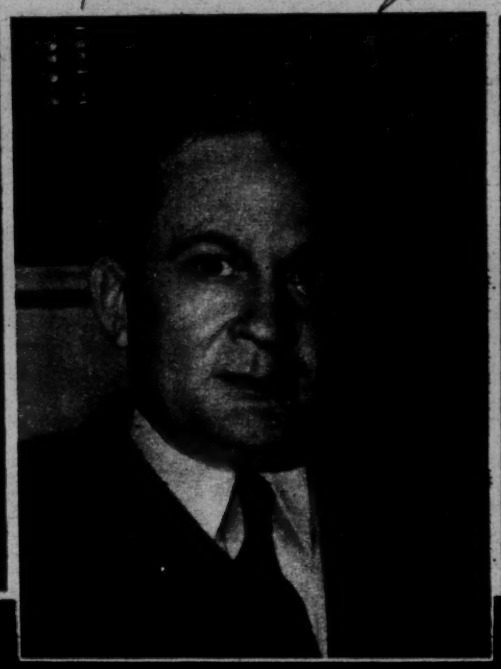
> Well once upon a time some Yankees asked their colored waiter in the hotel how there happened to be so many men in the south with titles - the waiter answered--
>
> "Well sah - dey gits dat way like dis - deminute you looks at some mens down yhear you knows deys a Kunel or Major or Jedge - dey just looks like it and sides dat its in de blood.
>
> Den anoder class a white mens gits pinted to be Kunels and Majors by de Guvernor but most white folks gits de title by <u>being kind to colored folks,</u> now when I waits on a party of white folks when dey gits up, if I find a great big round silver dollar under dey plate, dat man is a Kunel to me hencefoth and foebber."

Please rejoice with us for this "goat diary" means we have another means of teaching colored boys and girls to be useful citizens.

Laurence C. Jones
Founder and Principal
Piney Woods School
Piney Woods, Miss.

file: Raymond Paty

MEET GEORGIA'S NEW CHANCELLOR



THE PANTS worn by the fellow who's about to become the chancellor of the University System of Georgia cover a man, not straw. Close friends say that about him, and he even got around to saying it once himself.

Those friends—of whom he has stacks, especially in the Atlanta area—say that the least-generally-known fact about Dr. Raymond Ross Paty, chancellor-elect of the University System, is that "he's got plenty of 'Irish.'"

More specifically, that he's a scrapper and loves a good fight, and that anyone who thinks the new chief of colleges will be a smiling, acquiescent opponent in the battles that come along had better think some more . . . and then look out!

"Bill" Paty—and it always has to be added at this point that how "Bill" derived from "Raymond Ross" remains a mystery—has received little public notice for his scrapping. The man in the street, if he's thought about it at all, probably has concluded that the Tennessean simply soared to his present position in education by virtue of notable ability and charm.

But there was that case early in his career, when he was principal of the Cumberland Mountain School in Crossville, Tenn., which offers other evidence.

SHORTLY after his graduation from Emory University in 1921, Bill Paty was married to Miss Adelaide Pund, of Augusta. After a honeymoon in a little Tennessee coal-mining town they went to Crossville, where the Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Church had just established the school, three miles from town. Paty had been chosen its first principal.

Crossville was rather set in its ways and looked with no great favor on a schoolmaster who thought he should take a part in its governmental and political affairs. When a bond issue was to be voted on, then, one of the political leaders of the community undertook to wait upon the young principal and instruct him how to act.

Bill Paty's face glowed red and his voice went high with indignation as he fingered his trousers and said to the politico:

"You see these pants? There's a man in them. They're not stuffed with straw."

As an intimate friend explains it, "Bill's first interest is his love of people, all people. He makes the roughest, most ignorant man feel at ease, and he's not just playing up to him or to anybody. It's hard to put it into words that mean anything, but first of all he's an exponent of real, fundamental democracy.

"On the other hand, his love of people isn't a weakness. Where principles are involved he can be ruthless with people who haven't stood the test. He's not gullible."

CHANCELLOR Paty regards with favor those pastimes which bring him into contact with people. He likes fishing, but not for the sake of catching fish, and hunting, but not for what he can shoot. He likes to do both with friends.

He plays bridge for the same reason, but "he's not made for bridge; it doesn't fit his taste and habits." The same is true of athletics. He plays golf with friends, but badly. At the Cumberland school and at Birmingham-Southern College, where he was president before going to his present post at Alabama, he engaged in team sports with members of the faculty.

The chancellor's love of people dates back to his childhood in Bell Buckle, Tenn. There his father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Paty, reared a family of five boys and three girls. Their home was further crowded by the presence of several students from Bell Buckle's famed Webb School who boarded there. Contributing to the stock of human beings who lived in the house were those many friends and relatives from near and not so near who made "Ma" and "Pa" Paty's their gathering place.

The Paty family. Left to right, Jane, Mrs. John A. Reynolds (Martha Anne Paty), Dr. Paty, Mrs. Paty and Mary. Dr. Paty has served as president of Birmingham-Southern College and the University of Alabama.

Bill Paty's own early training at Webb, with its strict but kindly discipline, had its part in his making. He later returned there to teach.

For many years his chief interest was in religious education. In fact, at one point he and Mrs. Paty planned to go abroad as missionaries but that ambition was sidetracked in favor of working in and with schools at home. One summer he was enrolled in the Emory School of Theology, but withdrew because of illness.

All eight of the Paty brothers and sisters at Bell Buckle went through college, the older ones helping out the younger ones as they moved along.

Georgia can look for things to happen, once Bill Paty gets back to the state. He's never content unless he's building something—exploring new ideas and possibilities. He despises deadly routine, and is not content simply to get up an efficient organization which can then run itself.

There are many examples of this, an outstanding one being his work in pushing through to establishment in the middle of the war years the long-discussed four-year Medical College of Alabama, situated in Birmingham.

He loves, too, to build with his own hands and is described as a jack of many trades. He is "a pretty fair rough carpenter," can do electrical wiring, repair a pump, and mix and lay concrete. All these and numerous other odd jobs he has done, especially at Crossville, where the head of the school also was building and maintenance man, and at his 40-acre farm near Panthersville, in DeKalb.

FOR some five years this farm has been one of the chief delights of Bill Paty's life. He likes to go there with members of the family, when he can find time, don old clothes, dig in the ground, and get away briefly from the hurly-burly that has been his life.

Picturesquely, the place is known as Cocklebur Patch and is located on Cocklebur Road. It has an old-fashioned, rambling farmhouse which is not occupied when the Patys are not there. The building, which has no phone, is set in a big oak grove. In the early spring thousands of jonquils make the little farm vivid.

When he moves to Atlanta to take over his new job on January 1, Dr. Paty probably will find—or try to find—a house in Atlanta. But it's safe to say he will spend many a week-end at Cocklebur Patch.

For the first time in many years, as they have moved on and up to new positions, Dr. and Mrs. Paty will not be accompanied by the three lovely daughters who have made their home about the brightest place in the community to which they happened to go.

Their oldest daughter, Martha Anne, is married to John Reynolds, of Birmingham, a former Marine who is now president of the Student Government Association at Alabama. She is managing a women's shop in Tuscaloosa, seat of the University, while her husband completes his studies.

Mary, a freshman at Alabama, and Jane, a senior at Tuscaloosa High School, will finish out the school year at their respective schools.

Finally, all Georgians who don't know might be forenotified that it's pronounced "Pay-ty," not "Pat-ty."

FIRST NATION-WIDE PLANNED PARENTHOOD CAMPAIGN

NEWS BULLETIN

FEBRUARY $2,000,000 MARCH

Issued from — NATIONAL CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS, 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

FEBRUARY 1, 1947 303

NETWORK SPOT FOR N. Y. OPENING DINNER

A Columbia network broadcast of the campaign dinner talk of Mrs. William E. Stevenson on Feb. 10 will find a wide listening audience among friends of Planned Parenthood everywhere.

Mrs. Stevenson's broadcast will precede the dinner, going out from the CBS studio at 5:45 P.M. (Eastern time), while she will later repeat the address for the 600 present at the dinner.

PPFA committees in Columbia network cities have been contacted to urge local Columbia station directors to carry the broadcast (a sustaining feature) and if possible to arrange for its rebroadcast later that evening to coincide with their own opening dinners.

Known as "Bumpy" Stevenson to a wide audience of Saturday Evening Post readers for her series of articles, "I Knew Your Soldier," based on ETO experiences with the American Red Cross, Mrs. Stevenson is the wife of the president of Oberlin College, who is a member of our national sponsoring committee.

Dr. Alan Guttmacher, of Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, is New York's other speaker at the opening dinner at the Hotel Plaza. He is associate professor of obstetrics at Hopkins and will be recipient of the annual Lasker Award on that occasion.

Charles E. Saltzman, chairman of the N. Y. City campaign, will preside.

A dramatic highlight of the opening dinner, in New York and in many other cities, will be presentation of the playlet, "A Sunday Afternoon," prepared for Planned Parenthood by the American Theatre Wing.

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, for two years president of the Federal Council of Churches and chairman of our national sponsoring committee, will address the opening dinner in Detroit on the same date.

Similar dinners or luncheons will be held by PPFA committees across the nation on Feb. 10 or during that week.

PPFA

500,000 Leaflets Can't Be Wrong

All but two pieces of campaign materials have been distributed to local committees to arm them for their campaign task ahead. Almost 500,000 pieces of these specially prepared materials have been shipped out to locals.

A national circular piece and a reprint of a forthcoming Look magazine story are still to be distributed.

The national circular is designed to show the geographical scope of the Planned Parenthood program and its support and will list more than 4,000 names from all across the country. Its campaign use is for follow-up mailings, but as it does not specifically mention campaign facts and figures it can be used all year-round.

The Look magazine layout is scheduled for the April 1 issue, which will be on the newsstands March 18. It is hoped the reprints will be ready at the same time. These reprint booklets can be used for late follow-up mailings and education pieces throughout the year.

IN THE CAMPAIGN FIELD

LOCAL COMMITTEES READY ALL ALONG THE LINE; PRESS, RADIO, SPEAKERS SELL PARENTHOOD PROGRAM

This last pre-campaign issue of the News Bulletin calls for a bit of stock-taking. And from this bird's-eye perch in national headquarters the picture is good . . . quite inspiring, in fact.

Our 75 participating committees are right in line, chests out, as we march to the Feb. 10th starting point. Most of the pre-campaign jobs have been well done and pretty close to schedule. Local committees are well organized and energetic. Many of National's suggestions not only have been followed but have been topped with good and original ideas worked out in the field.

But the main job is still ahead . . . something to do with pledges and dotted lines. The same energy will finish that job, too, and with flying colors.

PPFA

In Michigan the public attention has been caught at East Lansing, seat of Michigan State College, where emphasis has been placed on Planned Parenthood services for G. I. wives on the campus.

PPFA

A long editorial in the Youngstown (O.) Vindicator Telegram was worth a dozen news stories. It reflects a good job done by some persistent worker.

PPFA

Position is everything, especially in radio. . . . For instance, the radio listing secured by the Dutchess (N.Y.) County league in a Poughkeepsie newspaper — between "Lum and Abner" and "Town Meeting of the Air"! . . . Spotting a program between such widely tuned network features helps to insure a good listening audience.

PPFA

It's a Baby Contest in Baltimore (Northwest branch) as one of the special events for the opening of the campaign. This clinic is also planning a one-day institute on the theme, "What Makes Good Parents." . . . Two interesting ideas for other centers to consider.

PPFA

There's a busy Speakers' Bureau in Montclair, N. J. A recent report shows eleven campaign speaking engagements filled in recent weeks — before women's clubs, church guilds, nursing services, Junior Leagues, etc. . . . Congratulations to the speakers' bureau chairman, Mrs. John Little, for doing a big job!

PPFA

"A Sunday Afternoon," the playlet written and produced by the American Theatre Wing for the campaign, has met with an enthusiastic response at several previews in New York. The skit will be presented at the New York opening dinner on Feb. 10 and simultaneously by amateur casts at other opening events — more than a dozen

(Continued on page 2, column 3)

Men Roll Up Sleeves To Put Campaign Over

The interest and leadership of men in Planned Parenthood is a noteworthy feature of the 1947 Campaign.

Our national leadership — under Bishop Oxnam, Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd, and Prescott S. Bush — is matched in the communities by vigorous groups of leaders active in business and civic affairs who are comparative newcomers to the Planned Parenthood program.

In Kansas City, Mo., a men's committee of more than 50 includes Frank Theis, past president of the Chamber of Commerce; Milton McGreevy, of Harris Upham; Ralph Gray, president of Sheffield Steel; Louis Rothschild, department store head, and J. R. Battenfeld, industrialist.

A comparable group in Minneapolis was formed by Alfred Wilson, vice-president of Minneapolis-Honeywell, John S. Pillsbury and John Cowles, publisher.

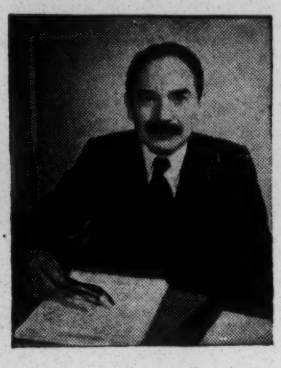
In Toledo, Frank Lenihan, former head of the Community Chest and head of Macy's, and Wm. E. Levis, president of Owen-Illinois Glass, are among the men's committee leaders.

Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Wilmington and other major cities are enlisting key men to work in the campaign. And in New York City the campaign, mustering 100 business men, is headed by Charles E. Saltzman, vice-president of the New York Stock Exchange, with Archibald S. Alexander, member of the firm of Carter, Ledyard & Milburn, as chairman of the men's committee, and Walter N. Rothschild, of Abraham & Strauss, as vice-chairman.

DR. STONE'S LASKER AWARD MONEY TO PLANNED PARENTHOOD CAMPAIGN

One of the campaign's most heart-warming gifts will have been made public by the time the Bulletin goes to press.

Dr. Abraham Stone, medical director of the Margaret Sanger Research Bureau, editor of the Journal of Human Fertility and recipient of the 1947 Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation Award, will turn his award over to the campaign fund in memory of his wife, Dr. Hannah Stone.



Dr. Stone

The $500 cash award is made every year in recognition of work in the field of planned parenthood. Dr. Stone's citation reads:

"To, Dr. Abraham Stone for distinguished leadership in marriage counseling in many roles, as author, editor, speaker and organizer, as well as personal advisor and clinic director."

Dr. Hannah Stone was one of the country's first doctors to become identified with the Birth Control movement under Margaret Sanger. She was medical director of the Sanger Bureau at the time of her death in 1941.

PPFA

Procedure Important In Handling Campaign Funds

The handling of contributions is one of the most important campaign jobs from now until the end of the campaign.

A memo from Prescott Bush, national treasurer, has been sent to all local treasurers outlining procedure and enclosing the official form on which local contributions are to be reported to national headquarters.

A pre-campaign report on funds raised has been requested of all locals so that a statement can be made at the opening of the campaign as to the advance gifts raised.

The importance of having these forms returned to national on a weekly basis after Feb. 21 was heavily stressed by Mr. Bush in the memo.

These local reports are the sole guage of progress for the national campaign. A full explanation of the procedure for locals is included in the memorandum.

PPFA

Committees Set to Roll

With only a fortnight to go before the official campaign opening, the campaign structure throughout the 75 participating locals is virtually complete.

In all but eight participating committees by mid-January a campaign chairman was in command. Publicity chairmen, radio subcommittees and speakers' bureaus have been on the job in most cases for a month or two.

Sleeves are rolled up — the campaign is set to roll — in high gear!

Gallup Conducting Poll On Planned Parenthood

Bulletin:

A Gallup Poll on Planned Parenthood!

We have just learned at campaign headquarters that the Institute of Public Opinion is preparing a national poll on two important phases of our program.

One of the questions to be asked will relate to the ideal sized family. The other question will test opinion on whether child-spacing services should be made available in public health clinics.

Results of the poll will be published about the middle of February.

If the results follow the trend of all previous polls, the timing could not be better to help the PPFA campaign.

RESEARCH PROGRAM BOOSTS CAMPAIGN

Research is proving a strong campaign selling point, reports from the field indicate.

The research program will have the twofold aim of investigation into causes and cure of infertility and the discovery of a simple, acceptable method of contraception.

Dr. Felix J. Underwood, executive officer of the Mississippi State Board of Health, which includes child-spacing information in its clinic services, defines the need for a simple, inexpensive contraceptive as "an urgent public health need — indeed, a life-saving measure."

While maternal death rates have been markedly reduced in this country in the last decade, there has been little reduction in the number of still-births and neo-natal deaths, which total around 150,000 annually. Dr. Leona Baumgartner, director of the Bureau of Child Hygiene of the N. Y. City Health Department, attributes this high rate in great part to lack of knowledge in the whole field of human physiology. The Federation's proposed research program in this field is expected to reduce these deaths substantially.

The program will be conducted under a permanent research director and through grants to established laboratories and universities.

How Mats Are Used

The illustration of the campaign symbol appearing below and at the left is from one of the half-column mats sent out to committees. It shows how your local newspaper can make use of these mats to embody the symbol in the campaign stories.

IN THE CAMPAIGN FIELD

(Continued from page 1, column 3)

communities have already ordered the script.

Groups that have thus far voiced unanimous approval of "Sunday Afternoon," after seeing it enacted, include members of the campaign men's and women's committees, both New York and National.

The playlet looks like a sure hit wherever it's produced.

PPFA

If you could glance through the nearly 1,000 cards returned to Bishop Oxnam, accepting his invitation to join the national sponsoring committee for the campaign, you'd find many heartening comments. . . . To cite just a few ——

"I was among the first three, if not the first, of American clergymen to champion Birth Control," wrote the Rev. Charles Francis Potter. "I was with Margaret Sanger when she was arrested in Town Hall. I fought with her through the early days. Of course, you can use my name!"

Said Dr. S. Ralph Harlow, of Smith College: "For the physical, moral and spiritual progress of America, this cause is important. . . . I use your fine material in a course of 100 juniors and seniors."

And Dr. Orland E. White, of the University of Virginia — "As a biologist and geneticist I am in entire sympathy with this movement and fully aware of the crimes involved in accidental births."

Writes Dr. Ada B. Carter, executive director of the Bureau for Colored Children, Philadelphia: "This program needs the support of all those in the children's field."

"It is a Christian cause," writes the Rev. Frank J. Frye, Baltimore, "and worthy of the support of the church."

George H. Robinson, executive secretary of the New Jersey Urban League, says: "I consider this one of the most essential programs of the present time."

"The Federation has a real mission among rural people in light of the high infant and maternal death rate," observed the Rev. Moses N. DeLaney, director of the Department of Rural Church, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

"One of the major ways of insuring a sturdy motherhood and building a healthy people," says the Rev. W. K. Fox, of Southern Christian Institute, Edwards, Miss.

And Mrs. Malcolm Keir, of Hanover, N. H., calls our program "a basic step in developing healthy and socially adjusted citizens."

To Anton J. Carlson, University of Chicago, "Planned Parenthood is a *must* for the human race."

"The Planned Parenthood program is vital in any consideration of our national welfare," says the Rev. Dr. James H. Woodruff, of San Francisco, in returning his acceptance.

And Mrs. Henry Ford, of Dearborn, Mich.: "I am heartily in favor of the work."

PPFA

Send Us Your News!

With this issue, the *News Bulletin* goes on a fortnightly schedule till the end of the campaign.

Send us news of *your* campaign progress . . . others want to know how you're doing . . . so do we!

Address material to the *News Bulletin* at national campaign headquarters.

FIRST NATION-WIDE PLANNED PARENTHOOD CAMPAIGN

NEWS BULLETIN

FEBRUARY $2,000,000 MARCH

Issued from—NATIONAL CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS, 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

FEBRUARY 15, 1947 303

CAMPAIGN OFF TO FLYING START

For Service in the Cause of Planned Parenthood

After the Award. Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher (left) and Dr. Abraham Stone (right) inspecting the model of the Albert and Mary Lasker Award of which they were recipients at the New York opening dinner on Feb. 10. Holding the plaque is its creator, Dr. Robert L. Dickinson, gynecologist and foremost medical artist and sculptor, while the Rev. Cornelius P. Trowbridge, PPFA chairman who made the presentation, looks on.

Networks Carry Story To Nation's Millions

Planned Parenthood's story really took to the air with the opening of the campaign.

The night before the official opening, listeners to Walter Winchell's Sunday evening, Feb. 9th broadcast — a potential audience according to the American Broadcasting Co. of 26,000,000 homes — heard the following just after the mid-program commercial:

"Tucson, Arizona — Thirty years ago tonight, Ladies and Gentlemen, Margaret Sanger was put in a prison cell in Queens County, Long Island, for starting America's first clinic for birth control. Tomorrow night in Tucson, where she lives, Mrs. Sanger, now a grandmother, will speak at an event for Planned Parenthood.

"Thirty years ago she went to jail for trying to protect mothers with advice. Today there are 584 such clinics in the United States. Thanks to the courage of Margaret Sanger, Birth Control is now legal in every state except Massachusetts and Connecticut."

Thus, Walter Winchell — speaking from WJZ, in New York, over a network of 208 radio stations — dramatically opened the campaign for Planned Parenthood. The nation's No. 1 radio reporter deserves the thanks of the friends of Planned Parenthood.

(Continued on page 2, column 1)

Corporate Gifts Urged As Bulwark of Local Quota

Between one-third and one-fourth of campaign goals should be sought from corporate gifts, according to Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd, National Men's Committee Chairman.

Solicitation in the field of corporate giving will be a pioneer and difficult effort this year, principally because it is an untouched field of giving for Planned Parenthood.

A good example of what can be done with business firms is found in Des Moines, Iowa, which has raised $3,000 in new money from nine business firms, against a total goal of $12,000. No corporate gift had ever been asked for or received prior to this campaign.

Similar results have been achieved in Toledo, Birmingham, Rochester, Chicago, Detroit and other cities where for the first time business concerns are being asked to support Planned Parenthood.

Several important points in soliciting corporate gifts were stressed by Mr. du Pont in a recent meeting of the national men's committee:

First, corporation gifts will be obtained largely on a friendship basis between the solicitor and the prospect, and, secondly, that effort should be made generally to obtain comparatively small corporate gifts ranging from $100 to $1,000. Finally, solicitation for larger gifts will be generally successful, the committee felt, only in cases where the solicitor is well known to the prospect or where a specific project or need exists in which the corporation may be particularly interested.

Members of women's committees were advised to review their prospect lists with corporate gifts in mind, bolstering visits to such men prospects by taking along a member of the men's committee.

"This year," du Pont said, "we are establishing the precedent of corporate giving. The groundwork laid in this campaign will pay off even more handsomely in our next campaign."

Advance Gifts Help Many Local Quotas

The First Nationwide Campaign is on its way!

At scores of dinners and opening events, in New York and cities across the country, Planned Parenthood's greatest fund appeal got off to a flying start on Feb. 10th.

Advance gifts, announced at the New York opening dinner by Mrs. Robert M. Ferguson, executive chairman, total $203,000 — more than 10 percent of the $2,000,000 goal.

Two cities — Houston, Tex. and Wilmington, Del. — reached 50 percent of their quotas with advance gifts. Several other cities are not far behind. New York's $67,000 in advance gifts, as announced by Charles E. Saltzman, city chairman, includes one contribution of $20,000.

The campaign dinners were well attended, well publicized. More than 600 men and women attended New York's opening at the Hotel Plaza. The address of Mrs. William E. Stevenson was broadcast over the CBS network. Dr. Alan Guttmacher's arresting report on the first countrywide poll of physicians on their attitudes toward contraception received solid treatment in the New York press and went out across the country via the wire services.

In Detroit the dynamic address of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, speaking in Central Methodist Church, received excellent coverage in Detroit newspapers.

Now the opening flurry is past. The campaign is rolling and it's for *you* to keep it rolling. Good luck — and good going!

NATIONAL CIRCULAR SHOWS PROGRAM SCOPE

The scope of the program — the scope of the need — and the scope of national support are shown in a national circular which is to be shipped to local committees and state leagues this week.

The circular does not specifically mention the campaign. To adapt it to follow-up mailing use in the campaign, a special subscription card form has been designed to enclose with it.

The circular lists the names of more than 5,000 business, civic, labor and professional leaders who are sponsoring the Planned Parenthood program and campaign.

Showing as it does the numerical as well as geographical support behind the Planned Parenthood program, the circular is a powerful ally to gain year-round and campaign support of local programs.

It should be included in all mailings to prospects not heard from in initial solicitation. It may also be used throughout the year as an educational piece to enlist interest and support in Planned Parenthood.

PPFA

Networks Carry Story

(Continued from page 1, column 1)

On Feb. 10th Mrs. William E. Stevenson broadcast for fifteen minutes over Station WCBS and affiliated stations of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Her discussion titled "The Soldier Takes a Wife," repeated later at the New York campaign dinner, was a cogent appeal for support of the Planned Parenthood campaign.

Among the CBS stations, four that we have already heard from were persuaded by local PPFA committees to rebroadcast the Stevenson feature at another hour. In Kansas City a rebroadcast over KMBC was arranged for 9:45 P.M. that same evening, through the efforts of Mrs. J. R. Battenfeld, association president. In Buffalo, Mrs. C. W. Pooley, executive secretary, arranged for the broadcast at 4:45 o'clock on the following day. The program was aired that Monday night at 10:30 in Cincinatti (WKRC) and in Boston (WEEI) it was scheduled for Feb. 12.

Citing but four radio stations is an inadequate way of describing the coverage on the Stevenson talk. Many CBS stations carried the program at the regularly scheduled hour — others at deferred times as yet unreported.

The return of postcards indicates fine cooperation by local workers in getting audience mail to the radio stations.

After these network programs the local committees may be expected to place renewed emphasis on local broadcasts, especially the use of spot announcements. Don't neglect the "spots" — they are an excellent way of keeping your local appeal before the public!

PPFA

Attention, Please!

The next issue of the *News Bulletin* will be what *you* make it. Between now and March 1st, every committee will have had a chance to pull up in sight of the campaign goal. Make *your* report the best of all!

MEMORANDUM

February 15, 1947

To: All Workers

From: Frances H. Ferguson, Executive Chairman

Let's finish the job as soon as possible!

Get your assignments — see your prospects — make your report.

The dates of the intensive campaign period, February 10-March 8, were chosen after careful deliberation so as to give us the maximum opportunity for success.

In another two weeks the Red Cross campaign will open and while it is true there is no conflict in the objective of either organization the average giver is limited in the causes he can afford to support. So . . . let's get there first.

February 21st is the first report date. Make yours a good one.

"MEN AT WORK" SPELLS GAIN FOR PPFA PROGRAM, SAYS POOL

Just returned from a four-week midwestern field trip that touched ten principal campaign cities, Beekman Pool, associate director, reports an upswing of confidence and determination to meet campaign goals.

PLANNED PARENTHOOD

SAVES LIVES – SAVES HOMES

Pool's trip took him to Chicago, Des Moines, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, Dallas, San Antonio, Houston, Denver and Colorado Springs.

One of the most encouraging campaign signs, according to Mr. Pool, was the widening interest of men in the Planned Parenthood program and campaign. However, he added, in many communities this has not yet been translated into work. According to Pool, hard work by men is one of the most urgent campaign needs in most local committees.

Coupled with a growing awareness of the scope and importance of the national program is the realization on the part of most local committees that as they enter the fight for the philanthropic dollar in their community they must strengthen their own organizations, according to Pool.

The result in many communities is that boards are being expanded and new blood is being brought into the organization.

According to Mr. Pool, doors are being opened to Planned Parenthood that have never been opened before. He cited increased newspaper and radio publicity as one evidence of this, and the successful solicitation of corporate and business gifts.

The force of a national program, a large enough goal to command attention of big givers, and the widening circle of informed interest through use of campaign and educational literature were cited by Pool as reasons for the increasing acceptance of Planned Parenthood.

According to Pool, the strongest selling point in the Planned Parenthood case is that it is "the program that anticipates the disaster." The emphasis on prevention is the factor that has rung the bell.

Du Pont Answers Clerical Attack; Urges "Fairness. . . . Good Taste"

Branding an opposition attack as "poor taste to say the least," Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd issued a statement which was published in the Wilmington Morning News, Wilmington, Del., Feb. 11th. The du Pont statement was issued in answer to an attack on the Planned Parenthood group made by a priest before a meeting of the Holy Name Society in Wilmington.

The statement of Mr. du Pont, member of the executive board of the Delaware League for Planned Parenthood, Inc. as well as chairman of the national men's committee, said in part:

"Planned Parenthood holds the health, happiness, moral and spiritual welfare of the family to be of paramount importance . . . our organization does not seek to impose its views upon anyone, but it does believe that the information it has acquired on the subject should be made available to all who desire it.

"Since the question of good morals has been raised, I have this to say for my group. We believe that it is immoral to bring children into the world unless they may have the benefit of the advantages which are essential to their moral, mental and physical development; we believe it is immoral to force a mother to bear children with such frequency that it endangers her health and renders her unfit for the responsibilities of parenthood; we further believe that the best way to avoid these evils is to space intelligently the birth of children.

"For a Christian clergyman to so violently attack his fellow citizens with whom he differs is poor taste to say the least. I am confident that every fair minded Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jew will join with me in the effort to avoid the bad feeling which always results from unfair and unnecessary criticism."

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'LOOK' MEANS A LOT TO YOU IN CAMPAIGN

Look for LOOK — on March 18!

And look for a big campaign spurt from there on in.

When the April 1st issue of Look Magazine hits the newsstands in your community on March 18, reprints of the dramatic five-page article on Planned Parenthood will be going out to your committee. And well in advance of that date your committee will have acted on a plan for staging a "Look at Planned Parenthood Week" to include:

Mailing a Look reprint to all prospects who have not yet contributed.

Solicitation of all special gift and assigned prospects via personal calls and telephone.

Newspaper and radio publicity that will take advantage of the Look magazine article.

The most complete presentation our program has ever received, the Look article is titled The Fight for Better Babies. In picture and text its five pages dramatically feature the major social evils at which our program is directed, our program in action, current acceptance of Planned Parenthood and its endorsement by national leaders, and the detailed aims of PPFA's $2,000,000 campaign.

The reprints, ordered in large quantity for use by the participating committees, comprise eight pages, reduced to letterhead size from the original magazine format. The cover reproduces the April 1st cover of Look, the five-page article follows, the back cover (both sides) carries two pages of our campaign appeal for gifts. A subscription form will accompany each reprint. Your committee has received a form for ordering reprints and the special envelopes to go with them; many orders have already come into headquarters.

Here, then, is Planned Parenthood's biggest piece of promotion. It is perfectly timed to help you down the campaign home stretch.

Look for LOOK — on March 18!

PPFA

Reader's Digest, Too

An unusual phase of PPFA clinic service gets national attention March 25 when the Reader's Digest, April issue, carries an article on referral of cancer cases from the Mineola, L. I., clinic.

The article cites the unique value of the clinic's records of patients who have come for child-spacing advice and upon examination have been referred to a cancer clinic or specialist.

DOWN THE HOME STRETCH

FIRST MILLION IN SIGHT, BUT FINAL PUSH NEEDED; CHAIRMAN CALLS FOR PROGRESS REPORTS

Urging redoubled efforts in raising lagging campaign totals, Mrs. Robert M. Ferguson, national executive chairman, has announced that after ten days of active campaigning, 42 local committees have reported that they have obtained nearly $350,000 of their combined goals of $915,000 or 38 percent of these goals. These figures were taken from the February 21st report.

Failure of more than 30 local committees to file progress reports with national makes it extremely difficult to gauge progress on the national campaign, Mrs. Ferguson pointed out.

"Complete reports should indicate that we are well on our way to the first million of our campaign," Mrs. Ferguson said. "Many committees, after just a few days of campaigning, have reported that they have doubled and tripled last year's quota. Several reported on the 21st that four, five and six times last year's quotas have been raised."

Campaign efforts will be concentrated in a final "push" drive to solicit all prospects who have not yet contributed during the week of March 17th, which has been designated as "Look at Planned Parenthood Week."

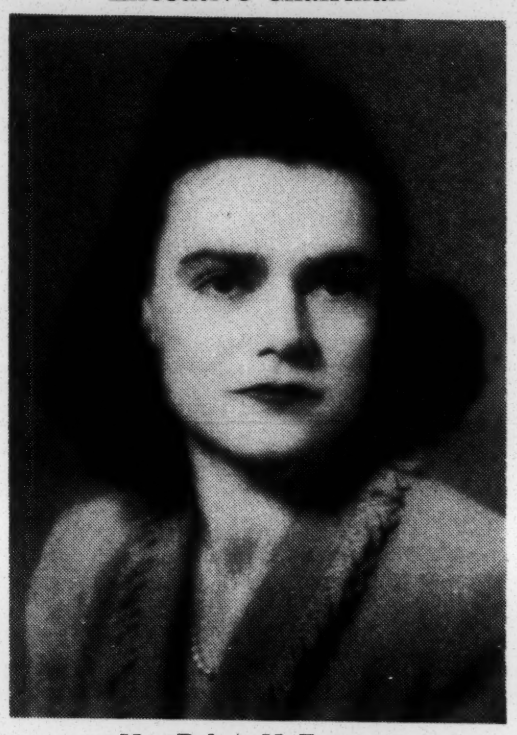
The 42 committees reporting showed a total of approximately 10,000 gifts. Reports also showed that one-third more contributions had been received in the first two weeks of campaigning than in any previous campaign.

The inability of special gifts committee workers to contact many special gifts prospects early in February because they were away has affected campaign totals considerably, according to Mrs. Ferguson.

The lack of foundation solicitation by February 21st, and the fact that corporate solicitation was just getting under way in many committees, were also important determining factors in many reports, Mrs. Ferguson said.

Not included among the committees reporting on the 21st were Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Dallas, whose combined goals represent almost one-fifth of the national goal.

Executive Chairman



Mrs. Robert M. Ferguson

As energetic as she is charming, Mrs. Robert M. Ferguson is devoting all of her time to the success of Planned Parenthood's greatest campaign.

Gallup Poll 3 to 1 For Clinic Service

The three-to-one Gallup poll favoring birth control service by government health clinics — announced in the press on March 1 — provided excellent national publicity midway in our campaign.

The poll was on the question: "Would you approve or disapprove of having government health clinics furnish birth control information to married people who want it in this country?" Those questioned were American citizens of voting age.

The replies:

Yes	64%
No	23%
No opinion	13%

The last previous Gallup poll on the same question (1940) used a different statistical method, eliminating the "no opinion" figure and converting "yes" and "no" answers in terms of 100%. By this method — as explained to us by an executive of the American Institute of Public Opinion — our 1947 poll would have come out as 74% "yes" and 26% "no," approximately the same as 1940's 77-23 ratio. (The Institute has consistently stressed a possible error range of four percentage points in evaluating poll results.)

Commenting on the percentage scores in both 1940 and 1947 polls on birth control, a representative of Dr. Gallup observed:

"In few polls since we began sampling in 1935 has this degree of approval been attained."

Three-to-one for birth control — that's the score among American men and women — that's the vote of the people in *your* community. That is the attitude you can translate into support for Planned Parenthood, support of your campaign.

LARGER GIFTS SWELL TOTALS; COMMITTEES DOUBLE '46 EFFORT

Many New Small Givers Broaden PPFA Support

An analysis of the gifts reported by 42 committees on Feb. 21 shows that almost 80 percent of the total reported came from gifts of $100 or more.

This follows closely the proportion of large gifts the national planning committee felt would be necessary to achieve the campaign goal.

One of the most important and encouraging trends of the current campaign, according to Prescott S. Bush, national campaign treasurer, has been the great increase in the number of small givers and the fact that more than one-third of past contributors to Planned Parenthood have more than doubled their gifts to this campaign.

Eleven committees, according to the Feb. 21 report, had more than doubled the amount raised last year. Outstanding among those taking the lead are Omaha, which reported almost seven times the amount raised last year; Indianapolis, four times; and Houston, five times over last year's goal.

Montclair, N. J., has reported three times their quota of last year already raised; Rochester has more than doubled its stiff quota of last year; Tuscon is two and one half times over last year's amount raised; Wilmington, within 90 percent of this year's goal, is four and a half times over last year.

Denver reports one and a half times more money raised by Feb. 21 than last year; Des Moines, by the first report date, had raised three and a half times last year's goal; Toledo is three times over last year; Binghampton four times; Niagara Falls two and a half times; and Kansas City has one and a half times more gifts reported than last year.

PPFA

Wide Clergy Activity A Potent Campaign Force

Protestant and Jewish clergymen the country over have been one of the strongest sources of strength and support of the First Nationwide Planned Parenthood Campaign.

The signing of the clergymen's resolution by more than 3,200 outstanding ministers and rabbis resulted in some of the strongest nationwide publicity of the campaign — and at a time when it was most needed by local committees in their preliminary organization tasks.

The prestige and moral character this endorsement lent to the campaign efforts all over the country gave a strong impetus to enlistment efforts.

Clergymen have been active in their support of local campaign efforts. In response to a request from Bishop Oxnam, more than 2,500 campaign posters were sent out by national headquarters to more than 700 clergymen for posting in churches and meeting places.

Many clergy, such as in Minneapolis, have participated in campaign efforts by announcing the campaign from their pulpits and by using Planned Parenthood material in sermons and in radio talks.

LOOK TO NEXT YEAR MRS. VALENTINE URGES

If Winter comes . . . etc.

Taking a long and shrewd look ahead, Mrs. Alan Valentine, national women's chairman, reminds the participating committees that between now and the close of the campaign is the time to appoint a campaign chairman for next year.

Well spoken, Mrs. V.!

The fact is every committee has learned a lot in the past few months, has gained a lot of know-how that must not be wasted. With the techniques learned, the lists built up — most of all, the leadership developed — next year's campaign will be much smoother sailing, the goal much easier of attainment.

Take full advantage of this year's experience by selecting *now* your next year's chairman. He (or she) will, of course, be a member of your present campaign organization who has shown leadership and a grasp of your campaign needs. And choice of a chairman now will give this person opportunity to assess this year's achievement and plan next year's campaign.

Summer's coming . . . and just as sure as next August's golf score, autumn is going to follow . . . sooner than you think. With your 1947-48 chairman named this spring, he can be on the job when the vacations are over, ready to name his lieutenants and organize next year's appeal.

It's not only a sensible idea, it's a must for every committee. The floor is now open to nominations. . . .

PPFA

Orchid Dept.

Orchids to the Tucson Publicity Committee for one of the best reported press, radio and speakers bureau jobs of the campaign.

Mrs. William Pictor and Mrs. Emery Johnson, in charge of press and radio, have piled up an impressive coverage in their media. The two main Tucson stations, KVOA and KTUC, representing both networks, have each used eight 15-minute weekly programs, two 5-minute programs and spot announcements.

Tucson dailies have run ten campaign news stories, printed nine letters pro and con.

Mrs. Charles Mattingly, Speakers Bureau head and her committee, Mrs. Benson Bloom, Mrs. Boriz Zemsky and Richard Wallen, have scheduled talks for Planned Parenthood speakers before fourteen groups.

Congratulations on an outstanding job!

APPEAL CARRIED TO NATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

Foundations are being approached in the First Nationwide Planned Parenthood Campaign to a greater extent than in any previous campaign, Pierre S. duPont, 3rd, national men's committee chairman, reports.

More than 500 national foundations have received a special foundation appeal over Mr. duPont's signature. Foundations solicited by the Federation in this campaign roughly fall into four categories — general, medical, educational and research. Response from many of these foundations is slow, due to the fact that most foundation boards meet in March to consider appeals.

A special covering letter highlighting the interests of each foundation has been prepared. Sample copies of these four letters, together with the basic foundation appeal booklet, have been sent to local committees. Complete booklets are available for ordering by locals in their task of soliciting local foundations.

Scattered returns indicate that local committees are receiving foundation gifts. St. Louis reports $1,000 from the Boettcher Foundation. The Cowles Foundation has contributed $250 to the Des Moines local campaign and Minneapolis has reported a gift of $250 from an anonymous local foundation. The $20,000 national gift to the National underwriting fund from an anonymous foundation is still the largest single foundation gift on record. Two other foundation gifts of $10,000 have been received in New York City.

!! WORKERS !!
MARCH IS THE MONTH TO FINISH THE JOB

As in every phase of the campaign, the greatest responsibility for the success of the "Look at Planned Parenthood Week" will rest with you — the workers. This national publicity will help you in your task.

1. Complete all your prospect assignments and if at all possible add a few new ones from among the unassigned prospects who have not yet responded to the campaign.
2. These prospects — whether or not they have contributed to Planned Parenthood before — have been educated on planned Parenthood through a variety of printed material and other forms of publicity through the early stages of the campaign. The Look article provides the clincher — a strong, objective presentation that spells "sold" for the undecided. Because it is impartial, because it presents a complete analysis of Planned Parenthood and what it does and means, this magazine article does the kind of selling job that will make your approach to the propect easy. Take full advantage of it!
3. Report solicitation results during that week promptly. It is important that chairmen know the results of your special week's effort at once so they can report to national.

. . . . MARCH IS THE MONTH TO FINISH THE JOB . . . .

GOOD LUCK!

P— Patton

FARMERS EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION of America

3501 EAST 46th AVENUE, DENVER, COLORADO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 25, 1948

RECEIVED
MAY 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Jim is in Europe, so I will acknowledge your letter of May 20.

I just talked with our editor about the pamphlet on Southern housing. We intend to give some attention to economic conditions in our July issue of the National Union Farmer. I think we will be able to run an article on housing, featuring the Southern pamphlet. I am sure this will carry out the idea you had in mind.

I doubt that any of us have given you any information on the developments for the Nashville area since the meeting in December. This meeting was very worth while, I believe, because the ideas agreed upon are used constantly in our discussions of the Southern situation in Executive Committee and other meetings. At the last meeting of the Executive Committee, it was decided that the small grant of funds we received from the Whitney Fund should be used for making an economic study of the Piedmont area as a preliminary step to larger-scale cooperative development. This work will probably be done during late summer of this year.

We are also trying to arrange some joint work with A. F. Whitney, of the Brotherhood, to be done in the Tennessee-Alabama-Mississippi-Carolina-Virginia area. Jim may have discussed this with you, if you were attending the meeting in Nashville in April sponsored by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

It was mighty fine to see you last December. I expect to have a visit with Beanie Baldwin within a week. I am sure we will mention your name.

Sincerely yours,

Lee,

Lee Fryer
Administrative Assistant to
JAMES G. PATTON

49

P-

June 11, 1948

Editor, THE PAMPHLET INDEX
Schulte Press, Inc.
119 West 23rd Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a copy of Housing in the South, with synopsis, published by the Southern Regional Council since the April issue of THE PAMPHLET INDEX.

May I also call your attention to The Condition of Our Rights, listed on page 17 of your April issue? As you will see from the enclosed copy, it has now been published in printed form and the price has been increased. The last line of your synopsis should be changed as follows: "Published by The Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga., June, 1948. 6 x 9, 44 pp., 20¢."

With appreciation for your valuable publication, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enclosures
1 cy Housing in the South
1 cy The Condition of Our Rights

HC7

THE PAMPHLET INDEX

A CATALOGUE OF SMALL PUBLICATIONS IN SOCIAL AFFAIRS

June 5, 1948

The July issue of The Pamphlet Index is now in preparation.

Would you send us copies of your pamphlets which have appeared since our April issue.

The deadline for the July issue is July 3.

To assure regular listings, may we suggest that you place The Pamphlet Index on your mailing list and send us your material as it appears.

In order that our listings may be accurate, please make sure that the price and date of publication appear on each piece of your literature.

Cordially

THE PAMPHLET INDEX

Please handle, giving synopses

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1948
Southern Regional Council

SCHULTE PRESS, Inc., 119 West 23rd Street, New York 11, New York, CHelsea 2-0326 - 0327

P-Miscl Pielstick

Telephone GRamercy 5-8585

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Constituted Jointly
by
The Home Missions Council of North America
The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
The International Council of Religious Education

297 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

EDWIN L. BECKER
Chairman
BENSON Y. LANDIS
Secretary
DON F. PIELSTICK
Associate Secretary

July 21, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of July 19th. In response to your request I am sending you the preliminary report of the Evanston Conference entitled, " Protestant Program for the Family Farm." This report does not mean that the program has been authorized. We are still in the stages of discussion as to whether all these recommendations should be used.

Sincerely yours,

Don F. Pielstick

Don F. Pielstick

RECEIVED
JUL 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

28-P- Misc -
Protestant Film
Commission

July 27, 1948

Protestant Film Commission
45 Astor Place
New York 3, New York

Dear Sirs:

Your lately-at-Junaluska Miss ___?___ Cocke (?), very kindly sent for my review the script of the film on prejudice, which I return herewith.

I liked it very much indeed and thought it effective and, by reason of the neat twists of its plot, sustained in its interest.

The minister's talk comes out wonderfully.

I do hope you can get it made and widely circulated.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: Film script, "Prejudice"

GSM:eb

28-Publisc-Penn School

August 16, 1948

Miss Linnie Schley
430 West Stafford Street
Philadelphia 44, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Schley:

I am very late in returning copy No. 47 of the manuscript on Penn School.

I greatly enjoyed reading it and was filled with admiration for the incisive way that Ira Reid and the others went about their job.

I remain one who praises the life-long effort which has gone into the school.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

jdh
Enclosure--Manuscript on Penn School.

Pa-Penn Normal

May 6, 1948

Miss Linnie Schley, Executive Secretary
Penn Normal Industrial and Agricultural School
430 West Stafford Street
Philadelphia 44, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Schley:

I appreciate your letter of May 3.

Copy Number 47 of the evaluation of Penn School will be returned to you separately and shortly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

PENN NORMAL INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL

FROGMORE POST OFFICE, ST. HELENA ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA

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Principal

MRS. HOWARD KESTER
Supervisor of Instruction

MISS LINNIE SCHLEY
Executive Secretary
Philadelphia, Pa.

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430 West Stafford Street
Philadelphia 44, Pa.

May 3, 1948

RECEIVED
MAY 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 36 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Auburn, Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At the direction of Mr. William E. Cadbury, Chairman of our Board, I am sending you, enclosed, a copy of the letter to contributors announcing the changes at Penn School, and a copy of the press release which was distributed on May 1.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of "An Evaluation of the Facilities, Program and Objectives of the Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School," which is the report of the Survey made at Penn School in January. This report is of a highly confidential nature, Your copy is Number 47.

If there is other material which would be helpful to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Linnie Schley

Executive Secretary.

ENC:

cc: Hon. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

PENN NORMAL INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL

FROGMORE POST OFFICE, ST. HELENA ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA

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The Rev. Arthur Howe
West Orange, N. J.

Mrs. John A. Jeffries
Santa Barbara, Cal.

Paul Kellogg
New York, N. Y.

225 South 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

April 29, 1948

Dear Friend of Penn School:

This letter brings you an announcement of great importance. Your interest in Penn School and the generous support you have given it entitle you to know in advance of the press and general public of the new program we are planning to undertake on St. Helena Island.

At the recent special meeting of the Board, it was decided that at the end of the present school term the elementary and secondary school program of Penn School will be discontinued, and our efforts directed toward a contemplated program of "community planning, education and improvement; of community sanitation and health; of community recreation and sport; and of community mental and spiritual hygiene."

The Board's decision was based on a comprehensive Survey of the School made in January 1948, by a staff of specialists in Negro education directed by Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Atlanta University. The Survey findings indicated that the great advances in public education in South Carolina have made adequate public schools available to the Negro children of St. Helena Island. The responsibility, capability and willingness of the public school officials are demonstrated in their plans for next year which provide for every elementary and high school student now attending Penn School. It is with pride and satisfaction that the Board turns this function over to the public school officials, for Penn School's work has been well done, its mission of formal education accomplished.

The present needs of the people of the Sea Islands are recognized in the Survey recommendations for a program of private-public cooperation in community work at the adult education level. When Miss Laura Towne and Miss Ellen Murray began their work among the liberated people on the plantations in 1862, their objectives were both social and economic. Today, community needs are apparent and the setting is ideal for a project of great significance in Negro life. We anticipate your continued interest in the people of the Sea Islands and your financial support which is of fundamental importance. We shall keep you informed as our plans develop into action, and feel that you may be proud of your share in making this project possible.

In these days of social unrest, the new Penn School project is a pioneering effort to meet today's needs and develop opportunities for the Negro in rural life. We shall aim to raise the level of Negro rural life, supply adult education, and promote social and economic adjustment in our beloved Sea Island community. We rely on your cooperation, we invite your comment and suggestions in this new work, and we repeat, we must have your continued liberal contributions if these plans are to succeed.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. Cadbury

WEC: ls

Chairman of the Board

NEWS RELEASE For release on receipt

From the oldest school for Negroes in the South comes an announcement of importance in the field of rural education and community work.

Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, will discontinue its program of formal education at the end of this school year, and will focus its efforts on a contemplated program of rural community work possibly including vocational training for Negro Veterans.

Recognition of the responsibility, capability and willingness of the South Carolina public school system to assume the full elementary and secondary school function, frees the resources of Penn School for a pioneering project at the adult education level in the Sea Islands community.

The Penn School Board's decision to turn the formal educational responsibility over to the public school authorities was founded on a recent comprehensive survey of the School directed by Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Atlanta University. Dr. Reid was assisted by a staff of specialists in education including Dr. J. Curtis Dixon, Executive Director of the Southern Education Foundation. The findings of the survey indicated that adequate public education

facilities could be made available for the Negro children of the Sea Islands, and recommended the shift to a program of private-public cooperation in adult education and other community work.

Penn School's rich background of history and tradition goes back to 1862, when Miss Laura Towne of Philadelphia and Miss Ellen Murray came to the Sea Islands immediately after the fall of Port Royal. They worked among the liberated people on the plantations and founded Penn School to take care of their educational needs. Soon after the turn of the century, Miss Rossa B. Cooley and Miss Grace B. House who had been instructors at Hampton Institute, took over the work, and during their forty years as principals Penn School won national recognition and fame abroad for its academic and vocational training and its pioneer program of rural community work. Francis R. Cope, Jr., of Dimock, Pa., as chairman of the Board of Trustees, contributed guidance of inestimable value to the growing institution. Many rural teachers were trained at Penn School, and graduates went on to study for the professions and became leaders in their chosen communities in different sections of the country.

Howard Kester became the principal in 1944, and Mrs. Kester became supervisor of instruction. Under their leader-

ship the Veterans Training Program was inaugurated and developed so that 160 Negro Veterans are now enrolled. Mr. Kester brought to this position broad knowledge and understanding of the educational needs and problems in the South. He formerly traveled extensively as a worker and lecturer in schools and colleges under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

Inter-racial cooperation in educational effort has been demonstrated for a number of years in the membership of the Penn School Board. William E. Cadbury of Philadelphia is the present chairman, and L. Hollingsworth Wood of New York is vice-chairman. Other members are: Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College, Atlanta; Dr. William R. Valentine, head of the Bordentown Manual Training School, New Jersey; Dr. Jane Ellen McAllister, Professor of Education, Miner Teachers College, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. W. W. Smith, II, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Miss Isabella Curtis, Mrs. John F. Moors and Mrs. William A. Shurcliff, Boston; Dr. George H. Aull, Clemson College, S. C.; George A. Buchanan, Jr., editor of the Columbia RECORD, South Carolina; Hon. Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.; Mrs. Horace H. Jenks, Paul W. Brown, Jr., Harold Evans and John A. Silver, Philadelphia; Mrs. Thomas

H. Eliot, Cambridge, Mass.; Henry W. Pope, Mrs. Reinhold Niebuhr, Lithgow Osborne (former Ambassador to Norway), Miss Rossa B. Cooley, Miss Grace B. House, and Robert Ogden Purves of New York.

Community services contemplated under a new program would include utilization of public agencies and cooperation with them in an expanding program of social and economic objectives. Agricultural demonstration and farm improvement with development of marketing facilities, community health and social welfare, as well as recreation and work with the rural church would center at the present Penn School site. Six hundred acres of farm and forest lands owned by the School offer possibilities for testing projects in agriculture and forestry.

A program of retirement and severance pay to benefit the teachers of long service at Penn School has also been announced by the Board.

* * * * *

28-P — Misc.
Pickett, Clarence

September 20, '48

Mr. Clarence E. Pickett
American Friends Service Committee
20, South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Pickett,

Thank you for sending me a copy of Employing Minorities Successfully. It is simple, direct, and should be very useful indeed.

It must have taken a lot of work to boil the whole matter down to these few, workable rules. Each of them rings true with what we know of the problem.

I send you a copy of the full text of a statement by our Executive Committee, for yesterday's papers. Deppite the length it got carried in full in several Southern papers, and had good stories in most of them. We think it temperate and in a right spirit, and hope you will agree.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

28-P-Misc
Poe, Clarence

September 20, '48

Mr. Clarence Poe
The Progressive Farmer
Insurance Building
Raleigh, NC

Dear Mr. Poe,

Here is a full copy of the statement released for yesterday by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council. This was reprinted in full by the Chattanooga Times and the Birmingham-Age-Herald-News, for two that we know of, and had good play in the New York Times and in most of the larger Southern newspapers.

We think it is good sense, and are glad it got such wide use.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

28-P-Misc-
Peters, E. C.

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P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 5, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

President E. C. Peters
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Peters:

Thank you very much indeed for sending back the story from the Chattanooga Times. We are delighted to have it.

I send you separately fifteen copies of the "Honest Answer." More should you need them.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Thanks for enclosed
E. C. Peters

Paine College

ESTABLISHED 1882

AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

E.C. PETERS, PRESIDENT

Augusta, Georgia

Sept. 27, 1948.

RECEIVED
SEP 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am returning the page from the Chattanooga Times for Sunday, September 19, regarding the article on "Current Controversy Over Civil Rights Recall the Bitter Days of 1850's.

I have read this statement with great interest and shall look forward to securing a number of copies of the printed pamphlet as soon as it is available. I shall try then to circularize a number of people here in Augusta.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

E C Peters

ECP:G
Encl.

28 P-Misc —
Pfuetze, Paul

October 11, 1948

Mr. Paul E. Pfuetze
Department of Philosophy
The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pfuetze:

So far as I know, at the time being my only engagement in the last half of November is for the period November 17-21. Otherwise I am free in middle November or late November to come over to Athens any day you may wish.

Let me know when, and I will mark it on the calendar and be there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

Dear George Mitchell —

Will you be in these parts around the middle or latter part of November and available for a speaking engagement for my classes? I have two classes this term, of 45 students in each, which meet at 2:30 p.m. and 3:30 p.m. from Monday through Friday —

Sincerely yours —

Paul E. Gluckstein

P
Pfuetze

May 14, '48

Dear Professor Pfuetze,

This confirms my undertaking to be at your classroom for the 2.30 meeting on Monday, May 24. I'll plan to turn up a few minutes before 2, to give time for some discussion.

The Council appreciates this opportunity to get its story known to your group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P - Pfeutze

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

May 13, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Will it be possible for you to come to Athens any time within the next two weeks to talk to my senior class about the work of the Council in the Southern states?

This will probably be our last chance in this spring quarter and it will be appropriate in any event because we shall be considering problems of social and political philosophy.

Cordially yours,

Paul E. Pfuetze

Paul E. Pfuetze

PEP/ddm

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1948
Southern Regional C

P-
Pfuetze

April 7, 1948

Professor Paul E. Pfuetze
Department of Philosophy
The University of Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Professor Pfuetze:

Many thanks for your letter of April 2.

We should be most grateful for the opportunity to be in touch with your graduating seniors. We did in this batch of letters enclose a leaflet describing the Council.

I should be delighted to come over two or three times a year, as you might wish, to talk about the South and the Council. I have done that sort of thing several times at Emory and at other near-by and remote colleges. I am properly a college teacher myself, so it is a special pleasure to get back into harness every now and then.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 5, 1948

Sent to attached list (names and addresses and salutations filled in)

We should like very much to have you as a member of the Southern Regional Council. You will be doing useful things in the South. The Council will keep you in touch with others, and the little magazine, New South, coming to you every month sometimes will have ideas that will be helpful.

Careful, informed judgment is the need of the day. Can you help us get more of it in the South?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: Fleming pamphlet

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF FORMER STUDENTS

Mr. Fred F. Baggs
Cobb Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Miss Nancy Bowling
1190 South Milledge Ave.
Athens, Georgia

Mr. Carl Cowart
Floyd Hall
Ag Hill Center
Athens, Georgia

Mr. Paul Crotto
784 Prince Avenue
Athens, Georgia

Miss Martha Edwards
Lucy Cobb Dormitory
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Mr. C. R. Elliott
645 South Milledge Ave.
Athens, Georgia

Mr. William M. Evans
Sigma Nu House
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Mr. G. B. Gaines
Joe Brown Dormitory
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Mr. Richard L. Gnann
187 North Milledge Ave.
Athens, Georgia

Mr. J. A. Godwin
277 Hill Street
Athens, Georgia

Miss June Elder Hall
Tri Delta House
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Mr. William E. Harden
252 West Clayton Street
Athens, Georgia

Mr. L. S. Hardwick
c/o Mrs. W. W. Young
Milledge Avenue
Athens, Georgia

Miss Theodora Harrison
Alpha Delta Pi House
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Mr. W. A. Jones
480 South Milledge Avenue
Athens, Georgia

Mr. E. F. Keeter
S. A. E. House
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Miss Sarah Kent
Soule Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Miss Mable G. Moragne
263 Milledge Circle
Athens, Georgia

Miss Addie Jim Rollins
Mary Lyndon Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Mr. George B. Rushing
Milledge Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Miss Betty Ann Sasseville
1190 South Milledge Avenue
Athens, Georgia

Mr. George Scott
238 Springdale
Athens, Georgia

and 7 pamphlets

Miss Kathryn Sessoms
Mary Lyndon Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Mr. John L. Smith
1680 South Lumpkin Street
Athens, Georgia

Mr. Wesley Stephens
475 King Avenue
Athens, Georgia

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
APR 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

April 2, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your note of appreciation for my gesture of giving you the names of some of my former students. Incidentally, I shall be giving this course every quarter and I have in mind to let you have the class roll each time in order that you may make contact with these graduating seniors, telling them about the work of the Council and enlisting their membership and support. I am assuming, of course, that in writing to these students you have made available to them some of your publicity material.

You ask how you can serve us. One way immediately comes to mind. Could you or one of your staff in whom you have confidence come to Athens, say one day during each quarter, and speak to my class on the Philosophy and program of the Southern Regional Council? I must add that at present I have no funds in my departmental budget to pay the expenses of one of your staff people, but perhaps you would consider this a legitimate service of the Council within your own budget requirements.

I am eager to meet you myself and talk with you about the work of the Council. I have only recently come to the South and your Southern Regional Council strikes me as one of the really hopeful movements in the South, working through research and education to lift the level of life for everyone in this area.

Cordially yours,

Paul E. Pfuetze

Paul E. Pfuetze
Professor of Philosophy

PEP/ddm

P-
Pfuetze, Paul E

March 31, 1948

Dr. Paul E. Pfuetze
Professor of Philosophy
The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Dr. Pfuetze:

That was exceedingly thoughtful, generous and useful of you. I have written each of the former students of your "Philosophy and Society" course as enclosed.

They are just the sort of people I am sure the Council needs as members. We are much in your debt. Can we serve you in any way?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure
GSM:eb

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
MAR 31 1948
Southern Regional Council

March 30, 1948

Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have been telling some of my students about the work of the Southern Regional Council and, furthermore, I have told them that I was sending in their names to the Council office with the hope that they might become interested in membership.

Enclosed, therefore, you will find the class roster of a group of seniors who have just completed a senior course entitled "Philosophy and Society". These young men and women will soon be taking their place as responsible citizens in their various communities, and I am hoping that you might be able to enlist their interest in and support for the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Cordially yours,

Paul E. Pfuetze

Paul E. Pfuetze
Professor of Philosophy

PEP/ddm

October 19, 1948

Mrs. C. H. L. Pennock
Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, New York

Dear Mrs. Pennock:

The president of our Council, Mr. Paul D. Williams, asked me to send you a copy of the recent statement of our Executive Committee on civil rights.

Here is one, with pleasure. If we can help you in any way, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

cc: Paul D. Williams

28- P. Misc -
Presby. Church, Ctte on
Women's work

November 15, 1948

Miss Mary S. Quidor, Treasurer
Committee on Woman's Work
The Presbuterian Church in the United States
Henry Grady Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Quidor:

Please accept and convey to Miss McGaughey our thanks for your check of $25.00 as the appropriation of the Committee on Woman's Work for the year ending March 31, 1948.

Such gifts are of great importance to us since our budget is a very slender one and our tasks are great. We are very grateful to you and to Miss McGaughey and to the Committee on Woman's Work.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
Committee on Woman's Work
HENRY GRADY BUILDING
Atlanta 3, Ga.

JANIE W. McGAUGHEY
SECRETARY OF WOMAN'S WORK

MARY S. QUIDOR
TREASURER

October 27, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Inez B. Tillerson, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tillerson:

At the request of Miss McGaughey I am enclosing a check for $25.00 as the appropriation of the Committee on Woman's Work for the year ending March 31, 1948.

We are again happy to make this contribution to the work of the Council.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mary S. Quidor

Treasurer.

MSQ:m
Encl. ck.

Presby. Church

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

Committee on Woman's Work

HENRY GRADY BUILDING

Atlanta 3, Ga.

JANIE W. McGAUGHEY
SECRETARY OF WOMAN'S WORK

March 31, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Although it is over four weeks since you were with us and made such a real contribution to our Conference on Intergroup Work on February 26, nevertheless, we would like to express appreciation to you for coming and sharing in that conference. We realized at the time that it was quite a favor we were asking of you, but you very graciously consented and came in spite of a busy schedule. The conference appreciated what you contributed and we of this Committee are grateful for your splendid cooperation.

Those who came were most enthusiastic and appreciative of the opportunity which the conference gave and expressed the hope that there would be one held in 1949.

With best wishes to you in your own special phase of Christian work, I am

Cordially yours,

Annie Tait Jenkins

Annie Tait Jenkins
Director Christian Relations

ATJ:MSH

Presbyterian, U.S.
Committee on Woman's Work

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

Committee on Woman's Work

HENRY GRADY BUILDING

Atlanta 3, Ga.

March 4, 1948

JANIE W. McGAUGHEY
SECRETARY OF WOMAN'S WORK

MRS. W. MURDOCH MacLEOD
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WOMAN'S WORK

RECEIVED
MAR 5 1948
Southern Baptist Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

How very much I appreciate the reading suggestions which came to me this morning in your letter of March 3. It makes me long for more time to do such reading. Certainly I appreciate your interest and your helpful guidance.

Most cordially yours,

Dorothy S. MacLeod

Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod
Assistant Secretary of Woman's Work

DSMacL/ssp

March 3, 1948

Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod
Assistant Secretary of Woman's Work
Committee on Woman's Work
The Presbyterian Church in the United States
Henry Grady Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. MacLeod:

I have been puzzling every now and then about books that you might like to read.

"An American Dilemma" would be one. You probably have read it.

Another would be Charles Johnson's recent book, "Into the Main Stream." This is a review of best practices in the field of race relations.

You ought to be closely in touch with Lake Success and the United Nations. I don't know what to recommend. I believe I would begin by subscribing to the magazine, United Nations World, 383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., which sells at four dollars for one year's subscription. That ought to list everything that comes out about the UN.

On Russia my own prescription would be Sydney and Beatrice Webb's book, "So Be It Communism." I have never read it. They are supposed to have swallowed things hook, line and sinker, but even so they are very wise people.

I think the best American economic history is one recently completed and printed, which my brother Broadus wrote. It is called "American Economic History," and was published by Houghton Mifflin.

Some fairly unbiased book about modern China would be good to read. There were books a couple of years ago which talked about how things were from the inside of so-called Communist China. Any informed world view would require a knowledge of what's going on there.

An excellent book on organized labor is by R. R. R. Brooks, "When Labor Organizes," about five years old. A moderate man who writes sincerely.

I don't know any really good book on American agriculture. You ought to read the best you can find. The bottom of our Southern problem is an agricultural problem.

The best book on housing that I know of was written by Catherine Bauer about eight or nine years ago.

These would all be good to read. However, I haven't real faith that anybody these days would find time to read that much.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Dictated but not read

NOV 23 1945
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

NATIONAL CONGRESS BULLETIN

NOVEMBER 1945 PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS • CHICAGO 5 • VOL. 13, NO. 3

MONTHLY MEMO TO LOCAL PRESIDENTS

NOVEMBER is a real parent-teacher month, isn't it? All across the country we celebrate not only the great home festival of Thanksgiving but also American Education Week.

Education. This year we should give special attention to the meaning of education in our own nation and in other countries. We have to remind ourselves that the *sort* of education is of great importance, for remember that both Germany and Japan believed strongly in education. Nevertheless, theirs was an education that poisoned the minds of their own children and youth and which is still an active evil force in the world today even though these countries have been conquered in war. Ideas can be defeated only by other ideas. Therefore we must build up ideals of cooperative and friendly living in the world to replace those of racial superiority and military aggression. It was especially fitting that Germany's formal surrender took place in a French schoolhouse. We hope that the schoolhouses of the world may finally destroy the vicious ideas of the Hitler regime.

At this time the delegates from many of the United Nations are meeting in London to take the first steps toward bringing into being an International Educational Organization. The most active work of the parent-teacher consultants at San Francisco was done in cooperation with others to get the words "educational cooperation" into the United Nations Charter and thus make possible the meeting now going on in London. We shall hear more about this later. Watch for news of it.

Home. May this season bring you happy family reunions and many other reasons for thanksgiving this year. Also, in the midst of your happiness and plenty, will you take thought of the millions in Europe who are likely to starve or to suffer seriously from the ills of malnutrition and the lack of clothing and shelter unless help is given them. If you haven't already done so, won't you send cards to your representatives in Congress and also to Representative Clarence Cannon, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, asking that the United States Congress vote the UNRRA appropriations immediately. The unpaid balance of the 1945 UNRRA has just been voted out of committee, and now the work is to receive funds for 1946—which should be the last year for this type of relief activity. However, it will still be necessary this winter and next year until crops can be raised, buildings and railways restored to some extent, and opportunities renewed for people to care for themselves.

Mrs. William A. Hastings

Compulsory Military Training. Will you help us? The National Board of Managers meets early in December, and we will discuss the important subject of compulsory military training. We want to know how you, the members, feel about this matter. Will you send me a note or a card to the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 600 South Michigan Boulevard, Chicago 5, before November 25? That means you should write at once. When the members of your National legislation committee speak for us in Washington, they will want to know what you think. Your National Board also wants to know.

Remember that we are supposed to be trying to build a peaceful world for our children to live in; and now an organization for this purpose has been formed. We must be able to protect ourselves when necessary, but we have no desire to make war on others. We also have to think about whether or not the atomic bomb has changed all our earlier ideas of what constitutes the best method of protection.

Some people think it would be advisable to have a commission of able men and women study this whole matter and make recommendations to Congress. There is no hurry for an immediate decision, for we still have all the men and materials we need for any emergency, and we shall have them for some time to come. Are we ready yet to decide this issue as a nation? Do we know enough about all that is involved? What do *you* think? This is your opportunity to help shape national thinking on an issue of importance to every one of us.

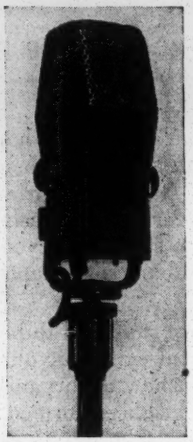
Racial Attitudes. While we are striving for world unity we must not forget that we should build better relations among the many different sorts of people who are American citizens. At times I am afraid that some of the Nazi doc-

(Continued on page 2)

Through the cooperation of the National Broadcasting Company, our National Congress radio program will go on the air for fifty-two weeks, starting December 8, 1945. Be sure to plan now to listen to this outstanding program. *The Baxters* have become a parent-teacher byword in homes throughout the country.

IT WON'T BE LONG NOW!

• *National Congress Radio Program on the Air December 8, 1945*



IT WON'T be long now, parent-teacher members! Get your listening groups organized and plan your Saturday schedule so you'll be ready to welcome the Baxters, our own radio family, back into your homes. They'll be on the air Saturday, December 8, at the same time—12:30 p.m.—over the same nation-wide NBC network.

And from that time on they'll be with you each week *for a whole year!* For fifty-two Saturdays you'll be sharing the fun, the day-to-day problems, and the general three-ring-circus atmosphere of life in the Baxter household.

If you haven't yet been so fortunate as to meet this turbulent, rollicking family let us introduce them to you now. There are, first of all, Marge and Bill, youthful parents of three irrepressible youngsters. They are intelligent parents, too. They love their children, but they neither monopolize them nor seek to cast them in a mold of their own making. And Janey, Bud, and Sandy reflect this wise and gentle care. Each has a vivid personality, well tempered with family love and loyalty.

(Continued from page 1)

trines have traveled to this country and must be fought here as well as abroad. There is no group in America today that has a better opportunity to help different sorts of people to know each other than our parent-teacher organization, because all kinds of people send their children to the public schools. We meet in a natural way and find that parents of every race and creed have much in common, for they all want the best advantages for their children. Won't you work with your educators in helping avoid or eradicate any racial prejudices in your school district? I have received copies of resolutions taken by several associations in schools where unfortunate things have happened, and I am delighted to know that our leaders understand the dangers in racial and religious discrimination and have taken a determined stand against it.

Thanksgiving is an appropriate time to remind ourselves that all of us—or our fathers or forefathers—came from some other land. All of them gave something to the building of this country and each one received many advantages from being here.

Do you recollect the words on the Statue of Liberty?

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me;
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Perhaps at your Christmas program you might remember that the Jews celebrate an old, old festival at the same season and then see what you can learn about it. You might possibly have people of various races tell about their Christmas traditions or sing their Christmas songs as part of your program.

• • •

Our third Object, "the care and protection of children and youth," takes us into many subjects these days and demands of us an interest in all that is going on at home and abroad. We must do our best to make this world a good home for our own and for all other children, and that is indeed a large order in these troubled times. Each of us can do something, although none of us can do everything. Nevertheless, the efforts of 3,500,000 people added together can truly be a mighty force! May we use this power patiently and courageously in the slow and difficult task of trying to build orderly ways of living in a chaotic and confused world. This task demands even more of us than uniting in war against common foes.

Minnetta A. Hastings
President
National Congress of Parents and Teachers

Membership cards are distributed from the state congress office—*not* from the National Office.

29204!

DURING October alone this year 29,204 persons subscribed to *National Parent-Teacher: The P.T.A. Magazine!* Each day the magazine gains new friends and new readers. Why? Because . . .

- It is the best counselor and helper a parent-teacher member can find.
- It contains answers to home-school questions that are constantly being asked.
- It supplies parent-teacher information not obtainable elsewhere.
- It is published by parent-teacher people whose long and varied experience enables them to choose the type of articles and features that will school successful leaders at all levels of the organization.
- It is just plain, good business to pay $1 for something that will be worth one hundred times $1 in terms of information brought into the home, the school, and the community.

Was your subscription among the 29,204 we received in October? If so, we take this means of thanking you for it, and if you subscribed earlier, we thank you, too. If you haven't subscribed *yet*, we hope we'll receive your subscription this month. If you are a local president, by all means urge your association to budget at least $1 for a subscription for the association. Your group should not be missing the type of material that is being published monthly in the *National Parent-Teacher*. It is really a remarkable publication.

To subscribe, send a check or money order for $1 payable to the *National Parent-Teacher* magazine and mail to

National Parent-Teacher
600 South Michigan Boulevard
Chicago 5, Illinois

NATIONAL CONGRESS BULLETIN

Volume 13 NOVEMBER 1945 Number 3

Published monthly from August through May, bimonthly June and July, at 600 South Michigan Boulevard, Chicago 5, Illinois, by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. Subscription price: 20 cents a year. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office, Chicago, Illinois, Jan. 18, 1941. Additional entry at Aurora, Illinois, Dec. 21, 1939. Under Act of March 3, 1879.

CONGRESS CONTACTS

THIS year, as always, the National Congress has been well represented at meetings and conferences of those organizations whose aims are in accord with ours. However, because of the drastic curtailment of transportation, the selection of National officers and chairmen to represent the Congress has been determined largely by geography. Meetings have been attended by those members of the Board of Managers who live within a reasonably short distance of the meeting place. Since most national organizations and government agencies met in cities on the East Coast, the majority of the Congress representatives were selected from that area. Here is a list of important meetings in which they participated.

- American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, meeting of representatives of national organizations to study the nation-wide legislative program for health and physical fitness. Mrs. Glen L. Swiggett, member of our Washington, D. C., legislation committee.
- American Association of School Administrators, 1947 yearbook committee meeting. Howard V. Funk, former second vice-president.
- American Association for the United Nations, meeting. Mrs. Clifford N. Jenkins, president, New York State Congress.
- American Forum of the Air. Mrs. Bess N. Rosa, National chairman, committee on Social Hygiene.
- American Council on Education, conference to discuss the proposed plans for the organization of an international office of education. Mrs. William A. Hastings, National president.
- American Social Hygiene Association, meetings. Mrs. William A. Hastings, National president; Mrs. Bess N. Rosa, National chairman, committee on Social Hygiene.
- American Women's Voluntary Services, Inc., meeting to discuss the holding of a forum on household employment. Mrs. Newton P. Leonard, regional vice-president.
- Association for Childhood Education, meetings. Mrs. Glen L. Swiggett, member of our Washington, D. C., legislation committee.
- British Columbia Parent-Teacher Federation, annual convention. Mrs. J. S. Stewart, regional vice-president.
- Camp Fire Girls, meeting of the world friendship committee. Mrs. Clifford F. Thompson, former regional vice-president.
- Child Study Association of America, conference: "The Decisive Decade Ahead; What Will It Bring to Our Children?" Mrs. P. B. Digby, former regional vice-president.
- Children's Book Week, gala luncheon. Mrs. Newton P. Leonard, regional vice-president.
- Children's Bureau and the executive board of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, joint conference. Mrs. William A. Hastings, National president.
- Citizens Radio Anniversary Committee, luncheon. Mrs. Albert L. Gardner, regional vice-president.
- Committee on Physical Fitness and the Council on Dental Health, American Dental Association, meeting. Mrs. James C. Parker, regional vice-president.
- Community Chests and Councils, advisory committee on volunteer service, meeting. Mrs. Albert L. Gardner, regional vice-president.
- Cooperating Committee on School Lunches, meeting. Mrs. Paul H. Leonard, National chairman, committee on School Lunch.
- Conference on Long-Term Cooperative Planning for Young Children. Mrs. Malcolm McClellan, National chairman, committee on Legislation; Charles W. Phillips, second vice-president.
- Emergency Conference on the World Food Crisis. Mrs. Glen L. Swiggett, member of our Washington, D. C., legislation committee.
- Food for Freedom, Inc., meeting with President Truman. Mrs. William A. Hastings, National president.
- National Association of Broadcasters, Association of Women Directors, conference on women of the United Nations. Mrs. Clifford F. Thompson, former regional vice-president.
- National Conference for Cooperation in Health Education, meetings. Martha L. Clifford, M.D., National chairman, committee on Health and Summer Round-Up of the Children.
- National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, meeting. Mrs. E. N. Howell, president, North Carolina Congress.
- National Planning Association, meeting to discuss plans for a national conference on family life. Mrs. Albert L. Gardner, regional vice-president.
- National Safety Council, meeting to discuss school safety education. Mrs. Albert L. Gardner, regional vice-president.
- National Share-the-Food Day, starvation luncheon. Mrs. Clifford N. Jenkins, president, New York State Congress.
- National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, committee on convalescence, conference on convalescent care for children. Elise H. Martens, National chairman, committee on the Exceptional Child.

"TAKE IT EASY"

- National Women's Advisory Committee on Social Protection, meeting. Mrs. Bess N. Rosa, National chairman, committee on Social Hygiene.
- National Youth Conservation Clearinghouse, meetings. Mrs. H. S. Klein, National secretary; Mrs. Newton P. Leonard, regional vice-president; Mrs. C. D. Lowe, member of Washington, D. C., legislation committee.
- New York Herald Tribune Forum. Mrs. Albert L. Gardner, regional vice-president; Mrs. Newton P. Leonard, regional vice-president.
- Ninth Annual School Broadcast Conference. H. B. McCarty, National chairman, committee on Radio.
- Office of Price Administration, consumer advisory committee, conference. Mrs. Glen L. Swiggett, member of our Washington, D. C., legislation committee.
- Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the United Nations, observance. Howard V. Funk, former second vice-president.
- U.S. Office of Education, home fire safety conference. Mrs. L. K. Nicholson, National chairman, committee on Safety.
- U.S. State Department, meeting to discuss ways and means of achieving lasting peace as proposed by . . . international conferences. Mrs. L. W. Hughes, first vice-president.
- U.S. State Department, meeting to discuss the draft of constitution of the educational and cultural organization of the United Nations. Mrs. William A. Hastings, National president.
- War Food Administration, conference to discuss additional ways to stimulate and encourage home food production and conservation. Mrs. Glen L. Swiggett, member of our Washington, D. C., legislation committee.

BUY CAREFULLY!

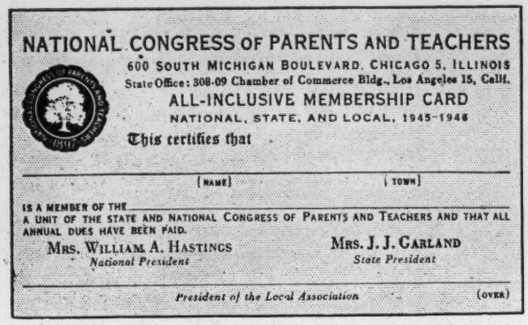
PARENT-TEACHER groups can render a much-needed national service by helping interpret the next few months' necessity for thoughtful buying. They can keep themselves and their communities informed of clothing and textile situations and can suggest buying practices that will help spread the short supply equitably. Major Herbert Rose, head of CPA's Textile, Clothing, and Leather Division, believes the following practices will be a definite asset in stabilization while our country is changing over to its peacetime economy:

1. Be patient and understanding. Remember that reconversion from wartime to peacetime production and distribution *can't* come over night.

2. When articles are scarce, buy only what you really need now.

3. Remember that each month will find a bigger selection in the stores and that any possible future shortages will be for brief periods only.

4. Before buying any scarce-supply article that you've decided you really need now, consider once more the possibility of making over some old garment to take its place, or of mending the old article still another time to make it last even a little longer.


NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS
600 SOUTH MICHIGAN BOULEVARD, CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS
State Office: 308-09 Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Los Angeles 15, Calif.
ALL-INCLUSIVE MEMBERSHIP CARD
NATIONAL, STATE, AND LOCAL, 1945-1946
This certifies that
(NAME) (TOWN)
IS A MEMBER OF THE
A UNIT OF THE STATE AND NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS AND THAT ALL ANNUAL DUES HAVE BEEN PAID.
MRS. WILLIAM A. HASTINGS
National President
MRS. J. J. GARLAND
State President
President of the Local Association
(OVER)

• *This card is a symbol of parenthood and teacherhood united in volunteer service to America's children.*

"Our CARD"

ONE of our "publications" that needs particular emphasis at this time of year is the smallest one printed, yet which has the greatest significance—the membership card.

• We rarely even think of it as a publication because we do not use it in committee meetings nor sell it. In many instances we give it as a receipt for dues, and it is often filed away as that and nothing more.

In reality, however, we pay more in proportion for that tiny bit of pasteboard than for any other publication except our books of several hundred pages. It should accordingly be recognized more often as the badge for which it stands—the privilege of service to our children and their schools.

• There are times when we ask for other publications that are far more bulky and less costly. We guard our pamphlets carefully—so carefully, in fact, that sometimes their circulation is not as free among members as one might wish!

• But we know that last year at least 3,487,138 cards were printed, handled, signed, circulated, and transferred from one to possibly three different persons and landed—where? Some in the files or in someone's desk drawer!

THIS tiny membership card, which costs but a fraction of a cent to produce, has a value far greater than the amount of money we exchange for it. We might well fill a whole page with the *material benefits* alone that are gained through the possession of a P.T.A. membership card—even as a means of identification for opening charge accounts or cashing checks in hotels! In one case, a woman while traveling had her purse containing all her money and her return-trip ticket stolen. When found, the purse was minus all but a few papers *and* her membership card in her local parent-teacher association. The policeman who helped recover it also loaned her money for her return trip on the grounds that he knew she was honest because of the organization to which she belonged!

• However, such material benefits are merely incidental. The spiritual benefits that accrue from belonging to this democratic association are beyond number. The fact that one tiny card entitles its possessor to take an active part in improving educational policies, legislative platforms, health conditions, and recreational activities brings a new appreciation of its value.

Most men's service clubs and fraternal organizations and many women's clubs turn away their own members unless they present a card or receipt for dues at the door. Although that seems like rather drastic action, it does make them carry and show their membership cards as a badge of admission and acceptance.

PERHAPS we need to stress a greater respect for our P.T.A. membership cards. Naturally, in our democratic organization we bar no one from a local meeting; rather, we *welcome* all visitors and guests. But the feeling of "belonging," which many people need, would be increased if they were one of a group who could vote on important questions only if their membership card gave them the privilege.

• Many of our thousands of new members are not aware (since conventions have been canceled during wartime) that a local membership card is the *only* way by which one is entitled to vote at state or National conventions.

There is a belief that if we limited discussion in local meetings to those holding cards, we might enhance their value and dignify their use.

• The membership card, then, is truly small but mighty, and its strength is what we make it. This power, magnified three and a half million times, is magnificent to contemplate. The very essence of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers lies in the value we ascribe and the use we give to that tiny bit of pasteboard upon which is printed our right to belong to the *greatest organization for good* in the United States today.

—Mrs. E. T. Hale, National Chairman
Committee on Congress Publications

P.T.A. ALMANAC FOR NOVEMBER

Within the association:

- Close of the Summer Round-Up campaign.
- Time to take Christmas gift subscriptions to *National Parent-Teacher: The P.T.A. Magazine.*
- Poll of local members for opinions on compulsory military training. Send card or letter stating consensus of opinion to Mrs. Hastings by November 25.
- Completion of membership enrollment.

Within the community:

- November 11–17—American Education Week. Sponsored by the National Education Association, the American Legion, the U.S. Office of Education, and the *National Congress of Parents and Teachers.* Emphasize the role of education in promoting the general welfare in a world at peace; encourage parents' visits to schools.
- November 11–17—Children's Book Week. Sponsored by the Children's Book Council, 62 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York. Direct members' attention to the essential services of the public library.
- November 22 or 29—Thanksgiving Day. Cooperate with social agencies in doing welfare work on whichever date is celebrated in your state. Give *individual* support to the Victory Loan drive, to the Community Fund campaign, and to the Red Cross.

Attention . . .
Local Presidents and Magazine Chairmen!

Not Ours

We have no connection whatever with the *Parents' Magazine.* We do not publish it; we do not sponsor it; we do not give certificates for subscriptions to it. We have not authorized any school superintendent or other school person to give the names and addresses of our local presidents to its publishers. The only magazine published and promoted by your National organization is *National Parent-Teacher: The P.T.A. Magazine.*

Buy Victory Bonds

28 - P - Music
Potts, John F.

Avery High School

CHARLESTON 16. S. C.

JOHN F. POTTS, M. A.
Principal

November 24, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlant 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I shall be delighted to arrange to have your pamphlets of the Southern Regional Council displayed at the forth-coming Palmetto State Teachers Association. I also hope that this effort will result in the recruitment of new members. The dates of the meetings are March 23-26. I shall keep in touch with you.

Very truly yours,

John F. Potts

John F. Potts

28-P-Misc - Potts, John A.

Condition of our Rights, Race and Suffrage, Honest Answer, Fleming

mp 12

November 18, 1948

Mr. John Avery Potts
Avery Institute
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Potts:

Mr. Nelson Jackson told me that the South Carolina State Teachers Association will be meeting before so very long.

Our Council has had good success in interesting teachers' groups in its pamphlet literature. The president of the Council, Mr. Paul Williams, appeared before the Virginia meeting last month, and we have also worked with the Jeanes teachers from time to time.

Our pamphlets, as you doubtless know, are mighty useful in teaching in the South. I think particularly of three or four, which I send along with this letter.

If you could very kindly arrange permission, we would like to have a table at the meeting, with one of our South Carolina members present to offer our pamphlets for sale and to recruit an occasional new member. The pamphlets are mostly ten, fifteen, and twenty cents, so they don't break anybody. It would help us a lot to strengthen our work in South Carolina.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Mr. Nelson Jackson

John Averett Potts

S. C.

Stole Jehu ~~[illegible]~~ cow (?)

Wife,

Average Most

Character

Permits him to get

a SRC food. etc,

N. Jackson

P—
B4

Avery High School

CHARLESTON 16, S. C.

JOHN F. POTTS, M. A.
Principal

January 29, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your letter, the mat, and the biographical sketch which you sent yesterday. I turned the latter two items to our publicity chairman.

I am glad to hear that you are going to stay with Mrs. Childs. She told me that she was planning to write to you.

If we need to get in touch with you before the time of the meeting I will contact you through her.

We are very glad to know that you found it convenient to accept and we are looking forward to your visit with a great deal of pleasure.

Sincerely yours,

John F. Potts

JOHN F. POTTS

JFP/cmw

P-

January 26, 1948

Mr. John F. Potts, Principal
Avery High School
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Potts:

I have planned to take the sleeper over from Atlanta to Charleston and arrive at Charleston about eight o'clock Sunday morning, February 8. Mr. and Mrs. St. Julien Childs of 73 King Street have asked me to spend some of the Charleston time with them, so I will go directly to their home Sunday morning. With their help I will be on hand at Mt. Zion Church on Glebe Street at a quarter to four that afternoon. If I am needed earlier I can be reached in care of Mrs. Childs.

My plan is to take the train out for Washington that evening about eight o'clock.

Here is a fair mat. My secretary has been kind enough to copy out the entry from Who's Who, from which you may pick out what you want.

If you would prefer other arrangements about my Sunday morning in Charleston, let me know. For the time being, I shall write the Childs that I will be on their hands.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures

GSM:eb

Avery High School

CHARLESTON 16, S. C.

JOHN F. POTTS, M. A.
Principal

January 21, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The local chapter of the Southern Regional Council had a meeting last night and they were very pleased to know that you could come and deliver the address for our inter-racial meeting on Sunday February 8th. The meeting will be held at the Mt. Zion Church on Glebe Street at four o'clock of that date. The group voted to have you use speech number three and include the highlights of the first two.

One of our projects of the year is to get Negroes appointed as policemen in this city. Another project has been the placing of books written about Negroes in the libraries of white schools. If possible, I would like for you to touch upon the first project since we have not been able to make too much progress about that.

As soon as possible, I would like to have you send a picture of yourself (preferably a mat) and biographical sketch to be used for publicity purposes. If I could get this information by Monday, I would greatly appreciate it. We are looking forward, with a great deal of pleasure, to your coming.

Please let me know what time you plan to arrive.

Sincerely yours,

John F. Potts

JOHN F. POTTS

JFP/cmw

2 P —

January 14, 1948

Mr. John F. Potts, Principal
Avery High School
Charleston 16, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Potts:

Thank you very much. I shall be delighted to come.

I could talk about the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights or about the importance of technical and vocational education at the secondary level in the modern South, and I have also a speech that draws a map of the regions of the South and prescribes measures of improvement for the mountain country, the Piedmont industrial area, the coastal plain and the piney woods. The third one is the best and includes the high lights of the first two. But I should be glad to do either one that you might wish. Let me know as far ahead as you can as to exact time and place and subject, since I have to be in Chicago for February 2-6.

I will allow plenty of time for getting to Charleston by surface conveyance!

I must have told you that Charleston has a special place in my affections.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Dictated but not read

Avery High School

CHARLESTON 16, S. C.

JOHN F. POTTS, M. A.
Principal

January 10, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am writing to extend an invitation to you to be our guest speaker on Inter-Racial Sunday, February 8th, here in Charleston.

I am not sure yet the exact time, but it will not be before five in the afternoon and not later than eight in the evening. This is the annual program of our Inter-Racial Council, which recently voted to become a chapter of the Southern Regional Council.

I know that you are very busy but we would greatly appreciate your putting forth every effort to accept this invitation.

Charleston has made some progress in the area of race relations in the last few years and we wish to give this movement more impetus.

We will bear all of your expenses and give you an honorarium.

An early reply will be greatly appreciated.

I was very pleased to have the opportunity of meeting you recently at the meeting of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools at Prarie View, and I enjoyed your contribution to the meeting immensely.

Very truly yours,

John F. Potts

JOHN F. POTTS

JFP/cmw

28 - P. Misc
Palmetto State
Teachers College

December 2, 1948

Mr. John F. Potts, President
Palmetto State Teachers Association
c/o Avery Institute
Charleston 16, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Potts:

I do greatly appreciate the kind invitation in your letter of November 30 to be part of the program for the March 24-25 meeting of the Palmetto State Teachers Association. I am glad to accept, and shall plan to be there for both days.

* → Is the meeting to be in Columbia, or Charleston, or where?

If your Association would pay my travel expenses over there and back, I would be most grateful. That should not come to more than $30.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

*
M. Gerard Anderson wrote us on 2/7/49.
We wrote asking about place. 2/11/49.
MEJ

OFFICERS

J. F. POTTS
President
Avery Institute
Charleston, S. C.

J. C. PARLER
Vice President
Wilkinson High School
Orangeburg, S. C.

A. T. BUTLER
Executive Secretary
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia 77, S. C.

D. G. CURETON
Ass't to Exec. Secretary
Carver High School
Spartanburg, S. C.

C. V. BING
Treasurer
Allendale Co. Training School
Allendale, S. C.

J. T. McCAIN
Past President
Morris College
Sumter, S. C.

Palmetto State Teachers Association

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

At Large
REV. H. B. BUTLER
417 Broad Street
Georgetown, S. C.
I. M. A. MYERS
Allen University
Columbia, S. C.

1st District
C. S. McIVER
P. O. Box 138
Summerville, S. C.

2nd District
I. C. BRACEY
210 W. Oakland Ave.
Sumter, S. C.

3rd District
H. A. ASHE
P. O. Box 153
Ware Shoals, S. C.

4th District
C. A. REUBENS, Jr.
Sanders High School
Laurens, S. C.

5th District
S. L. FINLEY
Finley High School
Chester, S. C.

6th District
J. M. McALISTER
Tomlinson High School
Kingstree, S. C.

November 30, 1948

RECEIVED
2 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Geogia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At the recent meeting of the program committee, of the Palmetto Teachers Association, I suggested your name along with Mr. Nelson Jackson, as possible participants in a symposium which we are arranging for Thursday March 24, during the forthcoming meeting of our Association. The general theme of our convention is EDUCATION FOR IMPROVING COMMUNITY LIFE. There are three aspects of this theme, which we would like to have discussed. They are: 1. IMPROVING COMMUNITY LIFE THROUGH ADULT EDUCATION (For which we hope to get a speaker). 2. IMPROVING COMMUNITY LIFE THROUGH THE COOPERATION OF THE SCHOOL WITH OTHER COMMUNITY AGENCIES. We hope Mr. Jackson will discuss this topic. 3. IMPROVING COMMUNITY LIFE THROUGH INTER-RACIAL COOPERATION. We would like to have you discuss this third aspect. Each speaker will be limited to twenty minutes. This will also give you an opportunity to arrange for the other matter we discuss in our previous correspondence. We would also like for you to remain until Friday as one of the consultants, for our group meetings. Most like ly you will be assigned to the College Group.

Please let me know if you will be available to serve in this capacity. Kindly also state what you estimate this service will cost us. In a few days you will hear from Mr. Anderson, our chairman, who will extend to you this same invitation. I hope your reply will be favorable.

Sincerely yours,

John F. Potts

John F. Potts

RECEIVED
2 1948
Southern Regional Council

28-P-Misc-
Phifer, Rev. K.G.

December 17, 1948

Rev. Kenneth G. Phifer
Oakland Avenue Presbyterian Church
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Phifer:

We are delighted to have your letter of December 14. Margaret Price is being married this Christmas, and gave up her job the first of December.

It is fine that your group will form a chapter of the Southern Regional Council.

Under separate cover we are sending 30 copies of the general leaflet. Each has on the back a blank for new members to fill in. You could either ask everyone to fill it in, or simply send us a list of those who are becoming members of the Council, with their dues or with indication that we may bill them.

You will, of course, wish to be in touch with the chairman of the South Carolina Division, Mr. J. M. Dabbs, Rip Rap, R. F. D. #1, Mayesville, South Carolina, and with the executive secretary, Mrs. Eugene Spearman, Algene Acres, Newberry, both of whom will wish to welcome the Rock Hill chapter.

To help you in explaining the Council, I send along also a selection of our various publications.

We have been urging that local groups of the Council's members put in

JP. 12-23-48

a good deal of work on equalization of school facilities. The signs are clear that that must come soon. It would be so much better if each southern community knew in advance the cost of it and had begun, out of its own sense of justice, to prepare ahead of time.

Please call on us for anything we can do to be helpful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Sending separately:

2 each of: Healthy South, Vance, Race & Suffrage, Educated South, Machines in the Cotton Fields, Housing, Negro Police New South (Oct. 1947) October 1948 New South, November 1948 New South.

5 "Honest Answer"

3 price lists

30 Flemings

Oakland Avenue Presbyterian Church
Rock Hill, South Carolina

KENNETH G. PHIFER
MINISTER

December 14, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council Office
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

Some time ago I wrote you in regard to the interest among the members of the Inter-racial Committee in Rock Hill in the formation of a unit of the Southern Regional Council. I inclosed a membership list of our group and you wrote to them inclosing several of your publications. Since that time we have given further consideration to the matter and at the last meeting of our council it was unanimously voted to dissolve and to reconstitute ourselves in January as a chapter of the Southern Regional Council.

I would appreciate it if you could send me some pamphlets stating the purpose of your organization that I might send out to other interested people in Rock Hill. I also would appreciate your sending us some application blanks for the dozen or so who have already expressed their desire to become members of the council. I am already a member as are one or two others in this city.

If there are any further steps which we can take at this time I would appreciate the information in regard to them. Thank you for your co-operation and your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth G. Phifer

Kenneth G. Phifer

KP/fc

28 - P - Misc. -
Parrish, C. H

December 30, 1948

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Parrish:

Here, at last, is a typing of our most tentative beginning of a manual for police training.

We would not print it in anything close to this form, but I send it to you because ideas from it may be useful.

Please send it back within a reasonable time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

December 15, 1948

Mr. C. H. Parrish, Jr.
Louisville Municipal College
Seventh and Kentucky Streets
Louisville 5, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Parrish:

Very many thanks for your check for $2.40 for the leaflets.

Just after the Chicago meeting, I had the material toward a police manual fished out. It is being retyped, and will go up to you just as soon as we can get it done. It is a poor thing, I must say, but it may give you some hints as to directions in which to go or not to go.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

LOUISVILLE MUNICIPAL COLLEGE
SEVENTH AND KENTUCKY STREETS
LOUISVILLE 3, KENTUCKY

~~OFFICE OF THE DEAN~~

December 9, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 13 1947
Southern Regional Council

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

The materials you sent were distributed among the members of our committee on police training. I am certain that the results will be gratifying. City officials, particularly, are in need of information about what is going on in other parts of the country and need to be conscious of the fact that the police departments in Southern cities are in the spot light.

Did you tell me that you had some materials which had been collected with the purpose of organizing a police manual? If you have such materials, I hope you give me a chance to look over them while we are in the process of organizing our course.

I am sending herewith a check for the pamphlets. 2.40 / To a. mck. 12/13/48 EMM

With kindest personal regards and best wishes for the coming holiday season, I remain

Very truly yours,

C. H. Parrish Jr.

28. P - Misc - Parrish, C. H.

12 copies "Condition of our Rights"
12 October, 1947 New South
12 September, 1948 New South

November 19, 1948

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South 6th Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Parrish:

I promised you copies of our material on police, and "The Condition of Our Rights."

They are going up separately today.

The police material we have been giving out freely. The "Condition" sells ordinarily for twenty cents. You are a Board member and you are putting it to good use, so I can be at peace about sending the twelve "Conditions" to you free. But in case they will be supplied by you to somebody with ready means for paying for them, we would appreciate the $2.40 involved.

Maybe the new members you are going to try to get us would more than balance these small pamphlets!

Miss Price, who is our police expert, tells me that since publication of our September, 1948 issue with its table the following changes have been made:

	Uniformed Policemen
Savannah	12
Louisville	27
Newport News	6
Memphis	9

Let us know if you need other materials.

Sincerely,

G.S.M.
11/19/48

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Memo

11/18

Margaret,

In letter to Mr. Parrish of Kentucky, Dr. Mitchell says:

Miss Price, who is our police expert, tells me that since publication of our September, 1948 issue with its table the following additions have been made:

Columbia, S. C. - not actually employed yet.
Memphis, Tennessee " - 9 -

Any others?

other

met

changes in our table
uniformed policemen
Savannah - 12
Louisville - 27
Memphis - 6

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

28 - P - Misc -
Parker, Kenneth

January 31, 1949

Dear Adele and Ken:

You were mighty kind to me. I enjoyed the company and the fire and Pingry and my bed and my breakfast and my trip to the train.

Come back to Georgia again and let me know ahead of time when you do.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell

Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Parker
Plainfield Road
R.F.D. 2
LaGrange, Illinois

3/29

Have we heard?

Follow up?

met

They're

No, unfortunately

resolution.

Think!

28 - P - Misc -
Pembroke

February 15, 1949

Mrs. W. Pate Lowry
Pembroke Progress
Pembroke, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Lowry:

Mrs. Guy Johnson told me what a good paper you are putting out about Pembroke.

I would like to be one of your readers.

If you will tell me how much the paper costs a year, I will send you the money, and will hope that after that each week I will hear all the news about Pembroke.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

28 - Palmetto State Teachers' Assoc.

PTA's etc in office bodies expand social functions serving.

Journal attd 2 p.m. Col. S.C.

February 15, 1949

Mr. Gerard A. Anderson, Chairman
Program Committee
c/o Wilson High School
215-221 Athens Street
Florence, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for your letter of February 7.

Here is a mat.

I look forward very much to the meeting March 24-25.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

February 11, 1949

Mr. Gerard A. Anderson, Chairman
Program Committee
c/o Wilson High School
215-221 Athens Street
Florence, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Your letter of February 7 has reached the office in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

He is looking forward to being with your Association at the March 24-25 meeting. Mr. Potts has not let us know, however, where the meeting will be held. Could you write us about that?

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor
Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

WILSON HIGH SCHOOL
215–221 ATHENS STREET
FLORENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

February 7, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George D. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are looking forward to your visit March 24 and 25 at our annual state teachers' meeting. As Chairman of the Program Committee, this letter comes to confirm your letter of estimated expenses to Mr. John F. Potts under the date of December 2, 1948.

If I can be of any service whatever, please do not hesitate to write. Newspaper mats or glossy-type pictures will be needed for our program and advance publicity.

Very sincerely yours,

Gerard A. Anderson

Gerard A. Anderson, Chairman
Program Committee
Palmetto State Teachers' Association

GAA:fgr

28-P-Misc-
Parker, Kenneth

February 16, 1949

Dear Adele:

Mighty kind of you to spread the good name of our Southern Regional Council. I will look forward to a letter from Mr. Hubert Bebb.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Mrs. Kenneth Parker
Plainfield Road
R.F.D. 2
LaGrange, Illinois

Saturday afternoon

Dear George S. Mitchell:

And thank you for a very entertaining P.M. It isnt often we are so fortunate in our guests.

Our very dear friend Hubert Bebb, architect, engineer and Humanist has been wanting to meet you these many years for he is vastly interested in your work and would like to discuss with you its many aspects. But because we never know when you will be with us I've not been able to introduce you. Sunday, following your visit, I went armed to church with the literature you gave us only to have Hubert pounce upon it and carry it off. I assured him I would introduce you via mail until such time as you are with us again, so he will write and you will respond, I hope!

Hubert is a fine man. He went into war as a matter of principle and was with the U.S.A. Engineers, I3IIth Gen Regiment of colored and whites, serving in New Guiana while his dear Frau and 2 kids lived with us. You may reacll that their small son died here of spinal mengingitis.

My little family all flew off to New England to call upon Grandmother and skii with Peter while their earthbound ma keeps the home fires burning.

Best to All,

Adele

28 - P- Misc -
Pickett, Clarence

February 17, 1949

Mr. Clarence Pickett
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Pickett:

I am happy to tell you that President Clyde Milner at Guilford College has accepted the membership on the Board of Directors of our Council to which he was elected at our annual meeting in November, 1948.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Palmetto
~~SRC — Ex Dir.~~

April 1, 1949

Mr. A. T. Butler, Executive Secretary
Palmetto State Teachers Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia 77, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Butler:

That was mighty kind of the Palmetto Teachers Association to send us the check for $50.00 to cover expenses and honorarium for my appearance at the meeting.

I have covered my own expenses out of the check and listed the rest as lecture fees donated by me to the Southern Regional Council. So you have helped us in many ways.

I enjoyed the opportunity the meeting gave me to talk, even though briefly, with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

OFFICERS

J. F. POTTS
President
Avery Institute
Charleston, S. C.

J. C. PARLER
Vice President
Wilkinson High School
Orangeburg, S. C.

A. T. BUTLER
Executive Secretary
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia 77, S. C.

D. G. CURETON
Ass't to Exec. Secretary
Carver High School
Spartanburg, S. C.

C. V. BING
Treasurer
Allendale Co. Training School
Allendale, S. C.

J. T. McCAIN
Past President
Morris College
Sumter, S. C.

Palmetto State Teachers Association

HEADQUARTERS:
1719 Taylor Street
COLUMBIA 77, SOUTH CAROLINA
TELEPHONE 2-9383

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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417 Broad Street
Georgetown, S. C.
I. M. A. MYERS
Allen University
Columbia, S. C.

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P. O. Box 138
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210 W. Oakland Ave.
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P. O. Box 153
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Finley High School
Chester, S. C.

6th District
J. M. McALISTER
Tomlinson High School
Kingstree, S. C.

March 30, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Albany Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Program Committee of the Palmetto State Teachers Association wishes to take this opportunity to express to you its sincere thanks for your having been one of the speakers on the symposium Thursday Night of last week.

Enclosed is a check for $50.00 to defray your expenses incident to the convention of the PSTA. The balance is a small honorarium for you.

I regret that I did not have an opportunity to talk with you before you left the city. Throughout the entire convention I was unusually busy.

Many thanks again for the service you rendered the PSTA.

Appreciatively yours,

A. T. Butler

A. T. Butler, Executive Secretary
Palmetto State Teachers Association

ATB:dnr
Encl. check

RECEIVED
APR 1 1949
Southern Regional Council

cc: Mr. Nelson Jackson

March 28, 1949

Mr. John A. Potts
Avery Institute
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Potts:

I greatly enjoyed the meeting of the Palmetto Teachers Association, and appreciate your kindness in inviting me.

My apologies for not being present as a consultant on the morning of the 25th. It had not been made clear to me just when I was to be available, and I had booked a meeting of certain South Carolina members of our Council for that morning and had to be present.

My expenses for the trip were as follows:

Mileage: 436 miles @ 3¢ a mile (via Crosley)	$ 13.08
Hotel at Columbia	2,50
Meals at Columbia	1.70
	$ 17.28

I took over with me in the Crosley Mr. Nelson Jackson, so that all in all, it seems to me the Association gets a reasonable travel bill.

It was good of you to make it possible for me to get some of the Council's pamphlets out. Actually, I did sell seven or eight dollars worth, which was helpful in cash and still more helpful in fame.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

28- P- Misc.
Peck, Elizabeth

Send:
punch pamphlet
Fleming
WANTED: SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION
WANTED: EDUCATED SOUTH
WANTED: HEALTHY SOUTH
HOUSING IN THE SOUTH
NEGRO IN OUR ECONOMY
RACE AND SUFFRAGE...
CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST
CONDITION OF OUR RIGHTS
HONEST ANSWER REPRINT
NEW SOUTH: Dec.-Jan., Feb., March, April 1949
price list
MACHINES IN THE COTTON FIELDS

May 12, 1949

Mrs. Elizabeth S. Peck
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Peck:

Miss Gundlach wrote me about your new course, "Problems of the South", for next year.

I send you a stack of the Council's publications, in the hope that quite a number of them will be useful to you. I send a list of them all, and you can see the figures at which they could be supplied.

Many of these have been used successfully as text material in various colleges. The University of Louisville buys several hundred dollars worth a year; so do Emory University, University of Miami, and others.

If we can help you in any way, please let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Harold Fleming

28: P, Misc
Pfuetze, Paul E.

May 16, 1949

Prof. Pauel E. Pfuetze
Department of Philosophy
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pfeutze:

Thank you for your invitation to speak to your classes this Wednesday. Unlike Dr. Mitchell, I am not an old hand at platform delivery, but I shall try to do justice to the Council's view of the South.

It is thoughtful of you to suggest that we have lunch together. I shall plan to arrive at your office about noon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

28 P. Misc

Pfuetze, Paul E.

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

May 13, 1949

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I had asked our good friend George Mitchell to come to Athens to speak to my classes about the Southern Regional Council. He wrote that his schedule precludes a visit at this time; and he suggested that you might come. Perhaps he has already spoken to you about the assignment. In any event, I am writing now to ask if you could come and talk to my students. Mr. Mitchell suggested that next Wednesday, May 18, might be agreeable. If that date is suitable for you, I shall arrange my time-table to make a place for you at that time.

The students in these classes are seniors and juniors. It is a required senior course called "Philosophy and Society" -- and it is really a survey course which includes methodology, value theory, ethics, and political philosophy -- critical thinking about contemporary problems. And I want to introduce the students to The New South through the approach which the Southern Regional Council makes. You can help them "see" the South and interpret its problems and resources. There are two classes, rather two sections of the

of the same course, meeting at 2:30 and again at 3:30 of the same day. Therefore you will have two appearances before two different groups of students. I would suggest that you talk for 30-40 minutes, leaving a few minutes for questions and discussion. The period is 50 minutes.

My office is in Academic Building, Room ### 112, on the first floor. Academic building is an old building, on Broad Street on which you come into town. Come a bit early, if possible, so we can talk. Perhaps you could come early enough to join me for lunch.

Cordially,

Paul E. Bruetz

Paul E. Bruetz
Professor of Philosophy.

28 P- Misc
Pfeutze, Paul E

May 9, 1949

Professor Paul E. Pfeutze
Department of Philosophy
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pfeutze:

We appreciate the invitation to talk to the class again. I have got a Kentucky trip for the next five days and a New York trip for the next six after that, which pushes me anyway, and runs me very close to your June 1 deadline.

How about my very able assistant, Mr. Harold Fleming? He is a guy lately out of Harvard after a turn in the war. He runs the little publication New South and generally does the writing and much of the thinking hereabouts. He is not one of these real hoe-down, gesticulating, rafter-shaking speech makers, but he is calm, interesting, informed, Georgia, white, and what he has to say carries a nice turn of wit. I think you would be well off with him.

He is willing to go to Athens Wednesday, May 18, if that is agreeable with you. He has a fancy Nash and I daresay would drive it over there. Why don't you write him and tell him if you do or don't want him, and if you do, when and where.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

May 6, 1949

RECEIVED
MAY 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Georgia Mitchell,
63 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Is there any chance of your coming to Athens within the next two or three weeks to speak to my classes again? I think I could meet your convenience as to days. We don't have Saturday classes, but almost any other day would be all right. Friday classes are sometimes not so well attended. But come when you can -- if your schedule will permit a visit.

Cordially yours,

Paul E. Pfuetze

Paul E. Pfuetze

PS. Exams state June 1, so your visit should come before that -- ### by several days if possible.

28-P-Misc
Poynter, Juliet

June 10, 1949

AIR MAIL

Miss Juliet Poynter
Shelbyville, Kentucky

Dear Miss Poynter:

We have told Mr. Sells personally about your nomination of the Reverend Mr. Charles Nunnery of Pleasureville, Kentucky, which came in by wire.

The Progressive Farmer will need to have a full letter describing why Mr. Nunnery should receive a scholarship. The enclosed clipping outlines the "rules".

It is already late for the letters to be in, so please hurry.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Mr. J. M. Tydings

May 30, 1949

Miss Juliet Poynter
Shelbyville, Kentucky

Dear Miss Poynter:

Enclosed is a very interesting letter from Dr. Mitchell with regards to scholarship for a country preacher from Kentucky to attend a two-weeks Town and Country School for Religious Workers, at Emory University, in Atlanta, for the period July 4-21.

My first thought was of a young Methodist minister who is working in the Henry County Parrish.

Please see if he is interested, and furnish me the information I will need to write a letter of nomination to the Progressive Farmer.

Very truly yours,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:oh
cc: Dr. Mitchell

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

Show to Mr. Sells
Files

The PROGRESSIVE FARMER
RALEIGH BIRMINGHAM MEMPHIS DALLAS

June 10, 1949,
63 Auburn Ave.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Friend:

Your letter nominating your pastor as a candidate for the award "Rural Minister of the Year" has been received. You may be sure that your letter has been carefully considered by the committee that makes the award.

It has been with a great deal of interest and appreciation that I have read the many letters speaking of the fine and consecrated work of the preachers so recommended. The only regret that we have is that we are not able to make more awards or to give more scholarships.

Next year, I hope to be able to issue a scorecard which you can use in nominating your pastor for one of the awards or scholarships. Let me thank you again for your letter and your interest in this program of recognition.

If you will read the August issue of The Progressive Farmer, you will find there the names of the ministers who have received these awards, as this decision has not been made as yet.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Sells

James W. Sells,
Rural Church Editor.

S:a

Five Editions .. TEXAS .. MISSISSIPPI VALLEY .. KENTUCKY-TENNESSEE .. GEORGIA-ALABAMA-FLORIDA .. CAROLINAS-VIRGINIA

28 P-Misc
Presbyterian Church
Committee on Women's
Work

July 5, 1949

Miss Mary S. Quidor, Treasurer
Committee on Woman's Work
Presbyterian Church in the United States
Henry Grady Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Quidor:

Here is a good article from the current issue of Collier's by Hodding Carter which warmly praises S.R.C.

We are greatly appreciative of the support which the Committee on Woman's Work has given us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

28- P- Misc
Pennington, Wayne

WAYNE PENNINGTON *Suite 300 · 205 East 42nd Street · New York 17, N. Y. · MUrray Hill 4-1102*

July 11, 1949

RECEIVED
JUL 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your prompt reply. And please keep me in mind if a promising possibility should present itself.

I like the pamphlets you enclosed. They show deep thinking, clean, long-range planning.

If I can be of help to you, just let me know.

My very best regards,

Wayne Pennington

28 - P. Parrish
Parrish, C. H.

August 3, 1949

Mr. C. H. Parrish
8th & Kentucky Streets
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Parrish:

Last year in November when we had the Annual Meeting of the Council, you generously undertook to find $25.00 for the Council for 1949.

We need it particularly badly right now. We are having a hard time meeting our payrolls for the next few weeks until further funds come in.

If you can find your $25.00 quite soon, it would be doubly welcome.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

28-P-Misc-
Parrish, C. H.

February 3, 1949

Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Parrish:

We sent you yesterday at Mr. Mynders' request some dope about me.

I don't know what more to tell you. My father was for many years active in the Virginia Commission and in the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. I guess he taught me sense.

I look forward to seeing you February 12.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

926 South Sixth Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky
February 1, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is to say, belatedly, that the materials you sent are proving quite useful in our project for police instruction on dealing with minority groups. If you need the manuscript in a hurry, let me know.

Meanwhile, we are looking forward to your visit to Louisville next week. The pleasant task of introducing you has been assigned to me. You can help me by sending such information about yourself as may be necessary to keep me from making embarassing mistakes. In addition to the usual items, I would like to know the beginning of your interest, the length and nature of your connection with the Southern Regional Council.

I hope you will be in town long enough to meet some of the members of the committee on police training. I think an exchange of ideas will prove beneficial to us and make new friends for SRC.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish

C. H. Parrish

4 P Co. 90 3 w hp.

28-P-Misc
Pritchard, J. C

August 4, 1949

Mr. J. C. Pritchard
Carroll Service Council
Carrollton, Georgia

Dear Pritch,

A final meeting of "our committee" has been arranged for this coming Sunday Afternoon, August 7th, at 906 Lullwater Road, at five o'clock.

My house is within a mile of Emory. Lullwater is off Ponce de Leon heading toward Emory.

We all do hope that either this or other things will bring you to Atlanta Sunday and you can come.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

28- P - Misc
Polier, Shad

August 4, 1949

Mr. Shad Polier
1834 Broadway
New York 23, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Polier:

Thank you so much for sending me August 1, the copy of HR2270, and the analysis.

That looks like a good bill.

I would be grateful for your kindness in sending copies to as many of the following as you may wish. They are officers of the Council's several State Divisions or affiliated Interracial Committees.

Dr. A. D. Beittel	Talladega College	Talladega, Ala.
Mr. H. C. Trenholm	State Teachers College	Montgomery, Ala.
Dr. T. Ruth Brett	P. O. Box 397	Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
Mr. R. P. Daniel	1103 Florida Nat'l Bank Bldg.	Jacksonville, Fla.
Mr. Herbert Davidson	News-Journal	Daytona Beach, Fla.
Mrs. William C. White		Okeechobee, Fla.
Dr. R. E. Russell	63 Auburn Ave. Room 408	Atlanta, Ga.
Rev. G. E. Clary	224 Barnard St.	Savannah, Ga.
Dr. F. B. Washington	Atlanta University of Social Work	Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. J. M. Tydings	Lincoln Institute	Lincoln Ridge, Ky.
Mr. R. B. Atwood	Ky. State College	Frankfort, Ky.
Mrs. Hortense Young	818 S. Sixth St.	Louisville, Ky.
Rev. Brent Schaeffer	1525 Robinson St.	Jackson, Miss.
Mr. L. C. Jones	Piney Woods School	Piney Woods, Miss.
Mrs. Ruby S. Lyells	1116 Montgomery St.	Jackson, Miss.
Mr. C. M. Johnson	P.O. Box 1208	Raleigh, N. C.
Rev. Leon Russell	Jarvis Memorial Methodist Church	Greenville, N. C.
Mr. C. C. Spaulding	P. O. Box 201	Durham, N. C.

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Mrs. Irving Cohn	1122 Lowerline St.	New Orleans, La.
Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger	Touro Synagogue	New Orleans 13, La.
Miss Florence Sytz	Tulane School of Social Work	New Orleans, La.
Mr. James M. Dabbs	"Rip Rap" Route #1	Mayesville, S. C.
Mrs. Marion B. Wilkinson	S. C. State College	Orangeburg, S. C.
Miss Rebecca Reid	29 E. Calhoun St.	Sumter, S. C.
Mr. Alfred Mynders	The Chattanooga Times	Chattanooga, Tenn.
Dr. C. S. Johnson	Fisk University	Nashville, Tenn.
Mrs. C. B. Smith	The Methodist Parsonage	Donelson, Tenn.
Mrs. James S. Crate	2410 Inwood Drive	Houston, Texas
Mr. W. R. Banks		Prairie View, Texas
Dr. J. L. Clark	1421 W. 14th St.	Huntsville, Texas
Rev. Mr. Emerson Smith	109 Grace St.	Richmond, Va.
Mr. J. M. Allison	Va. Union University	Richmond 20, Va.
Mr. J. E. Moreland	Randolph-Macon College	Ashland, Va.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

28-P-Race
Powell, Dan

August 26, 1949

Mr. Dan Powell
136½ South Second Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Dan,

GSM's reply in 6-CIO-PAC

A lady named Mrs. Frank R. Veal, 529 Rutledge Ave., Charleston, South Carolina, wrote to me on August 14, addressing me as Regional Director of CIO PAC and asking for literature to get PAC known around Charleston. She is working particularly on getting Negro citizens registered. She says she is the wife of a Methodist minister and has had some experience with CIO in Cincinnati.

I gave her your name and Franz Daniel's name as two people who can help her. My suggestion would be that you send her a selection of literature items and offer to send her more of any particular one that she might like.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

28 - P - Misc
Pepper, Claude

August 26, 1949

The Honorable Claude Pepper
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Pepper:

As I know you are concerned for orderly enforcement of law, I send you, as a matter of information, a copy of the Council's just published account of the recent outburst of mob violence in Lake County, Florida.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

28 - P - Misc
Pepper, Claude

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
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J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.
H. ALEXANDER SMITH, N. J.
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA
HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS.
FRANCIS O. WILCOX, CHIEF OF STAFF

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 13, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 8 with enclosure of an account of the lynching at Irwinton, Georgia, and analysis of possible legislation. I have read this with profitable interest.

Sincerely yours,

Claude Pepper

CP:jv

RECEIVED
AUG 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

28 - P - Misc
Pepper, Claude

August 8, 1949

The Honorable Claude Pepper
United States Congress
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Pepper:

Here is a useful account of the lynch-inch at Irwinton, Georgia and an analysis of possible legislation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

38- H- Misc
Washington Post

August 29, 1949

Mr. Eugene Meyer, Editor
The Washington Post
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Meyer:

This is a remarkable editorial column.

I believe the nation will be helped if it could be reprinted in the Washington Post.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

28-P- Misc
Patterson, F. D.

September 7, 1949

Mr. F. D. Patterson, President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I have mailed over to you the Tuskegee pictures, which you were kind enough to write about September 1.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

September 1, 1949

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please send the photographs you have on hand to us at Tuskegee Institute. We will be glad to pay postage on them. There may be some we would like to keep and would prefer to look at them at least before they are disposed of otherwise.

Heartiest thanks for your letter.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
President

h

RECEIVED
SEP 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

27- Misc -
Office of Education

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 15, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

This is in reply to your letter of the 6th.

I regret very much that it is impossible for us to provide you with the figures showing the number of high school graduates in agriculture by States for the years of 1947 or 1948 and 1940. I am sending you a list of the state supervisors of agricultural education. I am sure that a number of them will be able to supply you with this information from the records that they keep in the States but are not kept in this office.

filed: 9- directors

Sincerely yours,

D. M. Clements

D. M. Clements
Assistant Chief
Agricultural Education Service

Enclosure

28 - P. Mss
Phylon

September 15, 1949

The Editor
Phylon
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I thought perhaps this little pamphlet, just out, might deserve a notice somewhere in Phylon.

We had the good news the other day that the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association will distribute it to all its members.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

28 - P. Inc
Petersburg Progress-Index

September 15, 1949

Petersburg Progress Index
Petersburg, Virginia

ATTENTION: The Editor

Dear Sir:

Our Council has been working for some time to get together a pamphlet on Race in the News. It came back from the printer just the other day. You will see that its final subject gives merited praise to your paper.

We heard just the other day that the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association intends to send the pamphlet out to all its members.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

28 - P - Misc
Parents Magazine

September 27, 1949

Mr. George J. Hecht
c/o Parents' Magazine
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hecht:

Back in December of 1948, I promised I would send you, when it would be done, our pamphlet Race in the News.

It is at long last out.

We think it can do a lot to speed and shape the already perceptive movement in the South for better handling of Negro matters.

If you can, in any way, help us to get wider circulation of it, please do. I keep seeing evidences that Parent's Magazine is respected in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

28 - P - Price
Popham, John

October 7, 1949

Mr. John N. Popham
c/o The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear John:

Here is the material on the Council's fund-raising effort. I have put it in release form purely as a matter of convenience. I know you will have to juggle the facts about and perhaps leave out some of them.

I don't have to tell you how much we think of you and how grateful we are for your interest in the Council -- particularly at this rough time.

Also enclosed are the Fulton Oursler letter which Dr. Mitchell spoke of and a copy of our promotion leaflet which gives the essential dope about the council.

Your story on the Gammon affair was a beaut -- and in the News Index too! Dr. Richardson and Mr. Holsey are both exulting over it and admire you greatly.

By the way, I'll be on the lookout for that magazine article on the North-South difference in discrimination. That's too good an idea to pass up.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encls

P. Murcel

Oct.16,1949

Dear Harold:

I received your data on the funds campaign for the council. I was unable to write for Sunday's paper of today, as I had to go to New Orleans on a world-wide congress of the International Society of Surgery. I have a heavy ~~xxxxxxxx~~ schedule for the next few weeks, so probably won't submit it for a Sunday piece for another weekxx or two. Anyhow, it will keep, and I want to do the best I can to spot it for a Sunday play. So have faith, and perhaps we will yet get it used. Hope to see you soon again.

Yours

Johnny Popham

RECEIVED
17 1949
Southern Regional Council

28 - P - Misc -
Pierce, J. E.

October 18, 1949

Mr. J. E. Pierce
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Pierce:

Dr. Mitchell, who is out of the city, has asked me to answer your kind letter.

We were happy to get the clipping from the Alabama Journal which tells the story of Mr. Emmanuel Brown, and we value your appreciative comment about "Race in the News." Enclosed is an illustrated leaflet which describes our major publications, as well as a complete publications list. I hope some of them will appear useful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t
enclosure

HCF
Please answer this
GSM says

Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. George S.Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta,Georgia

Dear Sir:

At the request of Mr Emory O. Jackson of Birmingham, I am sending you a clipping for the Advertiser which appeared in the Sunday Edition of October 9,1949.

I wsih to state here that I think that your new publication of Racein The News is one of the best piece of literature to come to my desk in a long time. I will be ordering quite a few very soon.

The author of the article enclosed has done a number of very fine ones lately. However, there is some question of the author stand does not reduce the effectiveness of his writing.

Please send me a list of publicationnow available for use and sale.

Sincerely yours
J. E. Pierce
J. E.Pierce

RECEIVED
17 1949
Southern Regional Council

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1949

Rankin File

Emmanuel Brown: He Cast Down His Bucket Where He Was

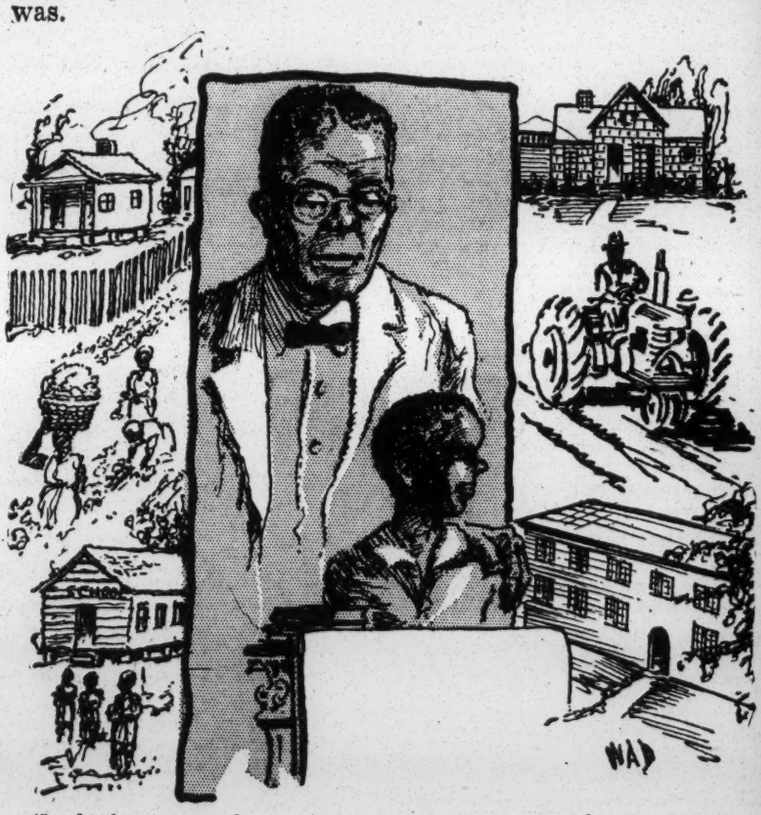
By Allen Rankin
Daily In The Alabama Journal

MINTER, ALA.

THIS IS THE STORY of Emmanuel Brown.

In 1904 he left his one-room log cabin here in the heart of the Black Belt. With one frayed suit to his name, he did what was then almost impossible for a Negro to do. He entered Harvard, and six summers later—summers were the only time he could spare—he got his degree from Harvard.

It was a strange story this slight, hungry Negro told as he pounded the pavements of Boston. He told people he needed money to return to Alabama and start a school for his own race. Now and then someone dropped from $2 to $5 in Emmanuel's hat and wondered what his dodge really was.



'Look about you and see what's wrong,' said Emmanuel. The Negroes of the Black Belt did, and learned pride.

His "dodge" was to come back to Alabama and start a school, just as he said.

He started it the winter before he enrolled at Harvard's summer school. He started it in a one-room shack here with 15 Negroes as students—ranging in age from 6 to 18. He called his school The Street Manual Trade School after a Negro who had given him bread when he was hungry in Boston. He told the Negroes of his community here that if they would send him their children he would teach them how to work better, improve their lives in practical ways.

Today, 45 years later, Emmanuel's school that began with a one-room shack is a modern campus of brick, stone and steel, enrolling 300 students and 14 teachers, and valued at $300,000. Its value to Emmanuel's race and to the state as a whole cannot be figured in dollars.

"Look about you and see what's wrong," Teacher Emmanuel told the first pupils who showed up for his course in the one-room shack.

★

'Now The First Thing We Learn Is '

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★

'Now The First Thing We Learn Is . . .'

Right from the first Emmanuel taught every student that he had a "desk place" of his own. It was up to each one to look about and see whether this place was trashy or neat and well-kept. And, on the same theme, the teacher explained: What each Negro made of his life was no one's fault except his.

"The first thing we learn here," said the Harvard graduate who chose to come back and teach his fellow sharecroppers, "is to respect ourselves. If we don't have respect for ourselves, nobody is going to have respect for us—I don't care who we are."

To the older ones Emmanuel made himself clearer: "The Negro's worst fault is that he has no pride in his own race. That pride cannot be given; it must be built from within."

Among the Alabama tenant farmers and cotton pickers he began to build bigger pride as well as bigger school rooms. And even after they left the school room Emmanuel's boys and girls began to look around them, and put them in order.

They met his challenge, "You know nothing and you can do nothing!" From him and the 14 teachers he was eventually able to hire, the boys learned better farming, plumbing, carpentering, plastering, electricity. The girls learned how to be better cooks and seamstresses.

Today many a student of Emmanuel's is no longer a tenant farmer. Many own their own prospering farms and their own new houses. When Emmanuel began a new $50,000 vocational school now under construction, he did not have to call on anyone from outside for expert labor. His students and graduates are building their school from foundation to roof. His carpentry teacher, Timothy Lewis, designed it.

★

Larnin' Through Chattering Teeth

Emmanuel, who now guesses his age at 62, grew up poor as dirt, one of a family of 10 in his father, Aaron's one-room shack. He learned first of all to keep the family's two cows out of other peoples' pastures. His ambition at 8, was to be able to own a plow. "What a time I'll have," he thought, "when we can afford a plow."

At 5 1-2 he began walking three miles to a one-room school in which teemed 250 Negroes from ages 6 to 20. In snow or in rain, more than half the pupils had to wait outside chattering by bonfires until time for them to come in and get their "larnin'".

When he finally went to the Snow Hill Trades School 15 miles away Emmanuel's eyes were opened. He should have been learning the carpentry trade all the time. He determined not to be a carpenter but a teacher who would take his learning back home to his own community. Fifteen miles was a long way in those days. It was long enough for Emmanuel to have wasted the first years of his life without education. He determined it wouldn't happen to those coming after him.

★

'The Edicated Wall'

Negroes were so ignorant when he arrived to teach them that many thought they could become wise by going to school one day and "brushing de haid against de edicated wall."

"What's become of Elijah?" Emmanuel inquired about a missing pupil one day. "Why, Lawd, he don't need to go to school no more," said Elijah's father proudly. "Why, he done passed de mailbox!"

"Passed the mailbox?" said Emmanuel.

"Yeah? Elijah he can writ a letter to Seecago an get back an answer. He is finished!"

Most Negroes then thought "passing the mailbox" was the ultra-ultra in knowledge.

Emmanuel passed his "mailbox course" when he found a scrap of paper in the road listing a Mrs. Edwin Mead of Boston, who had inscribed after her name "peace-worker." Out of curiosity Emmanuel, then a school child himself, wrote Mrs. Mead to see if he could get an answer. That was a feat in those days. He did. Mrs. Mead also returned his letter with corrected spelling and penmanship.

For Emmanuel, it was a lucky scrap of paper that bore the name Mrs. Mead. For years she continued to help him by correspondence and she helped him get into Harvard.

★

The School That Wouldn't Die

Emmanuel's trade school could be called "The School That Wouldn't Die." Built almost entirely on his constant solicitation of funds from both white and colored, it is his creation, sweated and wrestled up out of the Black Belt dirt. Twice more than half of the institution has burned down—the last time in 1943. Each time, Emmanuel has set about slowly building it back.

Waterman Steamship Lines offered to put up $25,000 for the replacement of the big vocational school razed by fire in 1943, if Emmanuel could raise the other $25,000.

For five years he struggled, but the total contributions he was able to raise stood at $13,000.

Then one night about a year ago Emmanuel got a surprise invitation. It was to speak before a group of prominent Selma men. At the end of his talk, he learned what was happening. All the doctors and lawyers and businessmen met here were paying $65 a plate at a banquet held just for him. As a surprise, they handed him a check for the long-needed $12,000!

"Tears filled my eyes," Emmanuel said. "It is time to be deeply grateful." The gratitude was mutual. The Black Belt and the State of Alabama have decided it is time to be deeply grateful to a distinguished man who is a credit and an honor to his race.

28 - P - Misc
Phillips, Cabell

October 21, 1949

Mr. Cabell Phillips
New York Times
311 Albee Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Cabell:

I read with much interest the article about Camden, Alabama. I don't know Camden, but I think the story you wrote about it should be acceptable to any but Camden's most intolerant residents.

We are lining things up for a story to send you such as you and I talked about.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

28-P Misc.
Phillips, Cabell

August 9, 1949

Mr. Cabell B. H. Phillips
The New York Times
Albee Building
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Cabell:

Our man did a good story on the lynching at Irwinton, Georgia. Here it is, with some analysis overleaf of possible legislation.

Warm regards to you and Xi.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

38 P. Inc
Phillips, Cabell

July 6, 1949

Mr. Cabell Phillips
The New York Times
Albee Building
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Phillips:

I hope this suggestion will reach you in time to be of use. I delayed writing you because I learned that Dr. Mitchell would be back in Atlanta today. Herewith his advice.

Sumter, S. C., would be a good bet for a profile, for the following reasons:

(1) It is reasonably small. The population in 1940 was slightly less than 16,000.

(2) It is a town of contrasts. Although it is located well in the plantation country, it has a lively woodworking industry. The workers have been pretty well organized, and at least half the union members are Negroes. While it is not a harmoniously progressive town, its contrasts epitomize the changes which are spreading in the South — and the kind of opposition which they meet.

(3) You could probably work in some interesting sidelights on the Democrat vs. Dixiecrat struggle now prominent in the state. Dr. Mitchell feels that a good bit of that current contest for power is centered about Sumter.

(4) There are good persons in and around Sumter who are informed about and active in race relations. The Council has several members and friends there who would be of help to you.

Those are Dr. Mitchell's observations as he gave them to me briefly over the telephone. Sumter may not be just the sort of Southern community which you had in mind, but it should provide a colorful article and one that would be meaningful in terms of the whole South.

If you decide on Sumter -- or any other place -- we will be glad to put you in touch with our people in that area. Let us know how we can help you.

Dr. Mitchell asks me to give you his warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

GENERAL

Nov.7,1949.

P-Mixed

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is an item which you sent me in the data on the council's campaign drive, and which Dr.Mitchell would like to have returned. Will you see that he gets it? I have sent the campaign fund story on to the Times and am hopeful that it will appear Sunday,Nov.13. That's the only open chance I have had to plant the story, since I have had some major assignment to cover every Saturday since I received your material and I knew I couldn't get a decent break with the council story at the same time. I don't know of anything worthwhile that is scheduled to come up for me this coming week-end. What did you think of the play the Times gave several weeks ago to the story on the council calling upon the South to consider the racial problem from an international standpoint. Mr.Mynders tells me that Senator Kefauver inquired about the council pamphlet containing that material. I think he wanted to send it on to some person in the State [redacted] Department. Hope to see you soon again.

Best wishes

John

John N.Popham

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

P-Misc 11/14/49

Mr. John Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

What a magnificent story. Our warmest thanks.

Harold Fleming

28 - P - Misc -
Perlman, Philip B.

Office of the Solicitor General
Washington, D. C.

November Fourteenth
1949

NCF

Dear Mr. Mitchell:-

Thank you very much for your letter of November 10th and for the September edition of THE NEW SOUTH.

I am interested - very much - in reading the article on "Law and Discrimination". It is a most timely exposition of one of the most important problems with which the courts are required to deal. I am glad to have it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Philip B. Perlman
Solicitor General

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

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16 1949
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28- P- Misc. —
Perlman, Philip B.

November 10, 1949

Mr. Philip B. Perlman
Solicitor General of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Perlman:

Mr. Jacob Billikopf at Philadelphia, who is a member of our Council, received a copy of the September issue of our magazine New South. He has written me and asked particularly that a copy be sent to you, your attention being drawn to the article called "Law and Discrimination."

I have the honor of complying with Mr. Billikopf's request.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
enclosure

November 10, 1949

Mr. Jacob Billikopf
805 Bankers Security Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Billikopf:

Thank you so much for suggesting that a copy of that issue of New South be sent to Mr. Perlman.

I have done so.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

October 28, 1949

Dear George:

What an illuminating article entitled LAW AND DISCRIMINATION in the September issue of the New South! Is Philip B. Perlman, Solicitor General, U.S. on your list? If not, please send him the September issue with a covering note saying you are doing it at my request.

Kindest regards.

Yours,

L.B.

R. Powell

November 22, '49

Dear Mr. Popham,

Most newspaper stories break the heart of anyone deeply informed about what the story is about; so many things go in wrong. But yours in general, and this one of Sunday in particular, get the facts straight, order them duly, and touch each point deftly and fairly. And they got the headline just right, and so on.

It will help us enormously, and we are very grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

28 - P - Misc -
Poteat, McNeill

November 28, 1949

Reverend McNeill Poteat
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear McNeill:

Baptist Headquarters sent straight on through the copy of the statement. I can see that it is somewhat less vigorous but still good.

Everything moves fairly fast, I think.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

P-Misc

December 9, 1949

Mr. Chat Paterson, Executive Director
Committee for the Nation's Health
Kellogg Building
1416 F. Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Chat:

Thank you lots for your letter.

I quite understand and would probably take the same position myself. Les thought that you might find it possible to strengthen our hand.

I am overjoyed that A.V.C. has new strength.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Chat Paterson

Corporate Office:
50 Broadway
New York 4, New York

December 7, 1949

RECEIVED
DEC 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Re your letter of December 2: There is nothing I would like to do more than to help the Council. My admiration for your courage and vision in a tough field has always been great. As for my putting you in touch with Mrs. Blaine, about all I can suggest is that you write her directly, and if she calls me for advice on this I shall be very glad to push it with whatever force I have in the situation.

I do not have "backing" to give. My relation with Mrs. Blaine is purely because of her interest in American Veterans Committee and its program. It is not in my power to transfer this feeling in any way.

I don't want you to feel that this in any way indicates a lack of interest or support for your program. I want to help and nothing would please me more than to have my opinion asked, but I must confine my relationship with Mrs. Blaine to AVC.

With best regards,

Chat

Chat Paterson

cc: Les Persells

CP/o

America needs "a system of pre-paid medical insurance which will enable every American to afford good medical care . . . without further delay."—President Harry S. Truman, January 5, 1949.

P

December 28, '49

Mr. Richard L. Plaut
National Negro Scholarship Service
31 West 110th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Plaut,

We have been a very long time, in our exigencies, in getting around to our note in NEW SOUTH about the Service and Fund, but here at last it is.

~~Sincerely~~

This will go out to about 4,500 members or subscribers, almost all in the South.

Sincerely,
George S. Mitchell
Executive Dir.

(Send him 5 copies)
of Nov-Dec New South

9d postage including the letter

1st class

P

December 28, 1949

The Hon. Phillip B. Perlman
Solicitor General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Solicitor General:

Our small magazine has made bold to reprint in shortened, summary, form the important brief which you submitted in the Elmer Henderson case.

I send you herewith five copies. We are hopeful that this additional circulation will have some influence in increasing the willingness of Southern people to contemplate change.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

P

January 5, 1950

Mr. John Popham
c/o Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Popham:

We had still another check, this time for twenty-five dollars from some one in Philadel hia - nominee Biddle - which was made and sent to Dr. Howard W. Orum at Chapel Hill, who duly sent it on.

We thank you too, again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

January 5, 1950

Miss Lucy Clark Perry
Brier Hill
Yardley, Pa.

Dear Miss Perry:

How very kind indeed that was of you to send us December 30 your check for twenty dollars. Mrs. Tilly's program was a good many months ago now, and it is doubly pleasant to us to know that you remember (and in this way) her talk.

She is in Palestine just now on a church mission, as I understand, with a church group which is being shown the arrangements made and pending for care of the various holy places in Jerusalem.

I send three or four things about the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

YSM deposited $20.00 Jan. 5

BRIER HILL
YARDLEY, PENNSYLVANIA

December 30-1949

Southern Regional Conference
Wesleyan Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen -

Some time ago I heard Dorothy Tilly on Mary Margaret McBride's program and resolved, whenever I could, to send you something to keep in your work.

It is people like you who are the hope of this uncertain world.

Sincerely yours

Lucy Clark Penry.

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1950
Southern Regional Council

1/13/50

GSM -

Thanks to La Stoney, a Yellow Thing has been sent to each of these bozos.

HCF

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January 6, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Thanks for sending me the current NEW SOUTH and thanks again for the piece about us.

I was also very much interested in your reports about Jefferson College and about the current legislation in the Supreme Court. I think it is altogether a very fine issue.

I recall with pleasure our talks in Chicago and I hope they will be resumed again sonn, somewhere.

Best regards,

Cordially,

Richard L. P.

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg

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Yellow Thing - 117

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DANIEL L. MARSH
Boston University

CLARENCE P. McCLELLAND
MacMurray College for Women

GEORGE W. McCLELLAND
University of Pennsylvania

HOWARD S. McDONALD
Brigham Young University

ROBERT W. McEWEN
Hamilton College

LAWRENCE J. McGINLEY
Fordham University

HELEN McKINSTRY
Russell Sage College

ALEXANDER H. MENEELY
Wheaton College

JOHN S. MILLIS
University of Vermont

ROBERT N. MONTGOMERY
Muskingum College

HENRY T. MOORE
Skidmore College

JAMES L. MORRILL
University of Minnesota

JOHN O. MOSELEY
University of Nevada

JOHN W. NASON
Swarthmore College

JOHN A. O'BRIEN
College of the Holy Cross

ELEANOR M. O'BYRNE
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart

PETER H. ODEGARD
Reed College

DAVID B. OWEN
Bradley University

CHARLES N. PACE
Hamline University

ROSEMARY PARK
Connecticut College

McLEOD M. PEARCE
Geneva College

SISTER MARY PETER
Rosary College

WILLIAM S. A. POTT
Elmira College

NATHAN M. PUSEY
Lawrence College

ROLAND R. RENNE
Montana State College

NELSON V. RUSSELL
Carroll College

GRANGER RYAN
Seton Hill College

CHARLES SEYMOUR
Yale University

WILLIAM A. SHIMER
Marietta College

GEORGE N. SHUSTER
Hunter College

KENNETH C. M. SILLS
Bowdoin College

HEZZELTON E. SIMMONS
University of Akron

FRANKLIN B. SNYDER
Northwestern University

WILLIAM G. SPENCER
Franklin College

ROBERT G. SPROUL
University of California

SAMUEL S. STRATTON
Middlebury College

ROBERT L. STEARNS
University of Colorado

SAMUEL N. STEVENS
Grinnell College

WILLIAM E. STEVENSON
Oberlin College

BRYAN S. STOFFER
Washburn Municipal University

HAROLD W. STOKE
University of New Hampshire

AUGUST L. STRAND
Oregon State College

CLARENCE C. STOUGHTON
Wittenberg College

HAROLD TAYLOR
Sarah Lawrence College

FRANK W. THOMAS
Fresno State College

WILLIAM P. TOLLEY
Syracuse University

CHARLES J. TURCK
Macalester College

LEVERING TYSON
Muhlenberg College

ALAN VALENTINE
University of Rochester

HENRY P. VAN DUSEN
Union Theological Seminary

EDWIN E. VOIGT
Simpson College

J. EDWARD WALTERS
Alfred University

RAYMOND WALTERS
University of Cincinnati

HERMAN B. WELLS
Indiana University

JOHN C. WEST
University of North Dakota

GILBERT F. WHITE
Haverford College

LYNN T. WHITE, JR.
Mills College

CLYDE E. WILDMAN
Depauw University

CAROL R. WOODWARD
Rhode Island State College

BENJAMIN F. WRIGHT
Smith College

HARRY N. WRIGHT
College of the City of New York

HAROLD L. YOCHUM
Capital University

Names of colleges and universities included for identification purposes only.

P-Misc

Office of the Solicitor General
Washington, D. C.

January Ninth
1950

RECEIVED
JAN 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:-

Thank you very much for your letter of December 28th and for the enclosed copies of the edition of the magazine containing a summary of the Government's brief in the Henderson case.

I am glad to get it in this form and I appreciate your courtesy in sending it to me.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Philip B. Perlman

Philip B. Perlman
Solicitor General

January 24, 1950

Mr. Everett L. Perry
Research Assistant
Dept. of City & Industrial Work
Board of National Missions of the
Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Perry:

Thank you for your letter of January 20.

A self-survey quite like the Jacksonville one is now nearly finished at Greenville, South Carolina. In connection with it, we developed a special questionnaire for Religious Resources, copy of which I enclose along with a copy of our general manual for surveys of this kind.

Lesser surveys have been completed at Madison, Georgia and Mobile, Alabama and we expect surveys to be started soon in Rock Hill, S. C., West Palm Beach, Fla., and two or three other places.

I also send you up two or three of our pamphlets with a list of the others. We would be happy to supply any that you might need.

Do stop and see us; there will be many things we would like to talk of. The Council is here to help you in any way it can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

P.S. If Miss Gladfelter is still part of the Board's work, please remember me warmly to her.

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

RECEIVED
JAN 23 1950
Southern Regional Council

January 20, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

On a recent survey trip to Florida I ran across a copy of a study of the Jacksonville Negro community which was made by your organization in cooperation with the local Council of Social Agencies. Since I am at present engaged in a survey of our Negro Presbyterian work in the South I am wondering whether other studies of this nature are available, and if so, whether I might purchase copies. I would appreciate hearing from you concerning the resources for understanding the Negro in the South which you may have available. I hope to stop at your office at the earliest opportunity.

Very cordially yours,

Everett L. Perry

Everett L. Perry, Research Assistant
Department of City and Industrial Work

ELP:gls

noted - JPS

28- P-Misc —
Perry, Everett L.

Memo to Jane:

At Dr. Mitchell's request, I sent him:

The Manual (incl. section on Relig. Resources
Several survey leaflets
Race in the News
Reprint of Time-Newsweek story
Honest Answer
Publications List
A couple of yellow books
Religious Resources
New Negro Police
Fellowship of the Concerned
Wanted an Educated South
Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation
Fleming

WGD

P-Miscl

February 20, 1950

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Dr. Patterson:

I was in Chicago the other day and happened into the offices of the Henry Strong Educational Foundation, 50 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. This is an old foundation making loans to students. The prefer to help Juniors and Seniors and an occasional graduate student. Loans usually run from around one hundred dollars to three, four or five hundred dollars. The interest is three per cent, which begins to accrue only upon graduation. The first tenth of the principle repayable one year after graduation and in later years, increasing amounts. Their money accumulated pretty well during the G.I. period, but is currently in great demand.

They do not help students in eastern institutions but bracket the South with the West as their territory. They have no affiliation with the Hattie Strong Foundation in New York, which merely happens to have a similar name and do a similar job.

I was told that Tuskegee, along, with Dillard, Fisk, and Morehouse, was some years ago put on the Strong Foundation's approved list. Few or no loan requests have come from any of these institutions. The implication was obvious that the Strong Foundation was prepared to help students in those colleges.

They were proud of the minimum of red tape involved in a loan from them. In ordinary applications, the loan is approved by the appropriate college official (frequently a loan officer) and an application so approved usually gets a check from mailed on the same day the request was received. I thought perhaps it would be well to let you know of this current opportunity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

P - Misc

February 20, 1950

Mr. Clyde N. Parker, Head
Department of Sociology
Merdith College
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Parker:

The Southwide Conference on Discrimination in Higher Education is being organized by the Southern Conference Educational Fund of New Orleans. The S.C.E.F. is a non-political offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which latter organization has now disbanded.

I was offered an opportunity to serve as a sponsor but did not care to serve.

I am satisfied that the SCEF has no communistic involvements and I think it in the long run useful to the South that people prepared to take quite advanced stands should do so. Nevertheless, the organization has not seemed to me to be the sort of thing the Council would care to stand behind.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

MEREDITH COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

February 16, 1950

RECEIVED
FEB 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have a communication from an organization called The Southwide Conference On Dircrimination In Higher Education asking me to participate as a sponsor. I am not sure that this group can serve any purpose that is not already being served by the Southern Regional Council of which I am already a member. I should like to have your advice about the status of this new organization before I reply to their invitation. I will appreciate a candid word from you and will regard your reply as entirely confidential if you desire.

Very truly yours,

Clyde N. Parker

Clyde N. Parker, Head
Department of Sociology

P:mg

March 8, 1950

6

Professor Paul E. Pfuetze
The University of Georgia
Department of Philosophy
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pfuetze:

Many thanks for your nice note. I enjoyed coming as I always do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

March 6, 1950

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is to express our gratitude for your visit last week and for your willingness to speak to my classes about the Human and Natural Geography of the South. I think it gives the students a slant and an interpretation which few of them otherwise get.

I hope you can come to us again, perhaps this spring along toward the end of May.

Cordially yours,

Pfuetze

Paul E. Pfuetze

Farmers Union EDUCATIONAL & COOPERATIVE OF AMERICA · NATIONAL OFFICE
1555 SHERMAN STREET · DENVER 5, COLORADO

Office of President

March 16, 1950

RECEIVED
MAR 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Of course the private handling of labor camps isn't any solution, as you and I have often agreed; nor is state control of labor camps any solution. They almost become concentration camps.

I hope I will get to see you one of these days.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

JAMES G. PATTON
President
National Farmers Union

WASHINGTON OFFICE · 300 "B" STREET S. E. · WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

Misc P.

April 12, 1950

Mr. William C. Pryor Jr.
306 East Healey Street
Champaign, Illinois

Dear Mr. Pryor:

I regard your ten dollars as benevolently radioactive. I wish you could observe its efflorescence as it flows about through the veins of our necessitous capital. Which is to say, Thank you.

We are for you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Dict. by GSM;
signed in his absence

RECEIVED
APR 5 1950
Southern Regional Council

306 East Healey st.
Champaign, Illinois
April 3, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432 63 Auburn ave., NE
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed find a ten-dollar money order for a membership. I'll make no bones about it, it wasn't easy. But I feel that this is ten dollars exceptionally well spent so am glad to it. But don't look for this sort of thing every year. If I hadn't gotten an insurance dividend recently, well, you know the rest.

The extra twenty-five cents is to buy one of the pamphlets described in one of notices you sent. I'm doing a paper in my labor problems course on the influence of the mechanical cotton picker on the south. So, I would be pleased if you would send me a copy of "Machines in the Cotton Fields" by Arthur Raper. ~~I would be most appreciative.~~

Sent 4/6/50 HCF

I was tickled with all the dope you sent and will look it over thoroughly the first chance I get--probably this summer. I was greatly moved by the urgent financial plea and feel that the great shame is that you must be put in the position of making it. I'm only sorry I can't make a real contribution to the Council.

It's only fair to warn you, I believe, that I will shift my address at least twice in the coming year so I'd appreciate your standing by to effectuate the necessary changes. And finally, if any jobs crop up which might fit my abilities, I hope you'll let me know.

Thanks again for the literature and best of luck in the coming year.

Sincerely,

William C. Pryor, jr.

William C. Pryor, jr.

P.S.
Pardon the errors;
done in a necessary hurry

Misc - P

April 26, 1950

Mr. Charles F. Palmer
Palmer Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Palmer:

I wanted to be sure that this beautiful account of the Council got to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Mis P

May 8, 1950

Mr. Hollis F. Price, President
LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Price:

Here is a grand story in print about our Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encl.

Mis P.

May 9, 1950

Miss Elisabeth S. Peck, Chairman
Dept. of History & Political Science
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Miss Peck:

Thank you for your letter of May 2.

Our leaflet The Changing South in Print lists our main things. These are all in print. In addition, we have Race in the News, copy herewith. It has done a lot of good and I should think would be a good one or two day text.

Do you use Vance's Human Geography of the South? Nothing is more fruitful than for a class to put together the regional geography of the South. That lays a foundation for everything else.

Here is an outline we prepared for courses arranged for Georgia Baptist ministers in local communities. They haven't yet used it, but will, I think, this year.

I don't know of any good inclusive book. Everybody else who arranges such a course puts it together out of fugitive literature.

Have you seen V. O. Key's book on politics in the South? Surely it would be worth a couple of weeks.

An interesting new book is Plain Folk of the Old South, by Frank Lawrence Owsley. I think he pushes his thesis too far, but it is a good corrective.

Let us help you in any way we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er/Encls.

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE

RECEIVED
MAY 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

5-2-50

Secretary, Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Again I am to offer in Summer School 1950 the course on Problems of the South. Last summer I had 47 enrollees. I hope to do as well this summer. I come to you with the problem of study material.

I need a general textbook, but it must be very recent. Odum's Southern Regions is not recent enough for a text. Last year I used his Way of the South — too sketchy and emotional and Headlines Hist. of the South — not enough emphasis on recent problems. I used also a selection of your SRC pamphlets.

What books do you recommend to me? Do you have any new pamphlets since last summer? Are any of your fundamental booklets now out of print?

I will appreciate whatever help you can give me as to material available in SRC, — a folder of available booklets, present prices, and recent folders keeping things up to date. I know of no better place for showing your material than in such a course of college juniors and seniors.

Sincerely and with appreciation,

Elizabeth S. Peck
Chairman, Dept. of Hist. & Pol. Science
Berea College, Berea, Ky.

GSM –

Can you advise re: textbook?

HCF

May 15, 1950

My dear Mr. Mitchell,

P. Miss Parkes

This is a personal invitation for you and members of your staff to hear Dr Rita Hinden, Secretary of the Fabian Colonial Society of Great Britain and an associate of Creech Jones – She'll be at the Hungry Club Wednesday. – Sincerely – C. T. Parkes

Misc P

May 19, 1950

President F. D. Patterson
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Patterson:

This turned up in our clippings. On the off-chance that you had not seen it I send it on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encl.

P-Misce
Public Affairs Clinic

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
MAY 23 1950
Southern Regional Council

COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

May 19, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You received a few days ago an invitation to join a group of other Alumni and friends of Emory in the informal discussions of Emory's third Public Affairs Clinic on the campus June 1, 2, and 3. The purpose of this letter is to give you additional details and to ask you to return the enclosed post card to us.

We shall meet first Thursday night, June 1, at 6:30 at a dinner meeting in the Banquet Room of the new Alumni Memorial Building, where all Clinic sessions will be held. Following the banquet program, we shall divide into discussion groups for a brief organizational meeting. These small groups will meet again Friday morning and afternoon. No Clinic session is scheduled Friday night (the group leaders and secretaries are asked to meet Friday night to prepare summaries of the discussion sessions to be considered Saturday morning). The whole group of us will meet at breakfast Saturday morning for a summary session. The Alumni Day activities begin with registration around 10 o'clock and the Alumni Day program formally begins at 11 A.M. Some of the other details you may need to know are:

1) A very limited number of private rooms are available in the new Alumni Memorial Building; those wishing reservations should write to us at once. The charge will be $3.50 per person in single rooms; $2.50 in double rooms.
2) The whole Clinic group is asked to meet at mealtime only three times, Thursday night, Friday noon, and Saturday morning.
3) Each participant is asked to pay a registration fee of $2.50. This fee includes the ticket for the opening banquet Thursday night. Each participant is expected to handle the cost of his other meals on the campus and whatever housing costs he may incur.
4) The general Clinic costs have been underwritten by the University.
5) As was pointed out in the other letter the general topic for this year's discussions is "The Future Role of Emory University." This topic can be divided into sub-topics as may seem appropriate.

We look forward to seeing you on June 1 and to having your help in making this third annual Public Affairs Clinic a success. Won't you scribble your name on the enclosed post card and mail it to us?

Sincerely,

James A. Mackay

James A. Mackay, Chairman
Grady Clay, Jr.
John A. Dotson
Cullen B. Gosnell
John A. Griffin
Boisfeuillet Jones
Calvin Kytle
Judson C. Ward
James H. Wilson, Jr.

P - Misc
Public Affairs Clinic

RECEIVED
EMORY UNIVERSITY
MAY 4 1950
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

April 29, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Church Bldg.
Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You will recall perhaps, that we have had two annual sessions of the Public Affairs Clinic. At these informal meetings the participants--alumni and others--spent the time talking about significant problems in the field of public affairs. The atmosphere was informal; nonetheless, the problem was submitted to a sort of clinical analysis based on the study and experience of those attending.

"Educational Problems of the Southeast" was the general topic for last year's clinic. One of the three discussion groups talked about Emory University's responsibility to the community and to her own students. This group created such enthusiastic interest it has been decided to make the general theme for this year's clinic "The Future Role of Emory University." This framework is sufficiently large for the consideration of special problems in professions for which Emory is training students and in which alumni work.

Chairman Grady Clay Jr. promised in the invitation to the first clinic that it would not be a public affairs pressure group, a political rally, nor a series of long-winded addresses. His promises were kept that year and last year. There was only one formal address each year; the real emphasis was on the small, intimate discussion groups.

This year's clinic will begin on Thursday night, June 1. There will be a morning and afternoon session on June 2, and a breakfast session on Saturday, June 3. Thus the clinic plans dovetail with the Alumni Day activities, which begin about 10 o'clock Saturday, June 3.

Detailed plans for this year's program of the clinic will be sent you in a few weeks. In the meantime, the committee hopes that you will mark these dates on your calendar and begin making plans to come back to Emory in June.

The Planning Committee

James A. Mackay

James A. Mackay, Chairman
Grady Clay, Jr.
John A. Dotson
Cullen B. Gosnell
John A. Griffin
Boisfeuillet Jones
Calvin Kytle
Judson C. Ward
James H. Wilson, Jr.

Misc P-

May 22, 1950

President F. D. Patterson
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Harold Fleming, as editor of our little magazine, New South, wants to print the Tuskegee speech in full -- June issue.

Does that conflict in any way with your plans? Our could it supplement your plans in any way?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

P-Misc
Patterson

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

June 9, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending the information on African students in southern states. I am pleased to have this material.

Regards,

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
President

p

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

P-Misc-Patterson

HF

(GSM has seen)

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

May 26, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am delighted that Mr. Fleming will print in full your Tuskegee Commencement Address. This will not in any way conflict with our plans. I am happy that it will get this splendid distribution.

Again our hearty thanks for your presence and most inspiring and informative address.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
President

h

P.S. Thanks for the clipping on our concrete block housing. I am glad to have this.

FDP

MAY 29 1950
Southern Regional Council

The Encyclopedia of Labor article

The Encyclopedia of Labor
7203 BELWOOD STREET, DISTRICT HEIGHTS,
WASHINGTON 19, D. C.

RECEIVED
JUN 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

CO-EDITORS
MILTON M. PLUMB, JR.
OTTO NEUBURGER

June 12, 1950

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We appreciate very much your acceptance of our invitation to contribute to The Encyclopedia of Labor.

I am enclosing a copy of our "Guide for Contributors" which you may find useful. We shall look forward to receiving your article on LABOR IN THE SOUTH by August 1, 1950.

I perhaps should note that we are carrying separate surveys on labor in each State in the union. Your article is therefore intended to analyze the Southern labor picture in general rather than to stress particular details of particular States.

Cordially,

Milton Plumb

Milton M. Plumb, Jr.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

PUBLISHER: PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, INC.
NEW YORK

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LABOR

Guide for Contributors

I. Central Theme

The central integrating theme of THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LABOR is indicated by its name. The term is used in its broadest aspect, so that it embraces much more than the limited concept of the "labor movement", for which it is sometimes used, and topics related to labor, such as social security, are included. Contributions should relate as much as possible to the central theme of LABOR, and since the scope of the work is universal, important information concerning foreign labor should be included. Emphasis, however, should be given to labor in the United States and (to a lesser degree) in Great Britain, Canada and the British Empire.

II. Originality

All manuscripts submitted must be original, and must in no way violate a copyright held by any other party.

III. Quotations

No material may be quoted from copyrighted sources without acknowledgement of the source and written permission from the publisher; the latter should accompany any article for which it has been obtained when the manuscript is submitted to the editors. Publications of the United States Government are not subject to copyright. Sources of quotations must be cited under REFERENCES and quoted material should be enclosed in quotation marks. Generally, quoted material should be kept to a minimum.

IV. References

Number all footnotes, including sources of quotations, if any, consecutively. Insert a raised number (e.g., [1]) in the text at the end of the statement quoted or referred to, and then cite the references under a corresponding number at the end of the article under the general heading of REFERENCES. Follow this general style:

1. Browne, Waldo R.: What's What in the Labor Movement, New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1921. 28-29.
2. Haber, William: "Manpower" in Lumpkin, Katharine du Pre, ed.: Yearbook of American Labor, Vol. 1, New York, Philosophical Library, 1945. 225-232.
3. Higgins, James: "How Long Can He Compromise?", New Republic, October 20, 1947. 12-15.

V. Bibliography

Expert selection of bibliographical material can greatly increase the usefulness of THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LABOR, and it is hoped that at least two main reference sources will be cited

after each article. Any important works not mentioned under REFERENCES should be listed alphabetically by author under another heading of ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY or, if no REFERENCES are given, BIBLIOGRAPHY. The same style of listing as that indicated for REFERENCES should be used. Bibliographies should be highly selective, based upon the expert knowledge of the contributor, but they should, if possible, represent divergent viewpoints and include all major works. Titles in English are preferrable, but important works in foreign languages may be cited.

VI. Illustrations

Please send us any suggestions you may have for illustrating your article, either with photographs, drawings, diagrams or charts. If you cannot send original pictures, information concerning a possible source should be submitted to us as soon as possible, in advance of your manuscript. The space required for tables, charts and diagrams, or illustrations to be run in the text, should be included in calculating the total length of your article. Please indicate clearly the position of such inserts in your text. The use of illustrative material is limited, but careful consideration will be given to all suggestions received.

VII. Spelling

The spelling, hyphenation, capitalization and abbreviations in Webster's New International Dictionary should be followed. Names of persons should follow the spelling given in Webster's Biographical Dictionary. In general, use American rather than English spellings. Foreign words with accents should retain them unless they appear without accents in Webster's New International Dictionary.

VIII. Numbers

Spell out numbers from one through ten and use figures for 11 or more, except that any number beginning a sentence should be written out and when several numbers, one or more of which are 11 or more, are given together, all should be written in figures. Decimals should be used instead of fractions wherever practicable, especially in statistical material.

IX. Statistics

Statistical information should be as current, and as accurate, as possible, and sources should always be cited under REFERENCES. When foreign statistics include amounts expressed in the currency or the weights and measures used in the country described, follow such statistics with parentheses c ontaining their equivalents in the

currency, weights and measures of the United States. Note particularly that this applies to the English gallon, which has a different content from that used in the United States. In citing measures in tons, distinguish between "long tons" and "short tons". When it is not possible for you to make the conversion to the United States equivalent, please leave space for the editors to insert this information when you type your manuscript.

X. Abbreviation

Abbreviate common terms of measurement when they are preceded by a number, and abbreviate the name of the month when the day of the month is given, but spell out the name of the month in all cases where only the year accompanies it. Do not abbreviate the months of March, April, May, June or July. Names of persons and of Government agencies should be written out in full the first time they appear in an article, but the surname alone or the abbreviation should be used respectively, thereafter.

XI. General Style Rules

The use of "etc." and first personal pronouns should always be avoided. The present, future and present perfect tenses should not be used except in statements that will not be affected by the passage of time, and a past tense, with a date if necessary, should be used instead. Also use a past tense with a date to avoid such words and phrases as "now", "at present", "recently", and "thirty years ago".

Examples:

Not: The cost of living has risen sharply since price controls were removed.

But: The cost of living rose sharply following the removal of price controls.

Not: Technological unemployment is still a matter of concern to some economists.

But: Technological unemployment was still a matter of concern to some economists in 1948.

A technical term which may not be familiar to the general reader should be followed by a few words of explanation the first time it is used. Articles should be written in language which the general reader can understand, and long, involved sentences should be avoided.

XII. Organization of Material

Each article should open with an identification of the topic to be discussed, not in the form of a dictionary definition, but rather as a short explanation of the word, or words, used as the article title, or a brief indication of the scope of the subject. An example of an approved opening is the following:

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. A political movement originating in England about 1848-52, seeking to apply Christian ethics to social reform and to replace economic competition by co-operative effort and mutual aid. It is distinguished from Marxist socialism by its aversion to the class struggle.

A brief historical treatment of the subject should follow the opening, and a discussion of the functions, applications and the past and present significance of the topic should then form the main body of the article. The opening sentence of a biographical article should indicate the subject's dates, his nationality and principal occupation or significance, his birthday and his birthplace. An example of this form follows:

McDONAGH, JOSEPH S. (1878-1944) Amer. labor leader, was born on May 13 in Brooklyn, N.Y.

If the exact day and place of death is known, it should be indicated in the course of the article. When exact dates are not known, approximate dates should be indicated, and in such cases the abbreviations c. and fl. may be conveniently employed. Do not attempt to discuss in detail the relation of the subject to other figures or to social, political or other movements, but simply name them and rely on cross-references for further information.

XIII. Impartiality

Impartial treatment should be given all controversial questions, and conflicting views should be stated. Critical, or evaluative judgments should be avoided, and when used they must be stated against a full and objective statement of the alternative positions.

XIV. Typing

In preparing copy for submission, contributors are requested to use a typewriter, if possible. Double space. Please make one carbon of all typewritten articles for submission with the original. The title of the article should be written in capitals and underscored at the beginning of the text. Tabular matter and lengthy quotations should be marked for smaller type by drawing a line in pencil down the margins opposite such material.

XV. Sub-headings and Cross-References

Sub-headings should be included for all longer articles, so that readers may find at a glance a specific point of interest, and such sub-heads should be written at the beginning of paragraphs and underscored. In articles of more than 2,000 words, the titles of main subdivisions should be centered on a separate line and topical headings should be run in with the paragraph following them. Cross-references to other articles will be indicated by capitalizing the subjects referred to in the text of the article from which the reference is made.

XVI. Signature

Please sign your article at the end, following this style:

JOHN J. JONES, Ph.D., LL.D.
University of Chicago (university or other institution associated with)

XVII. Deadline and

Your adherence to the schedule agreed upon for the submission of copy is essential to insure publication during 1959. If your article runs over the allotted space, we will make every effort to print it entire, but you are requested to indicate such cuts as may be made if necessary. Authors who write more than one article may shift space from one to another as they choose.

XVIII. Revisions

When submitted, your manuscript should be in final form, ready for publication, as our tight production schedule will not permit checking of proof by the authors. However, we will make an effort to make changes requested up to the moment of publication. For this reason, you should make a second carbon to retain for your use. Revisions designed to bring your article more up to date on the basis of new information, or to correct errors, will be especially welcome.

XIX. Glossary

A glossary of labor terms, including slang, will be included in the ENCYCLOPEDIA. Your suggestions of words in your field which should be noted are requested.

XX. Biography

Please send with your article material for your biographical entry in the List of Contributors. Please type this information on a separate sheet of paper, giving your name (typed last

name first, in capitals), academic degrees, your present title and position, important former posts, etc., and after the word "Author:" at the end of your biography, list your writings.

Otto Neuburger
Milton M. Plumb, Jr.
Co-editors

Philosophical Library, Publishers
15 East 40th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

P-Misc

June 21, 1950

President F. D. Patterson
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Patterson:

My most cordial appreciation for the interesting and delightful three days at Tuskegee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

P. Micall

June 22, 1950

President F. D. Patterson
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Patterson:

When I came to a paste-up job for the June issue of New South, I found I could not run the whole of the Tuskegee Commencement address without incurring the expense of eight more full pages in the magazine. We wanted most earnestly to carry in full the three Supreme Court decisions. We did that; but it meant cutting the Tuskegee speech to a few paragraphs. At least, I got the printer to save a few galleys, one of which I send you for your convenience.

Any use of the talk that is helpful to you, you are most welcome to, as you know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

P- Misc

July 6, 1950

Mr. Clarence Poe
Progressive Farmer
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Poe:

I have been meaning for some time to write you of my deep appreciation for your series of editorials on peace. I do hope that this wisdom coming out of your lifetime of service to the people of the South will strengthen resolve to find peace.

I enclose a fly sheet our Council has mailed out to its members telling about the new Government program for housing in rural non-farm places.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encls.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

P-Misc
Presbyterian Church

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

July 6, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: JAMES P. WILSON

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you for your letter of May 29th, 1950. Since writing you last I have been in touch with Dr. William H. McConaghy, Director of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations of The Board of Christian Education of thePresbyterian Church in the United States of America, who is arranging an appointment for me with the Attorney General of the United States, who has been investigating the Wilson Case. Until I have a report from him, which will, I trust, put me in a position to have more definite information than I now have, I think it would be well for me to delay my visit to you.

As soon as I have had this conference, I will write you further.

Very truly yours,

Lucien H. Tribus
MAC

Lucien H. Tribus
Legal Counsel

LHT:MAC

RECEIVED
JUL 13 1950

BOARD OF WOMAN'S WORK, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U. S.
HENRY GRADY BUILDING, ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

May 25,1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Thank you for the 2 copies of the Greenville survey received this morning. I will want to read it as soon as possible. There will be ways in which we can make use of such information. We are glad that another city in this area has had a careful survey made and hope that results will be favorable as was the case in Jacksonville.

Cordially,

Annie Tart Jenkins

Director Field Program

P-Misc

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

July 12, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Our SERVICE Magazine can make good use of the galley which you have sent.

Hearty thanks.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
President

p

RECEIVED
JUL 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

P

August 7, 1950

AIR MAIL - SPECIAL

Mr. Milton M. Plumb, Jr.
The Encyclopedia of Labor
7203 Belwood Street
District Heights
Washington 19, D. C.

Dear Mr. Plumb:

On looking through the copy of Labor in the South which we have kept here, I find an error in a date.

The paragraph on page 1 immediately under the sub-head "Early Period," second sentence, should read:

"Although it has proceeded at a rapid pace, it was not until 1950 that the first Southern State ..."

I will thank you for correcting this error, and am sorry to have to bother you with it.

Sincerely,

Beth Rogers
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

P

August 9, 1950

Mr. James G. Patton
324 Church Street
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Mr. Patton:

Many thanks for your kind interest this morning.

I will go and see Mr. Broyles at an early date.

Meanwhile, here are some things that will give you an idea of what the Council does.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

Honorary Chairman
CHARLES E. SCRIBNER
Chairman of the Board
MRS. ROBERT M. FERGUSON
Chairman, Executive Committee

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D. F. MILAM, M.D.
National Director

28-P Miscel

Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.

Formerly — Birth Control Federation of America, Inc.

501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., PLaza 5-8600

October 23, 1950

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jane P. Fleming
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Fleming:

We certainly appreciated your prompt reply of October 11 and the nice supply of literature which has just reached our office.

We are looking forward to having a good Annual Meeting this year and thank you for your contribution to one of our workshops.

Sincerely yours,

Grace Hale

Grace Hale
Field Consultant

GH:mw

J. MITCHELL PILCHER - 3918 SOUTHMONT DRIVE - MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

RECEIVED
OCT 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

Tel.: 3-6040 (residence)

October 26th 1950

P - J Mitchel Pilcher

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,-

Many thanks for your letter of October 24th, written at the request of our Council President, Mr. Paul Williams, about a scholarship program.

Your reference to the new scholarship program of the John Hay Whitney Foundation sounds interesting and worth a try for a prospective beneficiary with my daughter Ann's background and qualifications.

It was kind of you to write and ask for the blank, and I note with particular interest that applications for scholarship aid are being considered by the Foundation at this time.

Meanwhile, I reciprocate your suggestion and shall look forward to being favored by a talk with you on your next trip to Montgomery.

Sincerely,

J. Mitchell Pilcher

P Perry
Miscel

25 South Channing Avenue
Saint Louis 3, Missouri
November 8, 1950

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Staff,

I have received your wealth of materials that were sent to me for use in one of my classes at the Stowe Teachers College. The information will certainly be of great help to me in my study of American Minority Groups.

Thank you very much for your prompt reply.

Gratefully yours,
Edwynna Perry.

RECEIVED
NOV 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

Vester M Crosby
304 Peachtree Arcade Bldg

is running a new organization, We
The People, located 423½ Marietta St.

28-P-Anc.
- Price, Margaret

M. S. C. W.
Columbus, Mississippi
December 16 -

Dear Folks,

I'm here for a couple of days in my old haunts, killing time til the 26th, I guess! While my little sister is in class I'll borrow her pen and paper and dash off a note to you -

I have the radio on, tuned to the station in Starkville, Mississippi - and the program happens to be advertising Negro business firms! I was so amazed and quite pleased. Help spread the word around that Mississippi shows a twinge of progress now and then! It's a very good program - the only allusion to prejudice and discrimination has been the ad for the Negro theatre - "nice and comfortable, with plenty of seats on the ground floor" -

Dr. Mitchell, I am afraid I probably won't make the trip to

Jackson — time and money are both running out — simultaneously, thank goodness! I'm anxious to hear how the survey is progressing — How many towns have you signed up so far? Also, what is the response to the $10 letter and the other? Hope to hear we're now heavily endowed.

I'm afraid I know little news other than wedding news. It's all a lot of fun, but I'm getting a bit tired of nothing but domesticity and small rooms! Not much longer to go, though (thank heavens!)

Our set of silver is growing, helped considerably by the place setting you folks gave me. We have enough now to have you all to dinner, provided you don't particular which piece you use!

Merry Christmas to all of you — Surely do miss you. I wish you'd transfer the office to Augusta, then to Jersey City —

Hope to see you sometime in January — by which time the Council will be a millionaire, I know! Affectionately, Margaret

(Is Dr Fuller "Doc" to me.)

Southern Regional Council...

An effort to raise $500,000 for a ten-year program of interracial progress in the South was announced today by the Southern Regional Council.

The council, with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., is made up of religious, business, labor and educational leaders representing both races and thirteen southern states. It is widely regarded as the most effective interracial organization in the South.

In announcing the plan, Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director, declared: "The Southern Regional Council's effort is to draw out action by the people of the South in meeting their own responsibilities for human well-being. It rejects sectionalism, but simply urges that the South do its own share in this field in cooperation with the nation as a whole."

Prior to this year, said Dr. Mitchell, about half the council's annual budget was contributed by the Julius Rosenwald Fund, while the remainder came from church groups, private individuals, and other foundations. Now that the Rosenwald Fund has ceased operations, the organization is looking for new support.

Dr. Howard W. Odum, noted sociologist of the University of North Carolina, has asked that a hundred other persons match his contribution of $250 to make up a sum of $25,000 for the council's needs this year.

The fund-raising work is under the general supervision of the board of directors of the council, which includes such prominent southerners as Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of

Atlanta University, Monsignor T. James McNamara of Savannah, Ga., E. W. Palmer of Kingsport, Tenn., Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Alfred Mynders, editor of the Chattanooga Times, and Bishop E. A. Penick of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina. Paul D. Williams, publisher of Richmond, Va., is president of the organization.

The council points to a number of significant achievements since its founding six years ago.

In the first two post-war years, it carried out a special program to aid Negro veterans. A staff of nine World War II veterans, eight of them colored, visited veterans services officials throughout the South, familiarizing them with Negro needs and acquainting Negro veterans with the full range of services available to them.

In 1946 the council served as technical consultant for the Jacksonville, Fla., survey of its Negro community. To date the survey has resulted in close to a hundred specific improvements in the living conditions of the city's Negro citizens.

Other southern towns have also gone into action with the council's self-survey program. They include Greenville, Spartanburg, and Rock Hill, S. C., Madison, Ga., and Mobile, Ala.

The organization has launched successful campaigns in dozens of southern towns and cities that resulted in the employment of more than two hundred Negro policemen. This represents a 100 per cent increase since 1945 when the council began its work in this field.

Strong support for the interracial body has come from church and religious groups. Only last month the council sponsored a southwide meeting of church women leaders, who pledged themselves to fight discrimination and inequality in their communities.

(more)

Council members in every southern state provide a network of conscientious people ready to take preventive action when racial violence threatens. They also promote better relations in specific fields, as, for example, working for fairer and more complete coverage of Negro news by southern newspapers.

Since it began the council has issued half-a-million publications giving the facts about the region's health, housing, education, law enforcement and race relations. Many of these are used by schools and colleges in their courses on the south.

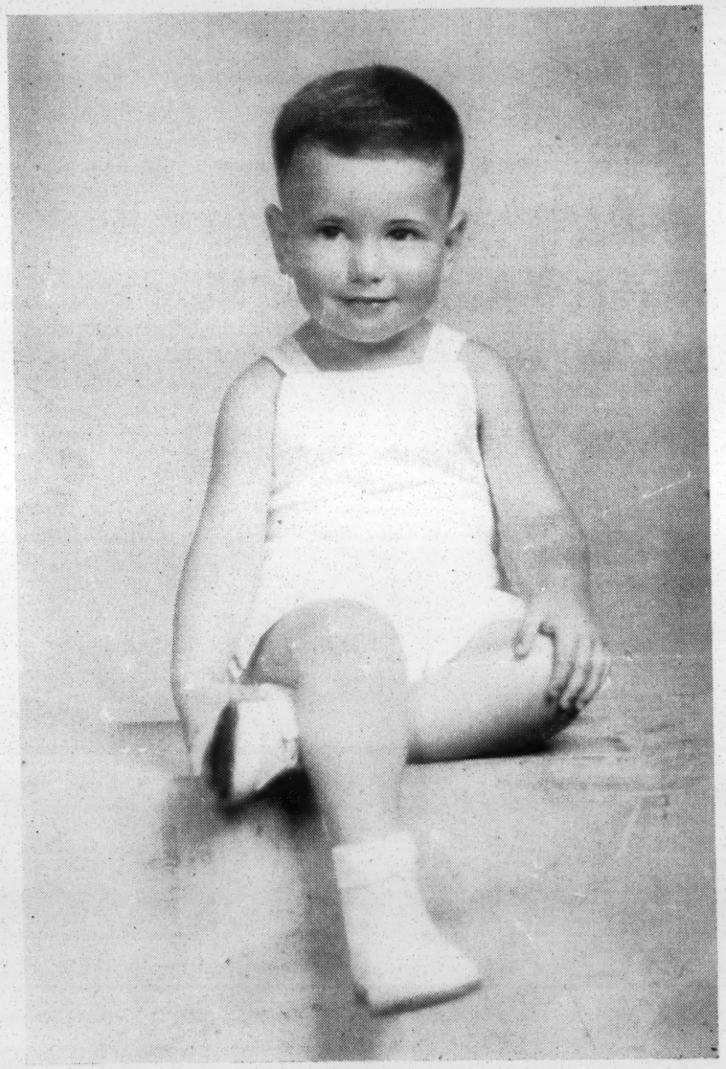
#

PEN POINTS

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

THE METHODIST CHILDREN'S HOME

Volume 2 *Decatur, Georgia* *Number 2*



Dear Folks,—

I am Billy Reynolds and I am three years old. They call me the baby 'cause I am the youngest in the Home. I have a lot of fun playing with the other children, who are awful good to me, and my sister and brothers.

It is wonderful for us to have this home, my sister and brothers, I mean 'specially, for we can grow up together and be able to know and love each other. It would break our hearts to be separated. (If you will look inside on another page, you will see our picture. We are not the largest family here, but almost the largest.)

You remember Patsy, Gail, and Betty wrote you last fall asking you not to forget us on Work Day? Well, you DIDN'T! You gave a lot more than fifty thousand dollars just to feed, clothe, educate, doctor, and house us. We, little as we are, know that is a lot of money and that some of you took from yourselves to give to us. The only way we can thank you is just to make fine boys and girls who love and serve Jesus. We feel that is the kind of thanks you would rather have as your reward. We will not fail you!

Please come to see us!

Love to all,

Billy.

A Merry Christmas was had by All

March winds are blowing across the spacious campus but they can, in no way, dim the memories of the HAPPY CHRISTMAS the children HAD!

Recently a child said, "Oh, don't you wish we could go back to Marietta?" She was referring to the Christmas party given by the First Church at Marietta, which, by the way, is fast becoming an institution and the most festive and gala affair in the lives of the children. For those grand Marietta folk leave no stone unturned to provide the maximum in fun, entertainment, and good food for their more than one hundred and twenty-five young guests.

This year's party began at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of December 21, when two special street cars, sent all the way from Marietta, set out on the return trip, loaded to the bursting point with laughing children and all the staff personnel. (No one stayed at home.) As the miles sped by, bright eyes looked out car windows and young hearts outran car wheels in delightful anticipation of the good time to come.

Reaching the city proper, the fun began in earnest, for the cars stopped in front of a movie house where a group of smiling folk waited to take their small guests inside. A picture show first, what could be jollier? Next, they walked over to the Church where, in the recreation hall, was a turkey dinner with all the delectable trimmings. As the last delicious bite of dessert vanished, Santa appeared to preside at the "brilliant Christmas tree's undoing" and to present each child with gifts. The pastor and his wife, Dr. and Mrs. John Tate, were there to welcome the children and to lead in the singing of carols.

When Santa had finished his task, a group of talented Marietta young people presented a clever and delightful play entitled, "Santa Claus in Blunderland," which was thoroughly enjoyed and proved a fitting climax to a perfect evening.

. . . It was a happy bunch of children that crawled into bed at the Methodist Children's Home late that night. And back in Marietta there must have been many tired folk, for it goes without say-

(Concluded on Page 4)

PEN POINTS

Mrs. Alva Maxwell, *Editor*

Published Quarterly by the

Methodist Children's Home, Decatur, Ga.

Board of Trustees: C. H. Blount, Pres.; J. L. Morris, Vice-Pres.; Mrs. Alva Maxwell, Secretary; Mrs. Hugh Carithers, Mrs. Stewart Colley, Edmund Cook, H. W. Dent, Mose Gordon, Rev. Z. C. Hayes, Jr., Charles F. Hope, Mrs. E.C. Houston, Homer Hutchinson, Smith Johnston, Baxter Maddox, Rev. J. W. O. McKibben, Rev. Frank Quillian, Mrs. R. A. Radford, Rev. J. S. Thrailkill.

Editorial

The first issue of Pen Points went to press with a plea for support of Work Day on October the 14th. This one carries a partial tabulation of what was given on that date and an expression of thanks from the Board of Trustees to every man, woman, or child who contributed to make the day such a wonderful success. It was heart-warming how Pastors, Sunday School Superintendents, and Teachers presented the needs of the children and co-operated in so many ways. Key women in the different Women's Societies of Christian Service lent their help in stressing the day, and, as a result, the total offering was gratifyingly large and makes possible a better standard of living for the children.

Every week there are many requests for admission of needy children and the Committee on Admissions, with Col. H. W. Dent, Chairman, finds it impossible to answer every plea favorably. Each case is thoroughly investigated by the Superintendent and whenever possible aid is rendered. The crying need now is more living space and it is a pleasure to announce that, at the last Board meeting, it was decided to immediately build another cottage. Plans for this are now being made and as soon as building conditions permit will be started.

A generous gift in November from the Whitehead Foundation assures the modernization of the kitchen, the addition of an adequate refrigeration system and the building of a recreational and vocational wing adjoining the school building. Two thousand dollars has been spent to modernize the laundry and the Chapel has been furnished with stable attractive seats and altar furniture. Much painting and badly-needed minor repairs have been done and the whole plant is being constantly improved both from a standpoint of comfort, convenience, and appearance.

A sincere, honest effort is made by the Board to spend wisely the funds entrusted to them and to secure a fair and honest return for money spent. With prices steadily rising and needs multiplying as the Big Family grows, this is no easy task and requires a maximum of thoughtful, painstaking analytical planning. The aim ever is to constantly expand the program of the Home with suitable physical facilities, skilled leadership, and sympathetic direction.

Recently an Atlanta man was heard to say, "If I could not care for my teenage boys, I could not think of a better place for them than the Methodist Children's Home. I know what the Home is trying to do and I KNOW the sort of man they have there now as the Superintendent." (A well-deserved compliment, don't you think?)

The Board does not feel that it is begging when it goes out after funds with which to carry on the work. Rather it feels that it is merely offering the opportunity for Christians to participate in a magnificent, humanitarian service to their fellowmen.

In truth the Home has a great future. The hard, lean years are behind; the golden years are ahead. Some day many will be proud to look back and remember that they had a part in building this monument unto Time. After all, we only save what we give!

Thanks again for every gift, large or small!

Introducing

As was stated in the first issue of Pen Points, it is the plan to introduce certain persons who have a large part in carrying on the work of the Home. Today it is our pleasure to present two business leaders who are making a wonderful contribution as they donate the richness of their experience and business acumen. They are: Mr. Baxter Maddox and Mr. J. L. Morris.

Mr. Maddox: For a long time Mr. Maddox has served as Chairman of the Finance Committee and the Trustees have leaned heavily on his advice pertaining to investments and securities. Prominent banker that he is, he has never been too busy to bother with the most intricate detail of management and to help guide with counsel. He is Executive Vice President of the First National Bank, President of the Atlanta Community Fund, and a recognized leader in the social and civic life of Atlanta. He is a member of the Board of Stewards of the First Methodist Church.

Mr. Morris: Mr. Morris. like Mr. Maddox is well-versed in business management and thoroughly at home in the world of finance and investment. He is Vice President of Robinson, Humphrey Company, Investment Bankers, a steward in the Druid Hills Methodist Church, a Director of Camp Fire Girls, and has taught a Sunday School class of Senior boys for several years. Now, as Chairman of the Building Committee he gives many hours in service to the Home.

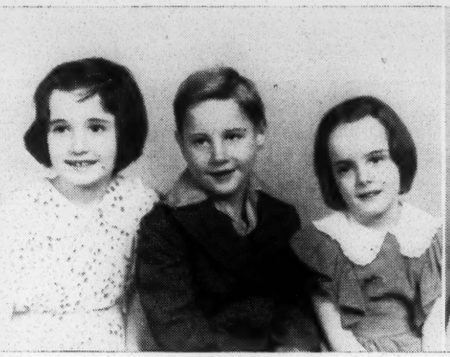
Chinese Children

Left to right: Rosa Lee Wong, Annie Ruth Wong, Willie Wong.

Still They Come

Alone, in twos, in threes, even in sixes, destitute children come to the Home and share its kindly ministrations. We present our latest!

THE REYNOLDS FAMILY
Front Row: Imogene, Walter, Billy.
Back Row: Jesse, Bartley.
From GRIFFIN



THE GREEN FAMILY
Left to right: Martha Sue, Billy, Ann.
From ATLANTA

THE MOTE FAMILY
Left to right: Front Row—Helen, Dorothy, Barbara Ann, Robert. Back Row—Lawrence, Jackie.
From NEWNAN and ATLANTA

Our Chinese Children

Today, if you visit the Home, you will see playing happily with the others, three Chinese children, Rosa Lee, Annie Ruth, and Willie Wong. And, as you observe them you will notice nothing unusual, for their being there seems as it should be, perfectly natural and right. It just goes to prove that we learn race-prejudice as we grow older and that childish minds care nothing about it. It shows something else, too, that the Home is applying its Christianity in its vital contention that "All men are brothers."

Last fall the father, who was a respected Atlanta citizen, died. The mother passed on six years ago. The father was a native-born American and was a veteran of the First World War; the mother was born in China and came to America soon after their marriage.

The family attended the Wesley Memorial Church and were members there. The children loved the Sunday School and were never absent if it could be helped. In all, they were fine, stalwart citizens, plying their humble trade as laundry workers and making a modest living until death came and took the parents. Then, there was no money and no where for the children to go. Their condition was desperate. If there were relatives in China, the war made it impossible to contact them. Rev. Hoke Sewell, their pastor, who was doing all he could for them, appealed to the Home for help.

Mr. Kerr decided to talk the matter over with the children and so one night at supper he told them the whole story. He ended by asking them to raise their hands if they would like to share their home with these children who were not like them in color, race, or heritage. Every little hand went up and the children were loud in their assurances of welcome. They told Mr. Kerr that they would do everything they could to make these children feel at home. This they have done. It would warm your heart to know how kind and considerate they have been in their own inimitable, childish ways. And you can not look at the radiant smiles on the faces of these young Chinese without realizing that, in the Home, they have found love, care, refuge. They have shown their appreciation by fitting in well. They are good students in the school and are obedient and helpful. Yes, brotherhood in action is being demonstrated at the Methodist Children's Home and in the years to come may bear their fruit as our nations seek a lasting peace.

Mrs. Green
New Auxiliary President

At the fall meeting of the Auxiliary Mrs. Rembert Green was named to succeed Mrs. W. B. Hodges as president. Mrs. Green comes to her new job admirably equipped as she served in various capacities of church leadership. For a number of years she was Secretary of Publicity and Promotion in the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the North Georgia Conference. Her husband was formerly pastor of the Sardis Methodist Church and is now connected with the City Schools.

Mrs. Hodges' administration was marked by many advances. New and enlarged interest in the Home and its activities resulted from the splendid efforts of Mrs. Hodges and her efficient corps of officers. She is to be congratulated on a good job well done.

The following is the Auxiliary report:
January 1, 1945—October 31, 1945

RECEIPTS:	
Linen Shower (cash	$ 937.22
Other funds	1,279.45
Total (10 months)	$2,216.67
DISBURSEMENTS:	$1,075.57
Balance	$1,141.20
Brought Forward 1944	632.72
Balance November 1, 1945	$1,773.92

Mrs. W. B. Hodges, President
Mrs. E. C. Houston, Treasurer

Our Christmas Party

At the Christmas party in Marietta. Dr. John Tate, center, visits with a young guest while Mr. Kerr, extreme right, reaches for some of the "goodies."

A Merry Christmas

(Concluded)

ing that it took much unselfish labor and time to make ready for such a party. Only those who have worked at such know! However, we are sure that, as those same wonderful people fell asleep, they knew the "peace that passeth understanding," for had "they not ministered unto the least of these, and, for a space of time, made possible a bit of Heaven for orphaned, needy children?

Our hats are off to you, Marietta First Church.

* * *

Uncounted small gifts were sent the children. Again the great, generous gift from the Whitehead Foundation made possible plenty for all. Sears sent a truck load of toys as did the Goodyear Company. In all it was a truly MERRY CHRISTMAS!

Regarding Sponsors

Numbers of interested Church leaders show their interest in the Home by visiting and seeing first-hand its policies in action, contributing largely of their means, and inspiring others to give as well. Such a man is Mr. Herman M. Thompson, President and General Manager of the Southern States Chemical Company, and a prominent leader in the Peachtree Road Church. Mr. Thompson writes: "We, of the Wesley Fellowship Class, are delighted that the Board has seen fit to do away with individual sponsorship of children. We believe that it is to the best interest of the children if Churches, Sunday School Classes, and individuals make their contributions directly to the Home to be used as seen fit, rather than to certain children in the Home, whom they have chosen to sponsor. The reason is obvious. When a child enters the Home to live he becomes another member of a very large family, just as an addition would be accepted in any normal home when brothers and sisters are born. He or she should be made to feel the complete dependency on the Home for every need. These necessities naturally would include such items as lodging, meals, clothes, medical care, education, and in fact, every thing which you or I as parent would provide within our means for our children. We most earnestly desire that the boys and girls in our Methodist Home be reared in a family-home-like atmosphere. This can only be accomplished if all are made to feel that they are loved, respected, and treated as equals. We rejoice that an extensive effort is constantly being made to make these children feel that their lot in life is not any different from that of others, but that they have the privilege and the opportunity to grow and develop as children in any average family.'

It is good to know that others agree with the Board in its decision to abolish sponsorship. The Wesley Class at Peachtree Road, of which Mr. Thompson, is a valued member, is showing its interest in a tangible way.

Five hundred dollars is in the bank which they will use to fix a play porch on the back of the Walton Cottage where small girls live. The large porch will be enclosed in glass and will provide a marvelous place for the children on rainy days. Effort is being made to locate necessary materials and as soon as possible actual construction will begin. This fine class plans to go further and to spend an additional five hundred on other improvements. The amount of one hundred dollars per month for the Home has been put in the class budget. Words are empty things but we want these men and women to know that our hearts are full of gratitude and that we envision the joy that will be theirs sometime, somewhere when the Heavenly Fathers rewards them for their goodness to needy children, children who have to make their way through this world with proxy "daddies and mummies." The waiting will be worthwhile.

Some Figures

Methodists, throughout the North Georgia Conference, proved cheerful, generous givers to the Home last year, proving once again that "True generosity, when it once starts, knows not when to stop?" For your information we list these figures:

District	Cash	Supplies
Athens-Elberton	$ 5,500.74	$ 316.65
Atlanta-East	14,648.27	817.14
Atlanta-West	16,740.91	1,166.14
Augusta	5,636.84	171.50
Dalton	4,417.23	747.27
Decatur-Oxford	6,189.47	1,419.97
Gainesville	3,950.09	370.00
Griffin	4,309.82	403.70
LaGrange	5,848.61	1,888.20
Rome	3,217.10	137.50
Grand Total	$70,459.18	$7,438.07

St. Marks, First Church, and Druid Hills, Atlanta, and West Point led the Conference with $4,412.66, $4,203.05, $3,192.99, and $2,142.86 respectively. Next came Grace (Atlanta), Decatur First, Athens First Church, Inman Park (Atlanta), St. John (Augusta), and Dalton First with $1,884.77, $1,489.74, $1,382.86, $1,360.93, $1,068.00, and $1,037.95, respectively.

RRY-GO-ROUND

low His Closest Confidant

he met at the Mayo Clinic, who later became Mrs. Jimmy. So he left for Hollywood.

Later Franklin Jr., while studying law at the University of Virginia, was around the White House frequently.

Now all four boys are in the armed services and the President has fallen back on his daughter, who perhaps even more than Jimmy, always has been the apple of his eye.

Negro Troops Ok'd

Members of the Mississippi congressional delegation met last week to welcome one of their state's war heroes—Lieutenant Van T. Barfoot, of Carthage, Miss., who has been awarded the Medal of Honor, the Silver Star, the Bronze Star and the Purple Heart. A soft-spoken lad who had never been out of Mississippi before entering the Army, Lieutenant Barfoot fought with distinction in Africa, Sicily and Italy.

A little embarrassed at being surrounded by congressmen, Barfoot told some of his experiences in combat and tried to answer questions. One of them finally came from Senator Theodore (The Man) Bilbo on his favorite subject.

"Lieutenant," Bilbo asked, "did you have much trouble with Negroes over there?"

"Mr. Senator, I found out after I did some fightin' in this war the colored boys fight just as good as the white boys. I have changed my ideas a lot about colored people since I got into this war, and so have a lot of other boys from the South. We've found the colored boys all right."

Then Lieutenant Barfoot quietly volunteered this information:

"Going up to Washington on the train I went into the diner and found it full. The waiter told me I'd have to wait, but I could see, behind a little curtain, a colored Army captain sitting at a table by himself. I said, 'What's wrong with that table?' The steward told me he didn't think I'd want to sit with a colored man, and I said:

"'Why not? I've fought with colored men—why shouldn't I eat with 'em?' I sat with that colored captain and we had a fine chat."

Senator Bilbo then launched into a long peroration about what a great friend of the Negro race he is, telling among other things, how he proposed transplanting American Negroes to Liberia.

Not present at the Mississippi meeting was Congressman John Rankin.—(c1945.)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

December third, 1953

Dr Charlotte Hawkins Brown
THE PALMER MEMORIAL INSTITUTE
Sedalia, North Carolina

Dear Dr Brown:

If even a fourth of our friends were as faithful and thoughtful and helpful as you we could do ten times as much as we do. Our warmest gratitude to you.

Increasingly, as I stay in this job, I feel the weight of those of you who in the early days got it all moving. You and Major Moten, and Mrs Bethune and Gordon Hancock and Ashby Jones and old Dr Wilmer and Plato Durham and of course at the center Dr Will Alexander ploughed all the roughest ground.

We are having increasing success in getting distribution of the pamphlet on the schools and the courts. I could run on for pages with a list of organizations who have bought it and sent it out to their members in quantities of one hundred, five hundred and a thousand. Our own North Carolina Division sent three copies to the chairman of each city and county school board in the state. The Mississippi State Department of Education got a thousand of each pamphlet, and the National Council of Negro Women is sending out four hundred. Elmer Henderson, of the American Council on Human Rights, is sending out two hundred, the Board of Education of the Methodist Church has sent one, with a letter, to each district superintendent from Virginia to Texas. The Southern Baptist Convention spread around two hundred fifty and they will get more. The Southern Presbyterian Church Board got over two thousand, and so on.

We are pushing the pamphlet for use by local discussion groups. Perhaps I flatter us over much but surely it has had some effect in producing in the Southern states greater calmness about the changes to come in our schools.

Our warmest wishes for your full recovery and for many remaining years of just the influence you have always wielded in this crucial area.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Receipt for $25.00
enclosed

MISS WILHELMINA M. CROSSON
PRESIDENT

J. W. BURKE, TREASURER
THE BANK OF GIBSONVILLE
GIBSONVILLE, N. C.

THE PALMER MEMORIAL INSTITUTE

INCORPORATED

IN MEMORY OF ALICE FREEMAN PALMER

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

SEDALIA, NORTH CAROLINA
(10 MILES EAST OF GREENSBORO)

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN
FOUNDER-PRESIDENT EMERITA

RECEIVED
NOV 18
Southern Regional Council

November 17, 1953

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your very nice letter. I am glad to have it written thus because I have wanted to resign for a long time. I have not been well for three years and have had to disconnect myself with many organizations with which I have been a part. I believe I am the only woman living that was on that first committee that met at either Memphis or Nashville, Tenn. (I am not sure of the place.)

My misfortune of being aroused from a berth and marched to a jim crow car created a fervor that made the people feel that something should be done. I thank God for what the Southern white people have done toward remedying humilating circumstances under which Negro women travel.

I am no longer a well woman and at seventy years of age; I can graciously retire from every board except The Board of Trustees of Palmer Memorial Institute.

What a wonderful experience it was in those years but the many fires at Palmer destroyed so much of what I had labored hard to build and it finally affected my heart so that I am almost a semi-invalid in these days.

I am enclosing a small sum of twenty-five dollars 10.5. out of a retirement salary which you may be able to use for postage in keeping up the fine work of interricial understanding in the beginning of which I was the first Negro woman to be asked to address that large assembly of Caucasian women who met to find a way.

May God add His greatest blessing to the work of your committee which has done such a fine job.

Very sincerely yours,

Charlotte Hawkins Brown

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown

Encl:

RECEIVED
JAN 6
Southern Regional Council

P. O. Box 296
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
January 4, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This will partly express my sincere appreciation for your kindness in mailing me a copy of your address - The Extension of Citizenship, that you so eloquently delivered on the occasion of the Inauguration Exercises held at Tuskegee Institute.

Here is hoping that the New Year will offer an abundance of peace, happiness and prosperity for you and yours.

Gratefully yours,

George H. Paris

GHP/c

February 5, 1954

Mr. Frederick B. Parker
University of Delaware
Newark, Delaware

Dear Mr. Parker:

Many thanks for your kind letter from a college and a town which I cherish.

Such light as I have on the problem can be put in two lamps. No. 1: Wherever you possibly can, get started local bi-racial discussion groups totalk in a friendly, quiet way about the purpost of possible decisions of the Supreme Court, and to make plans on what to do one way or the other. Our two pamphlets called "Questions and Answers" and "Check List" are helpful for these two stages. Youare further on in Delaware than we are hereabouts but, generally speaking, what I have seen is this situation: A creek has tobe crossed. Nary a log over it. And yet here comes, dinning and honking at it from either side, an approaching stream of traffic. The first little group of people - maybe six or eight church ladies - who meet and talk over the matter will throw a log over the creek; and over the log, more quickly than most of us guess, will go the PTA and the Teachers' Associations, the School Board, and in the long run, the general citizen public. No. 2: 'Tis a flat statement but I make it. The South has come to that pass in which its largest public service, namely the schools, can no longer be successfully administered within the customary white monopoly of government. Which is tosay that the time is here when each Southern town and county should elect or appoint to its school board an able, courageous and representative Negro citizen. He should not be asked for concessions in the Negro purpose of unsegregated schools, but his presence (only if he is truly representative) will in most situations enable that confidence between citizen groups, white and Negro, without which the petty smoothings-down of friction spots will not occur. I am pretty sure I am right on that point.

Now, maybe Blackbird and Georgetown have already provided themselves with good Negro school board members; but if I know my Kent and Sussex, I doubt it.

The Fund For The Advancement of Education will publish, about May 1, a notable and quickly made and therefore fresh study of what the problem is and of the partial solutions in the fringe areas. SRC will do a boiled-down version of it and so, I think, will the Public Affairs Pamphlet. UNC Press will get out the full volume.

If you have not read it, pay most particular attention to those passages in Brownell's brief which weigh the public considerations against the personal and present rights of plaintiffs. Most constructive thinking.

I send you a report that a parson from the National Council of Churches did on one area in central Kentucky. I have half-formed agreements with the National Council and with barious denominational bodies to spread that technique into other parts of the South. I daresay if you quickly got hold of Marmion, over in Wilmington, before he gets turned into a Pisky bishop, he could enable the adoption of some such device most helpfully in Delaware.

If you are curious as to my knowledge of Cooch's Bridge and Quality Hill, consult Dean Squire.

By the way, Oscar Lee, National Council of Churches, said that he was going to suggest to you that you haul me up to Delaware to expound. Do consider it gravely - I would love to come!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

Separately:
Q & A ✓
CHECK LIST ✓
Dec. NEW SOUTH ✓
Vastine Report ✓
Pub List ✓

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

January 18, 1954

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

As you could surmise, teacher and community groups in Delaware are concerned about the problems that may arise as a consequence of the possible ending of segregation in our school system. We at the University are being approached with increasing frequency with appeals for speakers, consultation and other forms of assistance as these groups attempt to prepare for the transition to integration. I am writing to ask if you might be willing to help us by sending pamphlet and other materials which we could use in these activities. We are most in need of information on actual or suggested practical "human relations" strategies or techniques that might be brought to bear on the school integration problem. I believe we have an adequate supply of general studies of inter-group relations.

We would very much appreciate whatever help you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

FBParker

Frederick B. Parker
Chariman

FBP:pb

September 9, 1954

Mrs. Adele Parker
R. R. 1
La Grange, Illinois

Dear Adele:

Appreciation.

I dared not wink, but I looked my most humane and friendly toward all Parkers.

Don't know when I'll get back, but will, and will visit sure 'nuff.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover.

August 27th
R.R.I La Grange -
Illinois

Dear George:

It was very nice to see you again.

After our conversation, I reported your TV appearance to the family while dinning and they issisted I make T.V. arrangements with our neighbor, as we are setless to date, so Julie, Peter's fiancee, Peter and self beheld you. D and the gals left for a Michigan week-end. We got in on the last of the individual speakers and then beheld the panel. I rather hoped you'd wink acknowledgement! Thot you and Mrs. Samson the best.

Almost wrote you at the time of the Supreme Court momentous decision to congratulate you on the realization of your work, but time gets by. Understand the Ford Foundation has made $240,000 available to you. Is'nt it wonderful to be reconized at last!

Give my best to Alice and do plan to SEE US the next time you are in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Adele

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1954
Southern Regional Council

September 22, 1954

Mr. Russell Partington
2120 Blodgett Street
Muskegon, Michigan

Dear Mr. Partington:

How kind it was of you to send us five needed dollars. It helps us keep going.

Here are three copies of Answers for Action, and a list of our other things.

Write us if we can help you at any time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

Check with Dr. Fleming re

Sept. 12, 1954

Dear Dr. Mitchell & Mr. Fleming:

RHA 9/15/54

With this letter is $5 for your good work for progress in so much of the South. So much has been good since the Court's OK on all of us; but still things are to be done. Special thanks to each of you for help last year.

My 3½ month in Washington were full of so many contradictions that comment cannot be made here. One month in Winston-Salem & N.C. was great.

Sincerely
Russell D. Partington

P.S. Please send me your publications for class & community use. Thanks.

May 19, 1955

TO: GTH

From MAW's ltr dtd 5/2/55

"3. We are all urging the integration of PTAs. A woman from Sweet Briar College writes that her group would be glad to admit Negroes if they applied for membership. Of course, the invitation should come from the whites. But the matter ought not to go begging because each group is waiting for the other to make the first move.

I wonder if our state units might not get our colored friends to swallow their natural pride and petition for membership in local PTAs. I firmly believe that in the great majority of instances they would be accepted. And I also believe that such acceptance would be of great significance."

Put your mind on the PTAs and return your suggestions to me.

GSM/eab

June 17, 1955.

Mr. E. E. Patton
Delegate
1983 Maplewood Drive
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Patton:

Thank you for your letter of June 6.

We should be very glad to read your article on practical educators. However, from this brief characterization of it, I doubt that it falls within the subject-matter scope of NEW SOUTH. As you may know, NEW SOUTH is mainly concerned with developments in race relations in the Southern region.

If I have insufficiently grasped the nature of your article and you feel that it would be appropriate for NEW SOUTH, I should be very glad to have you send it along.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Associate Director.

HCF/vc

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

1953 · NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

EUGENE E. PATTON
DELEGATE
1983 MAPLEWOOD DRIVE
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

June 6, 1955

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have an article on the necessity of having practical education and practical educators.

Would you be interested in seeing the article with the idea of publishing it in The NEW SOUTH?

I thank you in advance for your courtesy in this matter and shall await your replywith interest.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene E. Patton

September 20, 1955

Mr. W. E. Solomon
Executive Secretary
Palmetto Education Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Solomon:

Nice to talk with you just now.

Harold Fleming will come up and will try to be there for some of the Saturday meeting and certainly for some of the ~~Saturday~~ morning meeting. He will be there to talk and will talk informingly and encouragingly. I wish I could come, but my schedule is just so tight that if I were to fit it in I would be dog tired and of little good to you.

We are grateful for your undertaking to cover Mr. Fleming's expenses.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated September 19th)

bc: HCF

February 28, 1956

Mrs. Miriam F. Garwood
Field Consultant
Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Garwood:

We will be glad to have you in Atlanta March 12, and I will be glad to do anything I can to be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

CABLE: PARENTHOOD, NEW YORK

Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.

501 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK
PLAZA 5-8600

RECEIVED FEB 14 1956

February 8, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In the past your advice and guidance has been valued and appreciated. May I assume that you are interested in our Planned Parenthood educational program and ask for ten minutes of your time when filling an assignment at Morehead College?

I shall call you on the telephone when I arrive in Atlanta, where I shall spend the week of March 12, 1956.

Sincerely yours,

Miriam F. Garwood

(Mrs.) Miriam F. Garwood
Field Consultant

mfg/km

HONORARY PRESIDENT: MRS. MARGARET SANGER • PRESIDENT: MRS. ROBERT M. FERGUSON • CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: MRS. MORTON BAUM
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June 13, 1957

Miss Doris M. Leake
Georgia Leadership School
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Miss Leake:

Thank you for your letter of this day. I am most grateful for the good and kind invitation to have me participate in the Georgia Leadership School. I particularly regret that I did not learn of this invitation until the 10th, since, prior comitments make it impossible to be in Augusta at the time of your school.

Mrs. Tilly of our staff has told me of the fine work done by the school and were it possible, we would be more than happy to make any possible contribution to it.

We at the Council extend our best wishes for a successful and productive week. And, again my deepest regrets over not being able to be with you. Perhaps in the future we will be able to contribute to the school.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Paine College
ESTABLISHED 1882
AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
E.C. PETERS, PRESIDENT
Augusta, Georgia

June 12, 1957

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Region Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

As a member of the staff for Georgia Leadership School, I have been asked to send you a copy of the program. I hope it will answer many of your questions connected with the school. You will find you name on page 2 under the topic in which you are to assist.

Sincerely,
Doris M. Leake
Doris M. Leake

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

June 11, 1957

Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun
President
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Calhoun:

I am happy to have your letter of the 10th and to know that I have been invited to participate in the Georgia Leadership School.

Unfortunately, however, our collected memory and files fail to turn up any information or communication concerning the School. I am, of course, familiar with the association of many years which our Mrs. Tilly has had with the program. I had hoped that Mr. Lucius Pitts might be able to clarify the situation. He is out of town but his secretary confirms the fact that I am listed on the program as a participant.

I hope this is not confusion arising on our own coordination here. Could you please check and help us clarify this situation. I note that the school begins on the 16th and on hearing from you I will respond immediately by phone.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Paine College

ESTABLISHED 1882

AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

E. CLAYTON CALHOUN, PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Augusta, Georgia
June 10, 1957

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We have just been through two very high moments at Paine, the inauguration and the commencement exercises, both of which reached a very high peak in spiritual quality and rededication to the principles of higher education.

We are looking forward to your coming to Paine for the Georgia Leadership School. You will bring with you the continuing ministry of these high experiences. For that and personal reasons we look forward to your coming.

I hope I may have the pleasure of many moments of personal fellowship with you while you are here.

Very sincerely yours,

E. Clayton Calhoun/w

E. Clayton Calhoun

ECC:W

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

GEORGIA LEADERSHIP EDUCATION SCHOOL FOR CHRISTIAN WORKERS

Paine College - Augusta, Georgia

June 16 - 22, 1957

The School is under the direction of the General Board of Christian Education and the Georgia Conferences of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Churches. The School is ably assisted by the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the North and South Georgia Conferences of the Methodist Church and the Board of Education of North Georgia Conference.

It is designed to help pastors, presiding elders, local preachers, women of the Missionary Societies, laymen and young people.

Those who desire to attend should plan to reach Augusta, during the afternoon of Sunday, June 16, as the first meal will be served at 7:00 P. M., on that day. The School will end with the noon meal on Saturday, June 22.

The total charges for attending the School will be $15.00, divided as follows:

Room and Board.....$11.00

Registration 4.00

In addition to these expenses each person should bring at least $5.00 extra for use in the purchase of necessary books and incidentials.

Lodging:

Women and girls will live in Epworth Hall, Miss Doris Leake, Dean

Men and boys will live in Bennett Hall, Mr. L. R. Harper, Dean

Meals:

Served in Dining Room, Mrs. Freddie P. Jackson, Dietian

Breakfast ..... 7:00 A. M.

Dinner .....12:30 P. M.

Supper..... 5:30 P. M.

Necessary materials and supplies:

Each person should bring two sheets, a pillow case, necessary covering, towels, soap and other toilet articles. The College does not provide these. Young people should bring Tennis shoes (or shoes with low heels) for recreation. Most important of all, each person should bring a Bible and come with an open mind, and a yearning to contribute in a worthwhile manner to the work of the school.

REGISTRATION

Sunday, June 16, 8:00 P. M. - Holsey Hall

Monday, June 17, 7:30 A. M. - Holsey Hall

Classes and Instructors

Hour	Course	Instructor	Room
7:45-9:15	929 A	Pastoral Counselling Rev. E. Clayton Calhoun, President Paine College	6 - 2nd Floor
	122 B	The New Testament, Its Conts and Values Rev. T. C. Lightfoot, Teacher, Pastor of West Mitchell Street Church, Atlanta	17 - 3rd Floor
	125 A	The Life and Works of Paul Rev. U. A. Hammonds, Pastor Clifford Temple and Midway, Thomasville	5 - 2nd Floor
9:20-10:45	150 A	Missionary Education in the Local Church Mrs. Ida Prather, Principal, Teacher W.C.C. Officer.	5
	927 A	The Ethics of the Ministry Rev. P. R. Shy, Pastor St. Paul Church Member of the Faculty, Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee	6
	613 A	Planning A Vacation Church School Miss Bessie Hester, Local Church and District Director of Youth Activities and Teacher in Public Schools of Fulton County	12
		Youth in Changing Social Patterns Rev. L. H. Pitts, Executive Secretary Ga. Teachers & Education Association; Mr. Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council; Mr. David Levin, Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith	17
11:00-12:00 - Chapel		Bishop B. Julian Smith, Presiding Bishop of the Eighth Episcopal District C.M.E. Church, Speaker for each day.	
12:30		D I N N E R	
2:00-3:20	139 A	History of the C.M.E. Church Dr. W. L. Graham, General Secretary, Board of Lay Activities C.M.E. Church, Vice President and Professor, Paine College	5
		Missionary Workshop	6
		Minister's Fellowship Bishop Womack, Rev. R. B. Shorts, Leaders	Bennett Hall

2:00-3:20	312 A	The Youth Fellowship Rev. M. S. Cherry, Pastor C.M.E. Church, Montezuma, Georgia, President National Youth Conference of the C.M.E. Church	Haygood Chapel
3:30-5:00 P. M.		Activity Period Mrs. M. E. Wesley, Director Christian Education of Central Georgia Conference	Room 17

ACTIVITIES

Monday - 7:00-9:00 P. M. - Social

Tuesday -7:00-8:00 P. M. - Movie - Assembly

Wednesday 7:00-8:00 P. M. - Movie - Assembly

Thursday 7:00-9:00 P. M. - Talent Night

Friday 7:30 P. M. -- Committment Services

Stamps may be purchased from the Bookstore at 7:30 - 7:55 A. M., and 12:30-1:15P.M.

The Co-Op Store will be open for refreshments from 12:30 - 1:15 and 40 minutes after Evening Sessions.

Leadership Books may be purchased in School Post Office.

Monday first hour classes will meet at 3:30.

ADMINISTRATION

Rev. L. Q. Brown, General Secretary, Board of Christian Education C.M.E. Church
Rev. C. D. Coleman, Director Leadership Education and Youth Work
Bishop Arthur W. Womack, Presiding Bishop of Georgia C. M. E. Conferences
Rev. H. H. Davis, Chairman Regional Committee
Rev. M. C. Pettigrew, Dean
Rev. Grover C. Jay, Registrar
Rev. M. S. Cherry, Director of Youth Work
Rev. L. H. Pitts, Director, Division of Adult Work
Rev. Grover H. Carter, Book Agent
Mrs. Annie Mayfield, Counselor for Women and Girls
Rev. R. B. Shorts, Counselor for Men and Boys
Mrs. Ruby Harling, Director of Missionary Education
Mr. W. C. Ervin, Business Manager of the College
Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun, President of the College

STAFF

Mrs. T. E. Sibley
Mrs. Ruth Pickens
Miss Doris Leake

October 31, 1957

Mr. Amos Leon Parker
Post Office Box 2
Dunbar High School
Morganfield, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Parker:

Your recent letter and the manuscript you sent to Mr. Marion Wright have been referred to me as Director of Information and person in charge of our publication New South. I am extremely sorry that I have not answered your letter sooner, but it is sometimes necessary for several people to read submitted manuscripts.

While your article is extremely good, we are now concentrating on more specific elements in the segregation-integration controversy rather than on broad pictures such as you present.

I like your style and am extremely interested in seeing additional material from you. Since you are headquartered in Kentucky I wonder if you might not do us an article based on some actual integration process in your state. I believe this would be of great interest to our readers.

I do hope you will let us see any additional material you might have for publication.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

Enclosure.

JC:fcl

File

Dunbar High School
OFFICE PHONE 476
Morganfield, Kentucky

Post Office Box 2
28 October 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Pres.
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

This correspondence has reference to an article that I submitted to New South for consideration of same being published in this great pamphlet. The article, sent about 5 weeks previous to date, is an original with myself and is unpublished. I thought that New South would be ideal for its publication and I await a reply as per the same. I shall appreciate immensely hearing from you relative to this article; and too, I shall be thankful for any consideration given the same.

Please give my best regards to Dr. Rufus E. Clements whom I knew when he resided in Louisville, Kentucky some few years ago.

Sincerely, I am

Amos Leon Parker
Post Office Box No. 2
Morganfield, Ky.

Post Office Box 2

File

Dunbar High School
OFFICE PHONE 476
Morganfield, Kentucky

From: ..... Amos Leon Parker, Professor & Head Teacher, Elementary Dept., Dunbar High School, Above City

To: ..... Your very, very good magazine — The New South, Atlanta, Ga.

Subject: ..... Request for consideration of the attached article being published in New South.

This article, wholly original with myself, is unpublished and has occurred in no magazine, newspaper, pamphlet or other publication.

No one can deny the fact that the Negro in America is the number topic — not only within the boundaries of the U. S. — but of the whole civilized world — TODAY. Every leading newspaper in the country and other outlets for dissemination of information carry daily something about the Negro.

I shall appreciate immensely the consideration given this article. Any additions, deletions and or other editing are permissable so long as the main idea about what I have tried to write is not destroyed.

May I hear from you as per this article as soon as possible?

Many thanks in advance.

Amos Leon Parker
P. O. Box 2
Morganfield, Ky.

September 9, 1958

Mrs. William C. Pauley
943 Clifton Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Frances:

Many thanks for undertaking to talk with Dr. McCain.

Enclosed is material which describes the Commission on Civil Rights, the nature of the state advisory committees, and so on. The members of the national Commission are: Dr. John A. Hannah, chairman, president of Michigan State University; Doyle Carlton, former governor of Florida; John S. Battle, former governor of Virginia; Robert G. Story, dean of the SMU Law School; J. Ernest Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor; Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University.

The state committees announced so far have been made up of quite influential and often conservative people. The Georgians who (informally and confidentially) are understood to have agreed to serve are: William Turpin, prominent Macon lawyer; Monsignor T. James McNamara, of Savahnah; L. D. Milton, president of the Citizens Trust Company of Atlanta; Dr. F. D. Funderburg of Monticello (a Negro medical man); and Sylvan Meyer, editor of the Gainesville Times. There will be two additional members--the chairman and one other as yet not selected.

I do hope Dr. McCain will consider the appointment. Again, thanks and regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

May 19, 1959

Mrs. Walter Paschall
899 Briarcliff Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Eliza:

We received today a contribution from Walter Sharp -- who is a member of our board -- with the notation "in memory of Walter Goode Paschall."

As I wrote Walter Sharp, I am pleased not only organizationally but personally that he chose the Council for this purpose. It means a lot to be identified with the good efforts that you and Walter have always worked for.

You have been much in our thoughts, and Jane and I hope to see you very soon.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

May 19, 1959

Mr. George Goodwin
c/o First National Bank
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed is a check representing the Council's modest contribution to the Walter Paschall Educational Fund. Walter was not only a personal friend, but a friend and supporter of the things for which the Council stands, so we felt that this was fitting.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check, $25.00)

Atlanta, Georgia
May 20, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
% Mr. Harold C. Fleming

RECEIVED MAY 21 1959

Thank you so much for your contribution to the Walter Paschall Educational Fund. All contributions have been deposited in a special account in the First National Bank of Atlanta. It is anticipated that, with the approval of Eliza Paschall, the fund will be invested by First National's trust department in order that it may enhance in value until it is needed for the education of the Paschall children.

George Goodwin

George Goodwin, Treasurer
Walter Paschall Educational Fund

ARLINGTON, VA.

3500 N. Jefferson St.
Arlington, Va.
July 21, 1959

Dear Hal,

I've been pp here, and in NYC, for about 2 weeks now, visiting various friends and family. I plan to come back to Atlanta about theend of this month, to try to start to get unpacked at our new house and get the children somewhat settled before school starts. We moved to 1957 Westminster Way, N.E., down the street from where Bob & Emily Stuart have been.

I've mentioned to several peoplein different kinds of work that after school starts, I'd beinterested in some part-time work, have thought of trying my hand at substitute teaching to see if it was something I might like to "take up" seriously. Fortunately we can mange without additionalincome, but of course we would manage better with more!The main thing is that it would probably be better for me to concentrate on one thing that I more or less have to do than be able to decide whether this or that is something I'm up to at the moment.

Ido believe so strongly that the field of human relations is the most important thingin our society just now, paticularly in thesouth that I have wondered if there is some job, with the Council or one of its affiliates that I could do on a limited basis. On the other hand, I can see thatone could do a great deal in that field working in other jobs, such as school teaching! I find myself in need of vocational guidance at this point - not just in terms of jobs that are available but jobs that are desirable, for my own sanity and for any possible good of the community. If you have any ideas, I'd appreciate a line from you. .. I like to read, and write, and talk - almost anything except deal with figures!

3801 LORCOM LANE

ARLINGTON, VA.

One thing I do resolve - perhaps my spirit will weaken when the time comes to live this - but at the moment I feel that whatever I do, I must do wholeheartedly and honestly - not necessarily aggressively or "crusadingly", but with no apologies or subterfuges about my own belief in life and people - otherwise, I think I would simply dry up inside.

Love to you and Jane,

Eliza Parsobell

1951 Westminster Way N.E.

Mrs. Walter G. Paschall

~~899 BRIARCLIFF ROAD, N. E.~~
ATLANTA 6, GA.

Rec'd 10/16/59

Dear Hal,

I copied the part of the application I thought you'd want to see. Sounds rather vague, like their announcement, but I hope will givesome idea of my interest.

Again, many thanks - I feel that I owe the SBC several days of work to help make up for some of your time that I've taken up!

Eliz

Mrs. Paschall, this is Mr. Fleming's recommendation typed onto the "Confidential Reference Form" from the Fund for Adult Education.

M. Flowers

COPY

There are few people in the Atlanta area whom I could recommend as unreservedly for a Leadership Training Award as Eliza Paschall. In various capacities, most notably as an officer and former president of the League of Women Voters of Georgia, she has a wide circle of acquaintance and influence among civic leaders in the state and community. She has skills and experience in organizational work, education, opinion-making, and the field of government. Above all, she has an original and inquiring mind, and deep commitment to democratic values.

It will be evident in all of this that I feel her capacity for further development and her leadership potential are impressive.

If the Fund gives her an award, it can be confident that the investment will be returned in terms of community education. Along with her other qualities, Mrs. Paschall is endowed with unusual energy and motivation. Her future involvement in the learning and decision-making processes of the community is as certain as anything can be.

Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

Study Project : Part time study at Emory University Graduate School , Dept. of Sociology. Proposed courses:

Summer - Seminar in Community Organization
Fall - courses in Social Investigations andPublic Opinion
Winter - Seminar in Sociological Theory andCourse in Social Disorganization
Spring - Course in Social Change and Industrial Sociology

These on Dr. Wiggins' recommendations

Objectives: What are your objectives in adult education? How is the fulfillment of you proposal expected to help achieve these objectives?

I wouldcontend that all "adult" activity is "adult education" and theobjective is the same as for all education - to permit and encourage the development of each human being to hisfullestpotential as a thinking, feeling social human being. Within the context of this application, I would list my objectives in two categories, in terms of my own development and in terms of the community.

In terms of my own development, my objectives would be to increase my understandin of the means by which individuals can and do participate in the decisions which determine the kind of society in which they operate and to increase my competence in subject matter and techniques by which social action is taken, by individuals or group

In terms of the community, my objectives in adult eudcation would be for it to

provide opportunities for individual growth and for development of conditions which would promote "communal responsibility". Responsibility implies acceptance of an obligation, information on which to base judgments, channels for communication, methods of acting to fulfill the responsbility.

(Question: How is the fulfillment of your psoposal expected to help achieve these objectives?) By studying matters of social organization, Iwould be better equipped to participate in developing social means necessary to meet new situations, particularly as the Atlanta metropolitan area of 1 million people in 5 counties becomes really a "metropolitan area". Besides organizational needs, there is need for ability in securing factual information and in using iteffectively, once it is secured. Why do people form the groups they do? What are their purposes? Do they accomplish them? These are the questions towhich I would direct my study and use my knowledge in further community activities and perhaps in professional activity in thecommunity later, as my children need less of my time.

Asked for $3150, estimating appr. $700 university costs, $1258 for household help, $1220 for additional income - I put a note saying that I have no way of figuring yet what our "monthly minimal family expenses are really since our business has been so confused, since May. I figured that thiswould be what I would hope to make if I got a part time job - in other words, if I took my "half time" to study instead ofworking for income, this is what I would need to feel "safe" about current expenses, keeping up the house, insurance, etc., above what we now get from Social Securityand insurance, etc..

Listed Dr. Allen Albert as advisor - he agreed.

Didn't put this in, don't know if it is pertinent, but feel that thiswould be a way of

deciding if I do want to study more + am not teaching - hiring help

PRENTICE-HALL, Inc.
Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey

To give you the promptest possible answer to your inquiry we are noting our reply on your letter and are returning it to you.

It's always a pleasure to be of help to you, and we will be glad to serve you at any time.

Dear Mr Anthony

This was originall shipped to you on January 8, 1960 on our invoice PP151457.

A duplicate shipment has been sent to you at no charge on March 1 and should reach you shortly.

Cordially,

Arthur Denton

Arthur Denton
3/15

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 8, 1960

Parker Publishing Company, Inc.
Englewood Cliffs,
New Jersey

Gentlemen:

Several months ago we ordered from you a book Non-Profit Corporations and Associations by H. L. Oleck. On receiving no response from you on this order, I wrote you on February 2 again requesting this book. In response, I received from you an invoice, but no book.

On February 16 I wrote stating that we had not received the book and asked that you determine the disposition of the order. In response I have your invoice (again number 151457) dated February 18, along with a notice stating that the bill is some 40 days past due.

We still don't have the book.

Please send the book, or determine the disposition of the shipment if it has been sent, or let's strike a truce. It is costing you quite a bit in time and postage to prepare and send bills, and we too are building a sizeable investment in time and postage.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
cc: Collection Manager

INVOICE NUMBER

PP 210311

INVOICE DATE 030860

INVOICE

PARKER PUBLISHING CO., INC. ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, NEW JERSEY

000000

ACCOUNT OF

P ANTHONY
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC
63 AUBURN AVE NE
ATLANTA 1 GA

	TITLE CODE	ROY	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT	TAX	POSTAGE & SHIPPING	TOTAL
NONPROFIT CORP ASSC ORGZ 1	62333	00		0 00			0 00

DUP SHPT PP 151457

TOTAL DUE

IMPORTANT→ TEAR ALONG PERFORATION AND RETURN TOP WITH YOUR REMITTANCE

PARKER PUBLISHING CO., INC., ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, NEW JERSEY

Goods or services covered by this invoice were produced in compliance with Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended.

PP210311

CALIF. USE TAX CERT. NO. B 46124-U

February 16, 1960

Parker Publishing Company, Inc.
Englewood Cliffs,
New Jersey

Dear Sirs:

We have your duplicate invoice, No. 151457, dated 010860, and your notice that shipment was made four weeks ago. Since we have not received the book listed, would you please check your shipping records to determine the disposition of this request.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

February 2, 1960

Via Air Mail

Parker Publishing Company
Englewood Cliffs
New Jersey

Gentlemen:

Some weeks ago we ordered your book Non-Profit Corporations and Associations by Howard L. Oleck. Please send this to us at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/sm

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Telegraphed 2/21/61

LESLIE PAFFRATH

Your invitation deeply appreciated and I regret exceedingly that I ~~cannot~~ cannot accept. Efforts to rearrange my schedule ~~have~~ to no avail. Regards and best wishes for a most timely undertaking.

Harold C. Fleming

THE JOHNSON FOUNDATION
IN RACINE, WISCONSIN

RECEIVED
FEB 20 1961

February 18, 1961

JA 2-3700

RECEIVED
FEB 20 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I am writing to invite you to participate in the Wingspread Assembly on National Goals to be held in Racine, Wisconsin, March 16-19, 1961.

Last November the White House released the report of the President's Commission on National Goals. This Assembly, a national meeting to steer the intelligent, constructive discussion desired by the President and the Commission, is being held at Wingspread, a conference center recently inaugurated by The Johnson Foundation. The meeting is sponsored by The American Assembly of Columbia University and the Foundation. The American Assembly was official administrator of the President's Commission on National Goals.

Background reading for the Assembly will be Goals for Americans, which comprises a series of essays prepared for consideration by the Commission, and the Commission's Report. For three days sixty men and women prominent in national life will engage in round-table discussions of the issues raised in this volume. On the fourth day, in plenary session, the participants will approve a report of findings and recommendations of their own.

Henry M. Wriston, President of The American Assembly and Chairman of the Commission on National Goals, will address the Assembly at one session. Details relating to the full program will be mailed to participants well in advance of the meeting.

The Wingspread Assembly on National Goals will convene for luncheon at noon, Thursday, 16 March, and will continue through luncheon on Sunday, 19 March. You will be the guest of the co-sponsoring organizations during the entire period. Because the report of findings and recommendations is that of the participants,

not of The American Assembly or The Johnson Foundation, it is important that those who come should remain through the plenary session on Sunday morning.

Wingspread, the Assembly site, is a building designed by the late Frank Lloyd Wright in 1938. It is located in the Village of Wind Point, north of Racine, Wisconsin. In recent months Wingspread, the last in a series of Wright-designed "prairie houses", has been adapted for use as a national educational conference center.

Discussion of national goals by the group of outstanding leaders invited to participate will prove to be a valuable public service. May we have your response to this invitation at the earliest possible date, preferably by wire, so that we can complete arrangements for a successful meeting on this challenging subject?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie Paffrath
President

LP/ms

File

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN

DEPARTMENT OF THE
HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

February 21, 1961

New South
Southern Regional Council
John Constable, Editor
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Editor:

If you think it possibly suitable for review, may I send you a complimentary copy of Franklin Parker, AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, Ohio State University Press, 1960, 165 pp., $1.75, paperback.

Contents

1. Introduction
2. Southern Rhodesia Today
3. The Coming of the White Settler to Rhodesia
4. Government Policy on African Development
5. Historical Review of African Education
6. Problems of African Education
Appendix A. Present Structure of African Education
Appendix B. Visit to a Village School

Sincerely,
Franklin Parker
F.B.
Franklin Parker
Assistant Professor

1010 KC, 1000 WATTS

August 30, 1962

PA - pls reply
PR - f.y.i.
Clips + 2nd page file in Research
MA - file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have just written Dr. Dabbs the enclosed letter in connection with his acceptance of our invitation to address the Eighth Annual Institute of Human Relations to be held here in Kinston at 8:00 p.m. Sunday, February 10, 1963.

When convenient, we would appreciate receiving some biographical material on Dr. Dabbs, a newspaper mat or photograph, and any brief descriptive material available on the aims and activities of the Southern Regional Council. This will help us greatly in publicizing the Institute and also assist the person who will introduce Dr. Dabbs.

Many thanks for your assistance.

Cordially yours,

William S. Page

William S. Page
President

August 30, 1962

Dr. James M. Dabbs, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Dabbs:

Returning yesterday from a three-week trip to the West Coast, I was delighted to find your letter of August 12, 1962 saying that you would be able to accept our invitation to address the Eighth Annual Institute of Human Relations here in Kinston at 8:00 p.m. on Sunday, February 10, 1963.

Later in the Fall, I will write you further about our plans for the Institute. Meantime, please know that we will be looking forward to having you address the Institute here February 10th.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially yours,

William S. Page

September 12, 1962

Mr. William S. Page
President
WELS
Farmers Broadcasting Service, Inc.
Kinston, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Page:

Enclosed is the biographical material you requested on Mr. Dabbs and a brief description of the Southern Regional Council. We do not have a photograph available, but are writing Mr. Dabbs to see if he can provide you with one.

Best wishes on your Institute. Also enclosed is a list of publications available from the Southern Regional Council. If any of them would be helpful to you we will be happy to send them without cost.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mg

Enclosures

file
"P" gen. corr.

via air mail special February 25, 1964

Mr. Jason Paige, Jr.
Carrington Farm
Delaplane, Virginia

Dear Mr. Paige:

I am looking forward to lunch on Friday. I shall be at the Willard at noon.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

CARRINGTON FARM
DELAPLANE, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
FEB 12 1964

February 12, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am so pleased that we will have a chance to meet in Washington on February 28. If it is convenient for you, plan to lunch with me at the Willard Hotel at twelve o'clock noon. That should give us time for a talk before your 1:30 meeting.

As you may recall, the main lobby of the Willard runs through to the F Street side of the building. I would suggest we meet at the F Street end of the lobby; I will be wearing a dark gray double breasted suit - but there really should be no problem in recognition.

If any other location is more convenient for your schedule, it will be quite satisfactory for me. Will look forward to receiving the publications you have put in the mail.

Very sincerely yours,

Jason Paige, Jr.

Jason Paige, Jr.

Leee
" pa - gen. Corresp.
also Mat Reese 3rd
address cont

March 11, 1964

Mr. Jason Paige
Carrington Farm
Delaplane, Virginia

Dear Mr. Paige:

I greatly enjoyed our lunch the other day in Washington. I hope that we may see more of each other. I understand from Ben that he has seen you since, and that you have also met with Mat Reese. Good luck all the way.

To my disappointment I find that we do not have extra copies of the kind of descriptive material about the Democratic Coalition which you want. I am, therefore, writing today to Larry Goodwyn in Texas asking him to send some things directly to you.

I wish you would let me know if you have not yet received that bundle of material I ordered sent to you long ago.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Annual Report, 1963)

MJ-7

File "Pa" gen corresp

Materials re-sent 3/25/64

CARRINGTON FARM
DELAPLANE, VIRGINIA

March 14, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks so much for your note of March 11. It arrived just as I was about to write thanking you for giving me Matt Reese's name. He is a splendid fellow and has suggested several things I might do to help him in his work. If all goes well, I should be able to spend three days a week in his office and sincerely hope that I will be able to be of assistance.

The materials you mentioned when we lunched have not yet arrived as of this morning. If they're en route, they will probably turn up eventually.

We will definitely have to get together from time to time. Any time you're travelling this way we would be delighted to have you spend a night with us here in the country.

With best regards,

Jason Paige, Jr.

Jason Paige, Jr.

Separate mailing: December/NEW SOUTH
B. Coles pamphlet
Federal Executive.....
Executive Support.....
100 Years Later

file
p - gen corresp

February 6, 1964

Mr. Jason Paige
Carrington Farms
Delaplane, Virginia

Dear Mr. Paige:

Mr. Benjamin Muse was in the office last week, and told me of his recent and very pleasant conversations with you. I hope that we may have the pleasure sometime soon of meeting you. I am planning to be in Washington February 28 for an afternoon meeting, beginning at 1:30. I cannot come up untilthe night before, but if it would be convenient for you to have lunch on the 28th, I wish you would let me know. If not, I hope to see you on a subsequent trip, or here in Atlanta if you are ever this way.

In the meantime, I am sending you, under separate cover, a couple of our recent publications which we would like for you to have.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

February 6, 1964

TO: BC

From: MMJ

Bernice,

Please package up the following materials and mail to Mr. Jason Paige (label attached):

Re-ordered 3/25/64

December/NEW SOUTH
Coles pamphlet
Federal Executive.....
Executive Support.....
100 Years Later

thanx, mmj

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM May 7, 1964

To: JSmith

From: MMJohnson

Janet,

Les would like for you to send to the following person a subscription&&&&& blank for New South -- without a covering letter.

Mr. Jason Paige, Jr.
Carrington Farm
Delaplane, Virginia

Lud
fyi → he paid #2 12-2-63 exp. 11-64 p

WB

WB
PAF for
LD

Send
Sec. blank - w/no ltr.

CARRINGTON FARM
DELAPLANE, VIRGINIA

April 5, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks so much for the envelope of material which arrived last week. It will be most helpful to me for background on the civil rights movement and in regard to the work of the Southern Regional Council.

The work with Matt Reese is most interesting and will certainly consume all my surplus time and energy for the next few months. I am really enjoying it thoroughly and have high hopes that the end result will be all that we would like to see it.

Please let me know if you will be in Washington later on this spring. I would like to keep in touch with a view to being of any possible assistance to the Council, and hope that we can have the opportunity to lunch together again when you're up this way.

With best regards,

Jason Paige, Jr.

Jason Paige, Jr.

PA - gen. Corresp
(please make folder if we don't have one)

October 13, 1965

The Sherman House
Randolph, Clark and La Salle Streets
Chicago, Illinois

Gentlemen:

I have your confirmation of my reservations for the nights of October 19 and 20. May I please change these to October 18 and 19; arriving around 7:00 p.m., on the 18.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

cc: of invoice
for $3.00 to
Janet Smith
KM

April 25, 1966

Mr. L. G. Patterson, Mgr.
HoL-DeM Electric Fencer Co.
Old Highway 80 East
Box 5736
Jackson 8, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Under separate cover we are sending you the first issue of our new quarterly, New South. Enclosed is our bill for your subscription for the year.

It was good to see you in Jackson and we very much appreciate your continued interest in our publication.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

1

PHONE 939-3485

HoL-DeM ELECTRIC FENCER CO.

MANUFACTURERS' WAREHOUSE AND
MANUFACTURERS' REPRESENTATIVE

OLD HIGHWAY 80 EAST
BOX 5736
JACKSON 8, MISSISSIPPI

L. G. PATTERSON, MGR.

See "Pa" General

May 7, 1968

Mrs. Wilma Paynter
1119½ Vermont
Quincy, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Paynter:

Through error you placed an order with us for the book "DEATH AT AN EARLY AGE." We are returning your check for $1.00.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) Katharine Martin
Secretary

KM

Enclosure

CPA
file

July 11, 1969

Miss Verne Moberg
Pantheon Books
201 East 50th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Miss Moberg:

We received your letter of July 9 addressed to Mr. Leslie Dunbar today. We are pleased and delighted that Pantheon Books is interested in the possibility of publishing a book by Mr. Dunbar.

The author of the booklet, however, is Mr. Anthony Dunbar not Mr. Leslie Dunbar. Tony is Leslie's son and deserves, I think, your letter rewritten and addressed to him. I am so certain that you will agree with this that I am enclosing your original letter with absolute confidence that you will rewrite it.

the Wise Is Service

Yours very truly,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Enclosure - 1

Rec'd 7/11/69 mj

PANTHEON BOOKS

201 East 50th Street New York, N.Y. 10022 (212) 751-2600 CABLE: COLUMNS NEW YORK

A DIVISION OF RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

Verne Moberg

July 9, 1969

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
c/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

A while back Pat Watters passed on to us your booklet of material on Southern poverty, and we read it with very high interest. Earlier, Pat had mentioned that you were also interviewing and writing about poor whites in Appalachia.

We'd be very pleased indeed to hear more about your work and your writing. Do you think that the material from your booklet, along with your interviews from Appalachia and additional commentary might be developed into a book? Offhand, it seems as if such a comparative work might make for really important, exciting reading.

What do you think?

Sincerely,

(Miss) Verne Moberg

Verne Moberg

January 20, 1970

The Patterson-Barklay Memorial
Foundation
1020 Spring Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

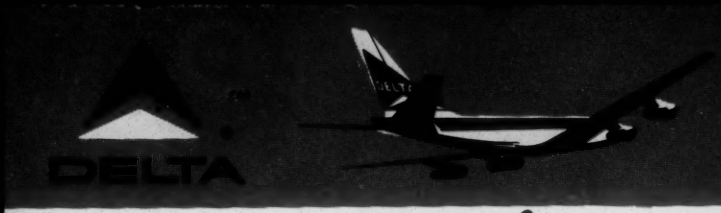
Gentlemen:

This will acknowledge with appreciation your contribution made jointly to the Council and the Atlanta School of Business. All of these funds have been deposited in the School's foundation for assistance to student aid.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj



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Best thing that ever happened to air travel!

February 11, 1970

Mr. J. David Palmer
Associate Professor
Political Science
Georgia State University
33 Gilmer Street, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Palmer:

Under separate cover, we are sending you a copy of the February issue of South Today, which contains the article you refer to.

We would be happy to place you on our mailing list to receive future publications and to have you visit our research department to determine if our resources would be helpful to you. Also, I would like to discuss with you the future use of some of your students.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:js

GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY
33 GILMER STREET, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

February 10, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please send me a copy of your latest report regarding attitude toward racial integration of faculties and students in our public schools by public officials. Also I would be grateful if you would place my name on your mailing list to receive periodically your reports on various issues confronting politics in the South.

Since I teach State and Municipal government courses at Georgia State, it is important to keep abreast of the numerous activities and research undertakings of the Southern Regional Council. Perhaps you have some research projects that might involve some of my students from time to time.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

J. David Palmer

J. David Palmer

Associate Professor
Political Science

panel brochure to AH

September 23, 1954

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

I have puzzled a good deal about any useful relationship between the Panel of Americans and the Council. About the only thing I know is that local interracial meetings in several Georgia towns or cities, and in places in South Carolina and Virginia, and elsewhere, within the last year have found the most successful program bit to be a rather sketchily connected up panel of white and Negro college students from nearby colleges. The ready acceptance by the young people of decent ideals has been instructive to the older ranks in the audiences, and I am sure that the young people grew a bit as they expounded too. So far as I know, in none of these area of the Central South has the idea grown to include general inter-groupism, or more plainly, nobody has asked for a Catholic student and a Jewish student also. And I think that has not simply been neglect, but a sound instinct. The truth is that in the queer situation in the South religious minorities among white people are so nearly integrated anyhow into the general white culture that it seems artificial and invidious to pluck out from anonymity some pleasant young lady and say, "observe, a Catholic girl." Nobody was concerned about her being a Catholic before. And, similarly, with Jewish students.

Fred Routh, who is now with us, tells me that they came very near to getting a Panel of Americans in Miami -- and there I can see that it would fit.

I think the size of it is about this: If the movement could keep going on its own steam, and could reach into ~~such Jewish, or~~ the Jewish one new state groups now getting going, the state groups could and would use the panels. But I think they ought to find some other sponsor for the organizational backing than ours.

But if worse come to worse, and the Panel of Americans as an organized body goes under, I can promise you that we will be encouraging our state people to use panels of college students at many locality meetings, and that by contrivance here and there, the panels can include people of various religious backgrounds.

I am coming to New York October 18, 19, and 20, and will come in your office in the course of the 20th. And for once I will try to call up ahead of time and see whether you are going to be there, or whether I can find Larry, or whom.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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HERBERT B. EHRMANN, *Chairman, Executive Committee*
SIMON H. RIFKIND, *Chairman, Administrative Committee*
MAURICE GLINERT, *Treasurer*
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RALPH E. SAMUEL, *New York, Vice-President*
JESSE H. STEINHART, *San-Francisco, Vice-President*

September 13, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

It occurred to us that the Panel of Americans -- about which you may have heard -- could be enormously useful to you in the educational program you are carrying on, to prepare Southern communities for the ultimate pattern of desegregation in the public schools. Some descriptive literature concerning the Panel and the mode of its operation, is enclosed herewith. This project has been a particularly successful device on high school and college campuses, and has come to be widely accepted over the period of its existence (since 1942).

The American Jewish Committee, together with a number of other interested agencies, has been furnishing the annual budget of the Panel; but the time has come for us to seek support for it elsewhere. It already has funds which would carry it into, perhaps through, the month of October, and will need additional subsidy to carry it to the end of the year -- and beyond. In casting about for possibilities, it occurred to me that the current program of SRC would find the Panel of infinite value, and that some of your funds might profitably be usable for the purpose of incorporating the Panel as one of your educational instrumentalities. (Incidentally, the Fund for the Republic, until recently, seriously considered granting a subsidy to the Panel, but because its funds available for work in the inter-group field had been more or less exhausted, it reluctantly turned down the Panel's application.)

I would appreciate having your views of the Panel's usefulness to you, and the possibility of their visit into your area, with funds made available by SRC. If the latter is not possible, although the Panel's utilization is considered to be of value, perhaps you could indicate to us whether private funds might be tapped in the South to make the Panel's visit possible.

As always, my warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
enc.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-0181

September 27, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd. I look forward to seeing you and to discussing further with you the Panel project when you get here on the 20th of October.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

RECEIVED
9/29/54
Southern Regional Council

261 158-4-54

national council for the

PANEL OF AMERICANS

Tenth Floor, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16 • MUrray Hill 5-0181

November 11, 1954

RECEIVED 11/15/54 Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Recently I heard from Mrs. Helen F. Schwartz of the St. Louis Jewish Community Relations Council. She made the very helpful and splendid suggestion that the Panel of Americans be discussed with you as a very timely and useful instrument in the southern section of the country at this time.

I received Mrs. Schwartz' letter only shortly after having the nice, if brief, opportunity to meet you when you were up seeing Mr. Edwin Lukas at the American Jewish Committee. I know that Mr. Lukas has discussed the Panel with you, therefore, and that he has provided you with some of the material describing it.

However I shall enclose at least one piece here which probably has not come to your attention and which indicates the activity which is under way this fall. St. Louis and Kansas City are the only "border" states in which Panels are functioning at this time.

We certainly welcome your interest in the program and are most eager to encourage the development of the Panel wherever it can be the most effective and useful.

Sincerely yours,

Marian Hargrave

Marian Hargrave
Field Director

encl.

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channel

National Council for the Panel of Americans

Fall, 1954

A SEPTEMBER "HAPPY NEW YEAR"

The Panel of Americans staff, at the outset of this new academic year, wants to welcome back the Panel members and wish you a very successful season in your Panel work and University life. As you are well aware, this will be a particularly important year for the Panel. The Supreme Court decisions affecting segregation and the public schools have created difficult adjustments and exciting opportunities. All of us who are familiar with the Panel's impact know it will meet this year of decision with an effectiveness never before matched.

YOUR PANEL AND THE NATIONAL PANEL PROGRAM

In a few short years the Panel of Americans program has grown from a local experiment into a new national pattern in intergroup education. It has grown rapidly because many university, community and student leaders are convinced that the Panel vigorously demonstrates the fact that when a man understands and appreciates his own tradition and feels the importance of his place within it, and when he has confidence in those around him, however profoundly they may differ in faith, experience or culture - he will not fear, he will not hate.

To encourage and strengthen the newly adopted Panel pattern in universities throughout the country, community leaders from a number of major cities, coast to coast, have joined together to form the National Council for the Panel of Americans. In serving as the national sponsoring and advisory group for the Panel, the National Council seeks to continue and to expand its services to all those universities and communities where the Panel can help to build confidence and unity among diverse people and groups. We would like you to meet the members of the National Council:

The Rev. John M. Krumm, Chaplain, Columbia University, New York City
Chairman of the Executive Board of the National Council for the Panel of Americans

Mrs. Raymond B. Allen, Los Angeles
Dr. Ethel J. Alpenfels, New York City
Rt. Rev. Stephen F. Bayne, Bishop of Olympia
Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, New York City
Robert J. Block, Seattle
Dean John A. Brown, Jr., Temple University
Mrs. Ralph J. Bunche, Jamaica, N.Y.
Robert J. Callaghan, Philadelphia
Milton T. Daus, Cleveland
Mrs. Robert E. Draddy, New York City
Philip S. Ehrlich, San Francisco
Martin Gang, Los Angeles
Edward G. Gilbert, Kansas City
Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Los Angeles
Gilbert A. Harrison, Washington, D. C.
Alex E. Holstein, Syracuse
Edgar M. Kahn, San Francisco
Mrs. Madeleine M. Low, New York City
Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin, Los Angeles
Dr. Howard Y. McClusky, Ann Arbor
B. F. McLaurin, New York City
Dr. John S. Millis, Western Reserve
Dr. Charles C. Noble, Syracuse
Anthony P. Nugent, Jr. Kansas City
Fred L. Rosenbloom, Philadelphia
Fred H. Roth, Cincinnati
Louis B. Seltzer, Cleveland
Francis C. Shane, Pittsburgh
Carlton M. Sherwood, New York City
Joseph R. Silberstein, Pittsburgh
Jade Snow Wong, San Francisco
Richard S. Zeisler, New York City
Charles S. Zimmerman, New York City

BUILDING A SPEECH, A TEAM, A SUCCESSFUL PANEL . . .

So many students have asked us, "Where do I start in composing a speech?" that we thought the first issue of Channel should tackle this question. The answer will come from probing your own ideas and experience perhaps along these lines . . .

YOU:

- who are you, what is your identification?
- why are you on the Panel? how do you fit into its scheme?
- why do you think it is important?

YOUR GROUP:

- what is it about your background that makes you both different from and similar to other Americans?
- why do you have a feeling of pride to be yourself and a member of this group?
- as a member of a particular group, what bearing does your religious or cultural tradition, your racial identification have on the problem of living in a diverse nation?
- what has been your experience as a member of this group?
- what have you learned from your religion, your family, your education that has helped you to understand people, their differences, and that has helped you to meet the problems that often arise out of the differences?

SOME PROBLEMS AND RELATIONSHIPS:

- how do the problems arising from group differences affect you as a person, as a member of a particular group, as an American?
- what are some of the causes? outcomes?
- what relationship do you see between yourself and your group? between your group and other groups?
- what relationship do you see between prejudice that affects you or your group and that which is felt by other individuals or groups?

SOME IDEAS FOR SOLUTIONS:

- what do you think can be done to improve relationships among our people?
- what in your own tradition causes you to make such recommendations?
- what are you doing about it?
- why are you taking this responsibility?

If all these points were explored by each speaker, the audience might fall into a Rip Van Winkle slumber. The key to avoiding repetition is to build each Panel team as an integrated unit in which each of you makes an approach reflecting your own personality, experience and interest. The effectiveness of your team basically depends on your relationship with each other. If you genuinely enjoy being together and if you are at ease within yourself and with traditions which differ from your own, you are sure to win your audience's confidence and friendship. These are the vital forerunners to winning the listeners' readiness to change. The esprit de corps of the Panel not only speaks louder than words, but it is the heart of the integrity of the Panel.

PUBLIC SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN THE SOUTH - PROGRESS BRIEF

Across the borders of the South - Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and the District of Columbia - the color bars already are being lifted in the public schools. When the Supreme Court ruled last May that segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional, it refrained from issuing an order to specify how its decision should be put into effect.

Interested states have been asked to submit advice which can be used to formulate a plan of action. On December 6 the Supreme Court will convene again to hear the integration plans and arguments and to set the steps for enforcement of the decision.

While the border states are acting, 14 of the 17 states affected by the court ruling plan to do nothing about the problem in the coming school year. South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana have been the most outspoken in announcing intentions to evade the Supreme Court mandate. All of these states have heavy Negro populations.

Most drastic of the plans to avoid integration of the public schools is the "private school plan" endorsed by Georgia's Governor and presently considered by the Mississippi legislature. If followed, this plan would abolish all state laws and provisions for public education and would turn the schools over to private operators. The plan to abandon public education as a state function has been criticized strongly as legally unworkable and educationally disruptive. In Georgia, the State Education Association, the State Congress of Parents and Teachers, the League of Women Voters and various church groups have voiced strong opposition to the private school proposal.

Two of the region's widely recognized authorities on race relations (Harry S. Ashmore, editor of the Arkansas Gazette and George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council) believe that the white-Negro population ratio is the best indication of when integration will be accomplished in any given place. They predict that segregation probably will end first where the Negro population is lightest. They warn, however, that density of Negro population is no absolute yardstick. Many other factors are important: urbanization, the quality of local leadership, economic and political arrangements, and the mixture of memory and habit which gives a community its unique traditions.

While the idea of racial integration at the grade school level came as a shock to many white Southerners, it has been occurring without friction, particularly at the graduate level, in most of the South since 1935. Prior to the May 17 Supreme Court decision, 24 state colleges or universities admitted Negroes to the graduate level. Undergraduates were admitted to 13 state and municipal colleges and to 46 denominational colleges. Last year, the best available estimate indicates, between 1,000 and 2,000 Negroes attended institutions which previously had been all white. The University of Louisville became in 1951 the only Southern university in which Negro and white undergraduates are integrated.

(The New York Times of Sunday, September 26, 1954, page 6E carries a good Progress Report on Desegregation which might be helpful to you.)

FROM WHAT WE HEAR . . .

The University of Minnesota Panel burst into action in the Spring semester with more than 30 engagements in two months. On hearing this group in action, one high school member's comment was, "I didn't know Negroes were so much like white people." A Macalester college group responded to the Panel by stating, "We cannot destroy prejudice until we destroy our artificial complacency that leads us to think we are not prejudiced." A University of Minnesota college student commented, "I saw the deeper feelings towards prejudice from the minority side — people have prejudice whether they know it or not, and they must recognize it."

The Panels are reaching people in all kinds of settings. The UCLA Panel continues to set pace and records. The Panelists on a whirlwind Spring vacation speaking trip through Arizona and Northern California reached some 139,000 listeners. In San Francisco, the producer of the "What's Your Opinion Show" featured the Panel. Throughout the program the station switch board received a steady stream of calls - some asking questions, others asking for copies of the speeches and still others suggesting that a whole series be run on the same excellent idea.

The University of Omaha Panel won enthusiastic support on its own campus early in the year before an all-university convocation of some 7,000 students and faculty. Subsequently, they spoke to the American Legion Auxiliary, Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Omaha Real Estate Board.

The University of California Panel appeared on a Bay Area TV show last spring, while a Syracuse team made a two day trip to New York City which included a radio interview with columnist Mary Margaret McBride. The University of Cincinnati and Carnegie Institute of Technology Panels are concentrating on high school students in Ohio and Pennsylvania. They find that no wiser use of their time can be found than to reach the teen age audience.

The University of Kansas City Panel has made an exciting new contribution to its own campus through the Panel. The Panelists felt that the tensions and issues they found so close to the surface in Kansas City audiences needed more intense probing with experts. Consequently, monthly sessions were arranged on the campus with leading Kansas City professional men as guests. Faculty and students flocked to the sessions to explore with leading community attorneys, psychologists and public officials issues vital to them all as residents of Kansas City.

SCHEDULE OF VISITS - EARLY FALL

Oct. 4 - 6 Syracuse University
Oct. 7 - 11 Wayne University
Oct. 14 - 15 University of Minnesota
Oct. 18 - 20 University of Washington
Oct. 22 - 27 San Francisco State College
University of California

Oct. 5 - 6 Washington University
Oct. 7 - 8 University of Kansas City
Oct. 11 University of Omaha
Oct. 12 - 13 Purdue University
Oct. 18 - 19 Carnegie Institute of Technology
University of Pittsburgh

Joan Meyersieck, Field Representative
Marian Hargrave, Field Director

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE PANEL OF AMERICANS
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL

602 FULLERTON BLDG. - SAINT LOUIS 1 - TELEPHONE: CHESTNUT 1-2584

November 1, 1954

RECEIVED
11/3/54
Southern Regional Council

Miss Marian Hargrave, Field Director
National Council for The Panel of Americans
386 Fourth Ave.
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Marian:

As I was reading Rev. Krumm's description and explanation of the National Council for the Panel of Americans it occured to me that perhaps the South is ready for Panels.

I wonder if George Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council, is familiar with the Panel ideal. As you may know, the Southern Regional Council is opening offices in several of the Southern states and, if interested, could be a valuable agency to promote the Panel idea in Southern Universities. George Mitchell is quoted in the section on Public School integration, but I notice the National Council for The Panel of Americans does not include any Southerners.

The difficulties we have had in St. Louis have in no way diminished my enthusiasm for the merit of the Panel, hence my suggestion that the Panel be discussed with Mr. Mitchell if this has not been done.

If Mr. Mitchell does not know of the Panel, perhaps it would be helpful to send him some of your recent material, or else this letter itself will be unintelligible to him. His address is 63 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Sincerely yours,

Helen F. Schwartz

HFS:ah

cc: George Mitchell

FILE COPY

October 18, 1955

Miss Marian Hargrave, Field Director
National Council for the Panel
of Americans
Tenth Floor, 386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Hargrave:

Please forgive this delay in answering your letter of sometime ago inquiring about Southern Regional Council materials.

Since we are a non-profit organization and make our publications available at cost, we are able to supply almost no free material, with the exception of promotion material. However, we could supply a limited number of copies of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH in order to acquaint such a group as yours with it.

I am enclosing a sample copy of NEW SOUTH and a complete publication list.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys
Enclosures

national council for the

PANEL OF AMERICANS

Tenth Floor, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16 • MUrray Hill 5-0181

HCF

September 23, 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

20 copies changing patterns
$1,00 CR
rha.

Attention: Pamphlet Distribution

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a request for some copies of your recent pamphlet publication.

We would appreciate very much receiving as well a list of the pamphlets or other publications which you make available to such organizations as the Panel of Americans.

We in turn, distribute your material to the various college and university projects around the country where the Panel of Americans is in action.

I would be interested in knowing if there are any of the materials which might be circulated to the college student participants in the Panels without cost to us.

Thank you so much for your attention to this request.

Sincerely,

Marian Hargrave

Marian Hargrave
Field Director

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

The following article appeared in TIME MAGAZINE, June 6, 1955, copyright TIME INC.

How It Feels

As the seven students from the University of California's Berkeley campus began their program in the big A.F.L. Labor Temple in Oakland, a baldheaded truck driver in the audience snorted: "College kids. Bet they tell us how to save the world. I wish I'd stayed home and watched TV."

The truck driver was probably not alone in his wish, for the program of the evening was anything but light entertainment. Each of the seven students belonged to what the group calls a "minority"—and each had come to describe, in a highly personal way, how it feels to be a member of a minority.

"My name," said one 20-year-old junior, "is Harry Brock. I'm a Catholic." Then he went on to describe his conversion and what it had meant to him ("It's a wonderful feeling when I go to Mass every Sunday to know that 400 million other people are worshiping as I am—united as one body, worshiping one God"). After him came Sophomore Judy Sklar, who bluntly announced: "I am an American and a Jew and I am very proud to be both." "What does the Negro want?" asked Negro Graduate Student Nathan Huggins. "If there is any single answer I think it lies in the definition of the word dignity." And so it went through other speeches and an hour-long question period afterward. Much to his own surprise, the baldheaded truck driver stayed the evening out.

A Good World. This year, students on campuses all over the U.S. have put on such shows. Though nominally under a national organization called Panel of Americans, they operate autonomously within their own colleges or universities. Since the first panel started at U.C.L.A. in 1942, the movement has spread to a score of campuses, is now a permanent part of the academic scene. Its purpose, says Los Angeles' Adaline ("Gramma") Guenther, who founded the first group, is not so much to preach as to inspire. "We merely offer something for the audience to think about. We appeal to their conscience. We say in effect, 'This is a good world, but you must make it so.' "

In the last seven years the panel at the University of Cincinnati has made more than 80 appearances, spoken to well over 80,000 people. When it began, the city was still seething with tension between its Negroes and the new wartime population of Southern workers. The various panels have spoken at clubs, plants and schools, but some of their best work has been done at the university itself. When this year's chairman, Roman Catholic Ann Grieme, first arrived at Cincinnati and unpacked her statue of the Virgin, a classmate mocked: "What are you trying to do, make a church out of this place?" Chairman Grieme hears no more such talk at the university.

Crime & Wolf Whistles. The Western Reserve panelists have faced the usual questions: "Why is so much crime committed by Negroes?", "Why don't Negroes fix up their homes?" and thousands of others. In Detroit, the Wayne University panelists have made 338 appearances, have been kept on stage answering questions for as long as four hours. The Purdue panel has grown to 40 members, has done everything on its programs from singing a Jewish hymn to describing how it feels for a Negro to cross the Mason-Dixon line and suddenly have to shift to the back of the bus. The panels' accomplishments, however, cannot be boiled down to statistics; they are really nothing more than the accumulation of individual scenes. From U.C.L.A., for instance, a group of girls once had to face an audience of steelworkers. As Adaline Guenther tells the story:

"I was worried at first. The men were in a party mood and there were plenty of wolf whistles when the girls went on the platform. But the girls were so effective that, at the end of the meeting, the men rose to applaud. The head of the group said he had never seen the steelworkers rise for anybody but Philip Murray. But the best came when one of the Negro union members came up to one of the girls and said, 'This is the first time I've ever felt like Joe Smith, American.' "

* From left: Nathan Huggins, Barbara Goor, Martin Rosen, Marilyn Child, Robert Cornelison, Judy Sklar and Harry Brock.

national council for the

PANEL OF AMERICANS

386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York

PANEL OF AMERICANS
Fact Sheet
January, 1955

What It Is

The Panel of Americans is a new and different program in intergroup education that is spreading to universities all across the nation. The program uses the frank and untarnished idealism of young people to dramatize the genius of America.

Protestant, Catholic, Negro, Jew, first or second generation American - these are the students on each Panel team. Theirs is a positive declaration of faith and demonstration of the unity in diversity that lies at the heart of our nation.

How It Works

Students selected and trained by their university are brought before community audiences which range from Real Estate Boards to high school assemblies. With a faculty moderator, they discuss the road blocks which obstruct our ability to live together in a diversified society.

Each student speaks for about five minutes. Each tells something of his own personal life, conditioning, experiences and concerns. More specifically:

- the religious, cultural or racial ties which distinguish him from other Americans, which make him proud to be himself and which indicate his unwillingness to "whitewash" differences
- the ideals and loyalities which he has in common with every American citizen
- his analysis of the conflict between what we say we believe as Americans and what we actually do about it

The Panel pulls no punches. After the first part of the presentation, all questions are welcomed, no matter how difficult, loaded or unpopular. As the students talk over the questions, they do not pose as experts on anything but their own experience and conviction.

Its Impact

Some 400 students, 100 faculty advisers and numerous other university and community leaders are participating actively in this new technique. Each Panel meets between 25 and 100 audiences a year which range from 80 to 2,000 listeners each. Most projects prefer to concentrate on teenage audiences, but groups of all ages respond to the Panel.

This means that from one half to one million Americans of all ages are reached annually by the Panel of Americans in communities from coast to coast.

PANEL OF AMERICANS
Fact Sheet - 2

History

The Panel of Americans began in 1942 when the University of California students joined the civic effort to ease the racial and religious tensions which had erupted in Southern California during the war. Born under emergency conditions, the Panel worked on a fire-alarm basis at first. Welded into speaking teams by an inter-religious organization, the University Religious Conference, the young people broke through the barriers that separated one group from another by using stories of their own experience and conviction. They spoke not only before audiences in Los Angeles, but throughout the state. The United States Army and Air Force flew the Panel teams up and down the California coast to speak before orientation programs in all of the major army installations in the state.

In 1947 the University of California at Los Angeles Panel made a demonstration tour across the nation. The demand for developing similar Panels in a dozen cities subsequently caused the University Religious Conference to create a Panel Extension Service. For three years this organization provided one field representative to consult with those universities which wished to undertake sponsorship of the program.

By 1953, it was evident that the Religious Conference, a local California organization, no longer could assume responsibility and direction for the national program. In June of 1953 the National Council for the Panel of Americans was formed in order to provide the realistic national structure so urgently needed.

Why It Is Important

The Panel is one of the rare but important efforts in intergroup education which involves students. Universities themselves are sponsoring it not only for use on their own campuses but for their communities as well. Universities and their leaders know what a deep concern college age people have for the vital social issues involving racial, religious and ethnic differences. They recognize the compulsion young people have "to do something" about their convictions. They recognize the need for opportunities to get students into the community in order to develop experience and skills essential for resppnsible adult leadership.

PANEL OF AMERICANS
Fact Sheet - 3

Panels have been and are being developed in the following universities:

Arizona State Teachers College
Boston University
Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh
Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana
San Francisco State College
Syracuse University, New York*
Temple University, Philadelphia
University of California, Berkeley
University of California at Los Angeles
University of Cincinnati
University of Kansas City
University of Minnesota
University of Omaha
University of Pittsburgh
University of Washington, Seattle*
Washington University, St. Louis
Wayne University, Detroit
Western Reserve University, Cleveland
Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee*

---

* Undergoing reorganization

The members of the Executive Committee of the National Council for the Panel of Americans are the following:

The Rev. John M. Krumm, Chairman
Mrs. Raymond B. Allen
Dr. Ethel J. Alpenfels
Rt. Rev. Stephen F. Bayne, Jr.
The Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop
Robert J. Block
John A. Brown, Jr.
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with John Sullivan SCJ
— son dying —

PANEL OF AMERICANS, INC.

386 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

DOROTHY S. BAUMAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MARIAN HARGRAVE
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

November 25, 1958

Miss Marian Hargrave
Associate Director
Panel of Americans, Inc.
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Marian:

It was good to talk with you at the NAIRO Conference. I believe that several of our state groups could be helpful to the Panel of Americans; I am equally convinced that the Panel of Americans could be helpful to all our state groups. I am enclosing, therefore, the names and addresses of our State Councils.

I am sending the State Councils a brief memo explaining that I suggested that you contact them. I would suggest you include this in your letter to them.

Hoping to hear from you in the not too distant future I am,

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:LS

December 1, 1958

Miss Marian Hargrave
Associate Director
Panel of Americans, Inc.
Room 1210, 386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Marian:

Thanks for your recent letter. I have already sent you a list of our state organizations.

I would suggest that the four most likely states at this time are Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, and Arkansas. There are others where it could also be done, but I believe that the situation in the state, plus the staff of the local Council makes these four the most suitable.

I will be happy to come to the Friday, March 6 session of the National Training Conference for the Panel of Americans at Perdue. I believe a better title for the session than "The South--Little Rock and the Law," would be, "The South--State's Rights vs Federal Authority." This would make it a little more inclusive.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

national council for the

PANEL OF AMERICANS

Room 1210, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16 • MUrray Hill 5-3148 or 5-0181

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MRS. DOROTHY S. BAUMAN
Executive Director
MARIAN HARGRAVE
Associate Director

November 26, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
American Jewish Committee
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

It was so nice to meet you in Pittsburgh this past week and to have the good chance to discuss the Panel of Americans with you. We are enormously encouraged by your recommendation that we be in touch with your state representatives for their advice on several schools in the south where pilot Panel projects may be developed. I look forward to having your specific advice on the persons to consult on this.

It is wonderful, too, to know that you may be able to join us at the Third National Training Conference for the Panel of Americans which will be held on Friday and Saturday, March 6th and 7th, 1959 at Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana. We certainly will be pleased to arrange for your travel expenses and want you to know how much we appreciate your willingness to come on that basis if your schedule will permit it.

As I mentioned, we hope very much that you can be at the conference particularly on Friday, March 6th, to be the main speaker in the morning session devoted to "The South -- Little Rock and the Law." If you think the statement describing that session should be changed, I certainly will welcome your suggestions. I am eager to see the film you mentioned and to work out the session along the lines you suggested.

Your presence at that part of the conference and as much of the remainder as your time will allow will be tremendously worthwhile for the students and all of us associated with the program.

I look forward to hearing from you with great interest and hope very much that we may have the good news soon that you can be with us in March.

Thank you again for your many suggestions and your encouraging interest in the Panel.

Cordially yours,

Marian Hargrave

Marian Hargrave
Associate Director

MH/lwb

national council for the

PANEL OF AMERICANS

Room 1210, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16 • MUrray Hill 5-3148 or 5-0181

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MRS. DOROTHY S. BAUMAN
Executive Director
MARIAN HARGRAVE
Associate Director

December 3, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred,

Your letter of December 1st just arrived, and we are extremely pleased that you can come to the Panel of Americans National Training Conference on March 6th. This is simply splendid news and will be of enormous interest to the projects around the country. Thank you, too, for your suggestion on broadening the title of the session.

I appreciated so much your kind letter of November 25th. I believe mine must have crossed it, and due to a clerical error, I fear you received a duplicate of my letter. Please forgive me.

Attached is a copy of the letter I am sending to the persons you suggested I approach in connection with exploring development of the Panels in their areas. The letter will be sent the first of the week when a new brochure we are preparing will be ready. We will await the advice of your State Councils with very great interest and will be in close touch with you as this excellent opportunity takes form.

Cordially yours,

Marian

Marian Hargrave
Associate Director

MH/lwb
Encl.

December 8, 1958

Dr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Dr. Hughes:

At the suggestion of Dr. Frederick B. Routh, I am writing in connection with the Panel of Americans, a program in intergroup education which nineteen universities and colleges sponsor as an educational experience for their students and a public service to their communities.

The students on each Panel -- Catholic, Negro, Jewish, Protestant and first or second generation of New American -- appear with a faculty moderator before a variety of campus and community audiences to make brief, personal statements about themselves and their respective groups and to stimulate a free and friendly discussion with their listeners. I am attaching some information which describes the program in more detail.

When I saw Dr. Routh recently, he urged me to write to you and other persons in the State Councils for your advice on schools in which you think there might be a readiness to develop such a program as the Panel of Americans. If there are several schools in the border or middle section of the south in which Panels could be formed on an experimental basis, we would be very eager to help in any way we can with the exploration and formation of such projects.

Dr. Routh told me that he recently had sent a brief memorandum to the State Councils indicating that I would be writing in this regard. We will appreciate very much having your thinking on ways our student-centered program might be helpful in your state at this time.

I look forward to hearing from you with many thanks for your interest and advice.

Sincerely yours,

Marian Hargrave
Associate Director

MH/lwb
Encl.

cc: Dr. Routh

"To strive through education, research, information and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of North Carolina without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the causes of intergroup friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state."

—from article II of the bylaws.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 209
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

File

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December 22, 1958

Copy

Miss Marian Hargrave
National Council for the
Panel of Americans
Room 1210, 386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Hargrave:

I hardly know what to say about the "Panel of Americans" in the South. I doubt if any college or university in North Carolina would sponsor such a panel. State institutions are under pressure to hold the line in integration. Private colleges which have admitted Negro students--I know of only two--are not anxious to advertise the fact.

Your program is one which, like a mayor's friendly relations committee or an FEP ordinance, is possible where the idea is supported by majority opinion. Here the panel of American idea would have minority, not majority, support. That makes a big difference.

The interfaith angle would be a problem too in North Carolina. The NCCJ at one time sponsored trio teams of Protestant, Catholic and Jew, but the resident Catholic Bishop no longer allows Catholic--Priests or laymen--to participate on these teams.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations, has an interracial youth panel which has given several programs in local churches, and a monthly interracial youth forum. This is in the high school level. The only interracial organization in the college level in this area is the Collegiate Council for the United Nations, and it is not very active.

I've said enough to show you that a simple idea like "Panel of Americans" is not simple to carry out in the South. It would take a great deal of promoting to keep it going even if it could get started. The big question, I think, is: Who has time and money to promote the idea?

Our Council might be interested in promoting a Collegiate Interracial Panel. We wouldn't be particularly interested in the interfaith angle. We feel that, at this time, the race problem is our major concern.

Sincerely,

Harry S. Jones

Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary

HSJ/hng

cc: Dr. Frederick B. Routh

January 21, 1959

Mrs. Dorothy S. Bauman
Executive Director
National Council for the Panel of
Americans
Room 1210
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Bauman:

I enjoyed our recent conversation and I am writing to summarize some of those points that seem to me to emerge most clearly.

First, let me say that I appreciated the opportunity to get a more thorough understanding of the Panel of Americans and the work you are carrying on with college youth. Despite the current interracial tensions in the South, I think there are good potentialities for extending your program to selected colleges and universities within the region.

The institutions that seem most promising to me are the University of North Carolina, University of Kentucky, University of Louisville, and University of Texas, where you have already been at work. With the help of Paul Rilling of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, it is entirely likely that the program might be developed at one or two of the Virginia colleges; I would trust Rilling's judgment on this and would follow his advice on the best ways to proceed there.

The best way to discover the possibility of Southern program would, I believe, be to concentrate on two or three institutions at most. The choice might be made in terms of interest shown by suitable faculty members. We agreed that one appropriate category of faculty members through whom to take a sounding would be the campus directors of religious life. These persons would undoubtedly be sympathetic with the aims of the Panel of Americans and would be in position to estimate the chance for successful development of the program at their respective colleges. They would also be able to suggest the names of others on the faculty who might be willing to assume the leadership in organizing the panel. You may have ready access to a directory of the religious directors. If not, I suggest you check with such other organizations as the student councils of the YMCA and YWCA. Although I doubt that Emory University, here in Atlanta, would be a suitable institution, the religious adviser there, Mr. Sam Laird, might well be able to advise you further along these lines through correspondence.

As you recall our conversation we further agreed that the best way to start would be by writing and sending descriptive materials on the Panel of Americans to these and other likely faculty members. Assuming that this results in expressions of interest, the next step might be field visits to these campuses and invitations to the interested persons to visit a campus where a panel is functioning.

Considering the fear and timidity which are all too prevalent in the South these days, it might be well to forgo the step in your program which calls for the panel to extend its activities into the general community. This might later develop, but emphasis on this aspect of the program at the beginning might dampen the enthusiasm of faculty and administrative people whose approval would be important.

Finally, I believe we were in agreement that it would be best to keep your efforts clear of any overt identification with organizations publicly involved in desegregation advocacy and activities. While the principle of integration is clearly implicit in your approach, it would be taking on a needless handicap to represent it as an action program.

We will be happy, however, to give you any advice or assistant that we can and I am sure that the state councils on human relations and other groups active in this field will also be glad to cooperate.

With kindest regards to you and Miss Hargrave,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

national council for the

PANEL OF AMERICANS

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MRS. DOROTHY S. BAUMAN
Executive Director
MARIAN HARGRAVE
Associate Director

23 January 1959

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your clear and helpful analysis of the situation with respect to the possible development of Panels in southern colleges.

We shall follow your advice on sending descriptive materials to likely faculty members and if interest is shown, follow this by field trips where possible and inform them of the national training conference at Purdue March sixth and seventh, in case they should be interested in observing.

I am leaving on Sunday, February 1st, on a trip to the West Coast and plan to return via Dallas, Houston and Austin. The Texas trip will be for the purpose of bringing certain interested individuals up to date on the program of the Panel, soliciting support for our national program, and sounding out faculty who were enthusiastic about the Panel when the California group demonstrated in Texas in 1957. I appreciate your advice to move discreetly and slowly and realize that any development must come only after thoughtful consideration.

It was a pleasure to talk with you and both Miss Hargrave and I are grateful to you and other members of the Southern Regional Council staff for giving us your assistance and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Dorothy S. Bauman

Mrs. Dorothy S. Bauman
Executive Director

DSB/lwb

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 24, 1959

Miss Marian Hargrave
Associate Director
Panel of Americans
386 Fourth Avenue - Room 1210
New York 16, New York

Dear Marian:

Many thanks for your recent letter with the kind words about my participation at the Purdue Training Conference. I agree with you that Paul Rilling did an outstanding job. He is, in my opinion, one of the more able intergroup staffers in the South.

I hope I asked you to make the expense check out to the Southern Regional Council, for I have already drawn against my SRC expense account for that trip.

I look forward to cooperating with you in the future. And I am sure that you will find further encouragement from Kenneth Morland and Paul Rilling.

Best personal wishes,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

national council for the

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MRS. DOROTHY S. BAUMAN
Executive Director
MARIAN HARGRAVE
Associate Director

March 12, 1959

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred,

Thank you so much for your letter and the attached expense account — but most of all for being with us at Purdue for the Panel of Americans Training Conference.

I hope you know how much everyone gained from all you had to say and how enormously important it was for the students to meet and learn from you. This goes for all of us, and we are deeply grateful to you for taking the time and trouble to be with us.

Many, many thanks again, and we will keep in close touch with your office and Paul Rilling on the encouraging opportunities in Virginia.

I will send a check to cover your expenses just as soon as it is processed and signed.

Cordially yours,

Marian

Marian Hargrave
Associate Director

MH/lwb

national council for the

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MRS. DOROTHY S. BAUMAN
Executive Director
MARIAN HARGRAVE
Associate Director

March 27, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your letter of March 24. I am enclosing a check for $123.67, to cover the expenses involved in your visit to the Panel of Americans Training Conference. I regret the delay in processing the check and do hope it has not inconvenienced you too much.

When I sent some materials the other day to some of the Panel schools not represented at the training conference, I was reminded again of your kindness in bringing all those excellent publications from the Southern Regional Council for the students. We are still appreciating your thoughtfulness very much.

Mrs. Bauman and I are looking forward to the visit to several campuses in Virginia in April. Paul Rilling is arranging an itinerary, as you know. We look forward to being in touch as those dates draw near and of course will welcome your suggestions at any point.

Cordially yours,

Marian Hargrave
Associate Director

April 2, 1959

Miss Marian Hargrave
Panel of Americans, Inc.
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Marian:

Thanks for the check, reimbursing the Southern Regional Council for the expenses I incurred in attending the Third National Training Conference of the Panel of Americans, at Purdue University.

I am returning herewith a questionnaire you sent out, marked in appropriate places. I would be most interested in the participants' evaluation of the Conference.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

VIA AIR MAIL

May 12, 1959

Miss Marian Hargrave
Associate Director
Panel of Americans
386 Fourth Avenue, Rm. 1210
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Hargrave:

Your recent visit to Virginia sounds very promising. I'm glad Paul Rilling could be of help.

Recent developments within our staff might influence your plans for pilot meetings in Atlanta. Fred Routh is resigning to accept the directorship of the Michigan FEPC, and Paul Rilling will become SRC's Director of Field Activities as of July 1. Since Paul knows your program and has been in college work here, he would be admirably fitted to set up an Atlanta visit for you somewhat later.

I realize the advantages of a stop-over on June 1, when you will be passing through anyway. But with Fred out of the picture and Paul not yet in it, we could do far less to get you started here than we could a few months later. Would this be possible?

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

national council for the

PANEL OF AMERICANS

Room 1210, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16 • MUrray Hill 5-3148 or 5-0181

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MRS. DOROTHY S. BAUMAN
Executive Director
MARIAN HARGRAVE
Associate Director

RECEIVED MAY 6 1959

May 4, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The recent visit to Lynchburg, Blacksburg and Richmond which Paul Rilling arranged for Mrs. Bauman and me was quite encouraging. We met with religious advisers, students and in some cases faculty people from most of the campuses in order to describe the Panel of Americans to them and to help stimulate interest in forming one or more projects in that area. The prospects may be the best in Lynchburg with an intercollegiate Panel, but we have not yet heard from Dr. Morland at Randolph-Macon on the discussions which were to follow our visit.

Mrs. Bauman and I are taking a demonstration Panel to the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial Celebration in Daytona Beach on May 29. We could be in Atlanta on Monday, June 1, if it would be useful or advisable.

After our encouraging experience in Richmond with religious advisers from most of the seven schools in that area, Mr. Rilling urged me to write you to inquire about the possibilities of arranging to meet with a similar group from schools in Atlanta. Do you think this is feasible at this time and would June 1 be a good time to try to do this?

If we received encouragement at all from the religious advisers we met, this might put formation of a Panel one step ahead for the fall when we could make a return visit to follow up on the interest we hope will be aroused.

We would be happy to meet with anyone you suggest who might be interested in exploring the Panel. We so much

appreciated all Mr. Rilling did to pull groups together in the various centers we visited in Virginia. It helped obviate any feeling of a Northern group trying to urge its experience and program on Southern schools. If a similar procedure could be arranged in Atlanta, it would be wonderful.

We will welcome your advice on the wisdom of "planting a seed" with people on Atlanta campuses at this time and certainly will be glad to come by June 1 if you wish us to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Marian Hargrave

Marian Hargrave
Associate Director

MH:rn

May 14, 1959

Miss Marian Hargrave
Associate Director
Panel of Americans
Room 1210, 386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Marian:

Thank you for the materials you sent, which have just arrived in the office.

On looking over the evaluation summary I discover that our session on the South was more helpful, in the estimation of the panelists, than everything but the banquet and bull sessions. Anytime a lecturer can rank this close to food and informality he should indeed be pleased with his performance.

I have read with considerable interest the address by Dr. Steven J. Wright, President of Fisk University. I believe it demonstrates that Dr. Wright is an educational statesman. Interestingly enough, he is on the Board of the Southern Regional Council.

I don't believe I have told you that I have accepted the executive directorship of the Michigan FEPC, effective June 1. I regret leaving the South and the Council, but the opportunity for service and professionally as head of a major state agency was too much to turn down.

Best regards to you and Mrs. Bauman.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

CHANNEL SUPPLEMENT

national council for the panel of americans
33 east 68th street, new york 21

May 1959

Dear Panel Members and Advisers:

Your evaluations of the 1959 Panel of Americans Training Conference were very helpful. A summary of comments and reactions is attached.

It has been a busy spring since the big weekend at Purdue and filled with many good things for the Panel.

. . . Vance Packard's new book The Status Seekers mentions the Panel as "an interesting experiment in promoting understanding."

. . . Students and advisers in several Virginia schools now are exploring the Panel as a result of our visit in April to Lynchburg, Blacksburg and Richmond. We do not know what the outcome of these explorations will be but are encouraged by the initial interest.

. . . An intercollegiate Panel will appear in Daytona Beach, Florida, at the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial Celebration on May 29.

. . . An intercollegiate Panel will appear at Harvard University before Deans of Students at the annual meeting of the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators.

. . . The national office is experimenting with new ways to tell people about the Panel and win new friends for our work. Some 75 New York leaders of public opinion heard the Panel story at a highly successful luncheon on April 28. Father Andrew J. O'Reilly and Law student Greg Taylor from New York University, Lillian Ortiz from the City College Panel and Dr. John A. Brown from Temple University acquainted the Panel's guests with its work throughout the country. A tape of the program is available if you would like to hear it.

. . . The national office is moving to 33 East 68th Street, New York 21. If you are in New York this summer, please note the new telephone number, REgent 4-2254 - 5, and come by to see us.

. . . Meantime, we look forward to hearing from you with comments on the Conference Evaluation or on achievements of your Panel this spring.

Sincerely,

Dorothy S. Bauman, Executive Director
Marian Hargrave, Associate Director

COMMENTS FROM DELEGATES AND GUESTS

I can't forget the concluding words of Dr. Wright's keynote address. They keep coming to my mind whenever our Panel speaks. "The world has become too large and dangerous for anything but the truth, and too small for anything but peace." This is my estimation and the true message of the conference.

It renewed my faith in students and makes me feel, once again, that teaching is not in vain. While the students are not representative of all university students, there is the ever enduring hope that we will get more like them. I hope that I might be included in the next-year conference. Our students are enthusiastic about the session and we have already begun our training program based on the conference results. (Dr. Leonard Moss, Wayne State University.)

I had the opportunity to gain insight into the functionings and technicalities of many Panels, to meet many new and excitingly different people, to explore ideas with other college students and to travel farther west than I ever had before.

It is my judgment that we had a highly successful workshop this year. (Dean William Stielstra, Purdue University.)

It was exciting to be with the Panel of Americans at their Training Conference. I much enjoyed the obvious intelligence and consistent interest of the group. If this particular group is indicative of the calibre of young people who participate with the Panel, it is indeed a "wealthy" organization. (Frederick B. Routh, Southern Regional Council.)

It was a very enlightening experience to attend. Each year there is something new and important to learn which can be applied to operating Panels at different colleges and universities, thus making the Panel of Americans more efficient and effective.

Particularly helpful for me was meeting Panel members and talking with them personally. They reassure one about America's future. Surely they are not "a generation without a cause." (Dr. Kenneth Morland, Virginia Council on Human Relations.)

It is a wonderful experience to mingle with such a fine group of young people who have conquered native prejudice and can associate with so much ease and sincerity with one another. Really refreshing, from a more positive view, to see them doing something about one of our most crucial problems today.

I found it to be a very stimulating experience and a wonderful way to gather points of information from other Panels on how to improve our Panel.

The national office should continue to seek financial support from citizens. In this way, the national organization could finance more students for conference meetings. Attendance would be much greater if students could afford to go.

I feel that the Panel on interreligious questions might have been more informative if the points of difference were emphasized more . . . The greatest effect of the conference to me was that I could see tangible evidence that the Panel was really doing something. The inspiration and drive which was gained is the most useful tool with which I returned.

I think the National Conference gives the students from different parts of the country a chance to find out what the problems are in other parts of the country and how these problems are solved . . . I think only on the national level would we be able to get the fine speakers that we had.

The regional conferences sound like a very good idea. We at Wayne State have held our own training weekend in September at one of the nearby camps. At that time we perfected our speeches and had many of the same discussions that were held at the national conference. We feel that the ideal time for this is the weekend between registration and school.

The very fact that the conference offered the opportunity to meet and be with people of different backgrounds was good. Ordinarily, most people lack the opportunity to get to know others outside of their own racial, religious and cultural group . . . On both Friday and Saturday nights after the day's programs were over, Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Orientals and Protestants all sat around and sang favorite songs, told favorite jokes. They sat around and laughed at themselves, laughed at their neighbors, made fun of traditions and prejudices. I believe these are healthy expressions, necessary for the growth of better understanding and other high ideals of the Panel of Americans.

It was a wealth of information. However, I don't see the reason for having a Prize Panel. Some people can do a wonderful job on a Panel, but "freeze up" during a competition.

During the Prize Panel Competition, much more time should be spent on questions, possibly taking the competitors by categories instead of by Panels.

As Carnegie Tech has said a number of times, I feel that the whole concept of the Prize Panel Competition is not in the spirit of the Panel.

Would not one vote per delegation (college) be desirable?

The schedule was much too crowded. I realize time is short and much needs doing, but really the schedule got in the way of the learning experience. There should be several hours of scheduled free time for people to use in conversation. Cutting down the formal program would strengthen, not weaken, the conference.

I feel that the conference was slightly rushed. An extra day would have cured this problem as well as making possible a greater interchange of ideas . . . I have noted that much of the productive exchange of ideas takes place immediately following a meeting, when interest and enthusiasm is running highest.

I would like to see a three or four day conference, in order to be able to attend and assimilate the materials presented at the conference. This year's conference had too much in too short a time. More time for discussions and buzz sessions is needed. I enjoyed the conference very much and arrived home very enthusiastic and eager to help my Panel progress in a rapid and desirable fashion.

At the future conferences I would like to see more delegates from the various colleges rather than blocks of students from a particular college. I believe that the problems of the West Coast are unknown to a large majority of students who should and would be interested in them. A move to hold the next conference in San Francisco would greatly enhance one's knowledge of national problems.

Although thoroughly inspiring and wonderful, it might be stimulating to meet on another campus next year, despite reluctance at the thought of leaving the Purdue campsite.

Purdue is a good site. In a city setting, we might be tempted to cut sessions for visiting, shopping, etc.

For future conferences, I would like to offer as a program suggestion that we have a well thought-out and prepared discussion seminar concerning, "How can a Panel try to evaluate its effect upon an audience or group of audiences." This could use people from agencies like the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations who have experience in the human relations field.

I would like to suggest that there be a special feature merely for new Panel groups to be held at the very beginning of the conference. This program would explain the practical aspects and problems of initiating a new Panel.

One last note, I think that the Panel should be sent on a good-will tour of the European countries.

PANEL of AMERICANS

COMMUNITY RELATIONS BUREAU
of the
Jewish Federation and Council of Greater Kansas City
Room 425, 20 West 9th St. Bldg.
KANSAS CITY 6, MO.

The ~~enclosed item~~ may be of interest to you

Sidney Lawrence

LWD
PR
HCF

"Every culture has something to add to our American heritage— every person should be respected for the individual he is, without regard for race, religion or color."

Composing a "Panel of Americans" are, left to right, Mrs. Elliott Jacobson, Mrs. Margaret Holliday, Mrs. Paul Brown, Sister Christine, Mrs. Ernest Dick, and Mrs. William Wu.

PANEL of AMERICANS

by Doris Quinn

■ A vital blow at the roots of prejudice is being struck by a group of Kansas City women who are known as "A Panel of Americans."

Their approach is simple. A moderator presents the panel which is made up of a Jewess, a Negro, a Catholic nun, an "Average American" white protestant, and a Chinese. They talk before many different kinds of groups, and the eloquence of their words is fortified by their charm and sincerity. Casual acquaintance tells one these are gentlewomen, the kind of people one likes to know. And this, of course, is the crux of their message. Widely divergent backgrounds need not set us apart from each other. Every culture has something to add to our American heritage — every person should be respected for the individual he is, without regard for race, religion or color.

But come along and listen in on one of their sessions.

The moderator, Mrs. Paul Brown, begins by saying, "We are not here as experts. We are not representing our respective religions or organizations. We are only representing ourselves. The members of the panel were chosen because they have a deep interest and feeling for all individuals, regardless of their differences, and they want to help establish a clearer understanding that while we may be different in our religion, our color and our ancestry, we can still sit down together to discuss these differences."

The first panel member, a tall, tanned, extremely attractive young woman with red-brown hair and a generous smile, rises to speak. Without a trace of an accent she says, "I am Ann Jacobson, born in Berlin, Germany, a Jewess and naturalized citizen of the United States. I am the mother of three children."

She goes on to tell of her family's flight from Germany to Austria to the United States during her childhood, fleeing from Nazi persecution. She speaks briefly of her college days, when she could not be a sorority member because of her religion; of wanting to go into the diplomatic service but being warned that she would encounter prejudice; of wanting to buy a home after her marriage and finding Jews excluded from the neighborhood they had chosen. Of her religion, she says Reform Jews differ from the Orthodox Jews in the observance of certain laws and rituals. She says Reform Judaism believes in the Messianic age which will be brought about by man himself. It will only come when all men can live together in peace and brotherhood in this world..

She ends on this happy note: "Prejudice exists in many places and for many people. I find that when I take part in community activities and do my part as a citizen., people consider the job I do and not the faith to which I belong."

A second panel member, wearing a nun's habit, rises. Her pleasant face glows with good will as she begins to speak. "I am Sister Christine, one of 160,000 women in the United States who live in communities under the rules of life approved by Rome. The Sisters of Social Service, the order to which I belong, was started in Budapest and brought to this country in 1923. Our Sisters are social workers. Most of them work in parishes, in neighborhood centers, settlement houses, and Catholic charities bureaus. I am director of the Catholic Community Library here."

She smiles as she confesses, "My father is an agnostic, my mother a Catholic. We lived happily together despite the difference in their beliefs, and when I told my father of my wish to enter the convent, he said that he wanted only my happiness."

She goes on to tell of her church's beliefs. "Catholicism is a religion of revelation. The Catholic must be ready with God's help to die for his faith if necessary, and therefore to live for it, too. Catholics believe that God has revealed Himself progressively to mankind, first through nature. We believe God chose Israel to be the tool of His greatest revelation, however. And we believe this revelation came to its fullness in the person of Jesus Christ, who as God, took on our humanity in order that He might share with us His Divinity.

"He is our bond of unity, making each one of us very important. For whatever we do to one another, He says, we do to Him. This is the basis of Catholic social teaching. He will judge us on love."

Earnestly leaning forward she continues. "We need all of the minorities with common interests which flourish in America today. They enrich the whole body of our culture with fresh ideas and trends. They help keep our vast society in balance. Democracy depends for its continuance on our ability to respect one another even though we may differ.

The Kansas City Panel of Americans, an autonomous, unaffiliated program, was patterned after similar programs on college campuses.

"Today more than a score of Panels are functioning on American campuses and new Panels are in the making . . . An adult Panel has been functioning in Kansas City."

Handbook of Panel of Americans
33 E. 68th, New York 21. N.Y.

That means we must forego illogical generalizations, fears based on misinformation, and that oh, so human tendency for always broadcasting—never tuning in."

Next to rise is a beautiful Negro woman, exquisitely groomed, and smiling pleasantly. She says, "I am Margaret Holliday, a Negro, married, with two children." Her soft voice charms the audience as she tells of her girlhood in Lawrence, Kansas, where she lived in an integrated neighborhood and attended integrated schools. "Whenever I am asked to speak solely as a Negro, I find it difficult to suspend myself completely from the matrix of American culture and to think solely as a Negro. When I am asked to speak as an American I find it equally difficult to forget the injustices against my people. I can recite numerous incidents, some humorous, some embarrassing, and often inconvenient related to being a Negro. My children often feel the injustice of segregation, but I have always answered their questions truthfully. I tell them some people think we are different, but we know we are not. We only have the obligation to perform to the best of our abilities, because some folks do think we are different.

"I am a district director with the Girl Scouts, Kansas City Area Council. Recently I attended a training camp for about 35 girls, most of them white and from the south. When the course was over, a white girl named Charlene came three times to say something to me before leaving. Finally she screwed up her courage and blurted, 'Margaret, I am from Mississippi, and I am *so* glad that you like me.' This was quite an admission for a girl from Mississippi.

"My husband was the first Negro admitted to the University of Kansas City, enabling him to practice law. Many people who did not know us, but who believed in equality of opportunity, helped make his admission possible. This is the kind of thing that points to a richer world for your children and mine."

The next speaker is a petite, blonde woman, with sparkling blue eyes and a merry smile. "I am Jane Dick, wife of Ernest Dick, and we are the parents of three children, Larry, an Eagle Scout; Susan, a Girl Scout; and Ann, a Brownie Scout. We are all members of the Episcopal Church. I had a warm, protected, friendly girlhood. As I look backward on my growing-up years, I feel that I have been unbelievably lucky. For me no doors have ever been closed just because of my religion or race. As a youngster, I didn't have to sit in the balcony when I went to the theatre, because of the color of my skin, and I was not excluded from parties because of my religion. Today, if I have the money, I can go blithely around the world without worrying about being accepted. This makes me feel good, because I can move in an uninhibited way. All of this I enjoy, because I am a white, protestant American.

"I believe it is my particular responsibility to help make these same opportunities come true for all people. I don't mean I am going to revo-

lutionize the world. First of all, I must be honest enough with myself to say that I need not wait for my neighbor or my minister or a bureau of human relations to give me my cue.

"I can encourage my children to make friends with children of all races and faiths, so they will begin to know how much an appreciation of our differences can add to the enrichment and understanding of life. If they should come into the house chanting, 'eenie, meenie, minie, mo, catch a nigger by the toe,' I can take them aside and say 'nigger' is a word that hurts people with brown skin. I can make sure that none of my children's friends are excluded from the parties we give just because of the faith they hold. I can be the one to take the seat beside the Negro on the bus, with a word and a smile.

"If my neighbor calls to inquire who bought the house across the street, and learning the name, says, 'Thank God they didn't sell it to Jews,' isn't there some quiet remark I can make that isn't 'holier than thou' which will make her stop and think just what it is she has said?

"I can remember that such terms as 'Jew you down,' 'fish eater,' and 'Chinaman's chance' tend to prolong the feeling that those who are different from us are somehow not quite as good as we are. I must begin then to give more than lip service to the ideal of brotherhood which we all share. When I meet anyone I will try to know him as the individual he is and not as a part of the group which he represents. Perhaps if I can remember to do these things, then at the close of the day when I bow my head in prayer, I will not wear the face of a hypocrite."

The last speaker, a lovely woman with beautiful coloring and expressive dark eyes, rises to address the group. "I am Cecil Franking Wu."

She speaks of her family background—her mother, a Caucasian American married a Chinese fellow student in an era when such interracial marriages were extremely uncommon—and the background of her husband, Dr. William Q. Wu, who became an American citizen during World War II while serving in the U. S. Army Medical Corps.

As she mentions school, church, scouting and other activities in Prairie Village where she and her husband live with their sons, Billy and Christopher, the listener gathers that the Wus are, in many ways, a typical suburban family.

The panel as a whole gives a glimpse of the varying streams which flow together in the American way of life. But each talk makes a specific point on some aspect of human relations in the community. This is clear as Mrs. Wu remarks, "One of my functions on the panel is to add that being different does not always make things more difficult. There have been times when the racial tag has been helpful. Patients have found their way to 'the Chinese neurosurgeon' who might not have had he been a man named Smith. On the other hand, my husband and other local Chinese doctors are frequently mistaken for one another.

Reprinted from
"THE SECRETARY"—JUNE, 1959
THE MILLARD MAYER FUND
COMMUNITY RELATIONS BUREAU
20 West 9th Street
Kansas City, Missouri

It may be true to some, all Chinese look alike."

Illustrating preconceived notions of a favorable kind, she continues, "People sometimes say 'The Chinese are so skillful with their hands.' Perhaps it is natural to conclude that mass manual dexterity is evidenced by the fact that all Chinese can eat with chopsticks.

"Others occasionally remark that my husband shows a stoic Eastern calm in time of crisis as though it were something derived inevitably from Buddha. Still others have given him credit for a devious Oriental cunning in ferreting out an obscure diagnosis — a sort of Charlie Chan astuteness.

"Obviously, these latter examples are not unkind in intent, nor harmful in practice. But many Chinese, Wus included, are frequently *not* skillful, stoic, or astute. And to assume that these are inevitable characteristics of the inscrutable Oriental is to prejudge. As such it is as irrational as summing up the entire Chinese mentality in the words, 'no tickee, no laundry.' "

The speaker concludes with an incident in which a colleague asked that a Chinese be called to interpret for an accident patient. When reminded that one was standing beside him, he exclaimed, "Oh, I forgot Bill was Chinese." This she suggests shows an ideal attitude, in which the individual, with his background known, accepted and in general, dismissed.

She has pointed out earlier that her family's loyalties are in no way divided by reason of their being so-called hyphenated Americans—that whatever traditions they cherish such as celebrating Chinese New Year's, they do in the spirit that Peking duck and Cantonese lobster are valid contributions to the American culture—that forsaking old loyalties is only right, but that rejecting one's heritage ends in loss.

She concludes, "When we can see people in terms of the individual each is, we will not refrain out of cautious delicacy from mentioning differences which do exist, nor will we assign *either* good or bad qualities automatically because of color or creed. Instead, we will judge as each of us would like to be judged—on the basis of our own personal character and ability."

The moderator rises to conclude the program. Earnestly she reminds the audience, "Prejudice and intolerance can only breed in our ignorance of what the other fellow and his group believes. If we will learn to take the little time we have to find out how others believe, we will not repeat statements that are damaging and inaccurate. We hope we have shown that Americans can have amity without uniformity — and agreeable disagreement.

"We can all use the lesson of the little boy who was to have a birthday party. He was making up his guest list and reading it to his mother. She stopped him at one name and asked, 'Isn't that the little boy who is colored?'

" 'I don't know,' he replied, 'but the next time I see him, I'll look.' "

PR
sgi
Return mf

Review
b
H

September 27, 1960

Mrs. Dorothy S. Bauman
Executive Director
Panel of Americans
33 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mrs. Bauman:

It was good to hear from you again and to learn of your continuing interest in Southern programming.

The situation does shift down here as time goes on, and I think it is wise to re-evaluate the possible role of the Panel periodically. The next time I am coming to New York I shall be glad to write ahead to see if we can find a mutually convenient time to get together. Meanwhile, as I believe you know, Paul Rilling is serving on our staff as field director and would be glad to render any advice or help he can.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

...revive

NATIONAL COUNCIL
FOR THE
PANEL OF AMERICANS
33 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York • REgent 4-2254

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Mrs. Dorothy S. Bauman
Executive Director
Marian Hargrave
Associate Director

September 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. - Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It has been a long time since we have had an opportunity to talk and I wondered if on one of your trips to New York you could spare some time to discuss the Panel in the South.

Information has reached us that at this particular time the Panel might be of real value in developing a bridge between the dissident factions in both the religious and racial groups. We have had to curtail our program nationally because of lack of staff and of funds, but in any situation which is urgent, we can always try for a special grant.

I know how busy you must be and how many calls there are on your time when in New York, but if you can arrange it, it would be very helpful to talk with you.

Sincerely,

Dorothy S. Bauman

Dorothy S. Bauman
Executive Director

DSB:mf

PANEL OF AMERICANS

Third National Training Conference Evaluation

An opinion questionnaire was sent to the 115 students and faculty delegates from 19 universities who attended the second national training conference of the Panel of Americans held at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, on March 6 and 7, 1959. The 64 responses to the questionnaire received by April 17, 1959, are summarized here.

1. 43 said "I found the Conference very helpful to me."
   23 found it "somewhat helpful."
   None said it was "not very helpful."

2. 26 say there should be at future conferences about the same number of delegates.
   38 say there should be more delegates.
   None say there should be fewer delegates.

3. Tentative plans are being made for regional conferences in 1959-60.
   37 would prefer to attend a regional conference in the Fall.
   26 would prefer to attend a regional conference in the Spring.
   In the West, the best time for the conference is in the Spring.
   In the Midwest, the best time for the conference is in the Spring.
   In the East, the best time for the Conference is in the Fall.

4. 39 would prefer that the next national conference be held in the Midwest; 15 would prefer the East; 12 would prefer the far West.

5. 43 would prefer future conferences to be held on about the same schedule as this year; 22 would like the conferences to be longer; and none would prefer shorter conferences.

6. 35 would like more discussion.
   20 would like about the same balance between speakers and discussion as this year; 19 would like more buzz sessions; 9 would like more speakers.

7. Conference features were rated as follows:

	Very Helpful	Somewhat Helpful	Not Very Helpful
(a) Discussion on the South	42	11	3
(b) Panel Round-up	27	26	2
(c) Lecture on Prejudice	16	24	12
(d) Panel on Interreligious Questions	32	18	4
(e) Prize Panel Competition	34	19	5
(f) Discussion on Practical Problems of Operating a Panel	29	15	8
(g) Discussion on Use of an Agnostic on the Panel	16	8	21
(h) Lecture on the Therapy of Laughter	12	16	21
(i) Banquet	46	10	2
(j) Informal meetings, Bull Sessions, etc.	54	2	1

In THE STATUS SEEKERS by Vance Packard, just recently published, The Panel of Americans is one of the few organizations mentioned.

Following is the paragraph taken from page 336, in the chapter, "Problems of Understanding":

"An interesting experiment in promoting understanding between people who seem on the surface different is the Panel of Americans. At twenty-five American colleges and universities, teams or panels consisting typically of five students go about the countryside talking about themselves and inviting searching, blunt questions. Typically, a panel will consist of students of these five group identifications: Catholic, Puerto Rican, Jew, Negro and white Protestant. They go into high schools and junior high schools, into union halls, churches, P.T.A. meetings, etc. Each member tells what it means to be a member of his or her group. The New York University panel, for example, went to Peekskill, New York, where there had been a great deal of hostility between different groups, and appeared before junior high school students in the afternoon. That evening, the panel was to appear before the P.T.A. So many pupils insisted their parents attend that the session drew the largest crowd in the organizations history. Weeks later, reports came back to the P.T.A. that the effects of the meeting were being noted even in supermarkets where more neighborly chatting was observed between housewives of different ethnic and racial groups.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

JW ✓
JL ✓
MJ-fb

September 9, 1968

COPY

Dr. Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
College of Business
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Ray:

Mike Miller left papers re Panola Land Buyers with me, and from what I can see, the matter is dead as far as we are concerned.

McKnight has flexibility to lend up to $25,000 if the deal would otherwise go through. Accordingly, I am filing the papers away under Panola, etc., and marked no further action required. If you see it differently, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony ✓

Please return to me - CH.

July 1, 1953

Mr. P. L. Prattis
Executive Editor
PITTSBURGH COURIER
P. O. Box 1828
Pittsburgh 30, Pa.

My dear Mr. Prattis:

Perhaps the courteous gesture would have been to have acknowledged, with thanks, your letter of May 1 and the very stimulating book which reached me shortly afterward. But I have delayed doing so with the hope that the stray ideas I have been turning over in my mind might fall together into a pattern that would make enough sense to pass along to you as a comment on Dr. Barr's revolutionary proposal. Although as yet no completely satisfactory scheme of organization has occurred to me, I am writing you what I have.

The attitudes here in America which may well prevent the early acceptance of Dr. Barr's suggestion for a "World TVA" stem from a stupid branch of isolationist thinking that, while recognizing, superficially, some of the material changes in the world situation, seems incapable of understanding the social and spiritual implications of these changes. For most of us the rapidity of technological change is beyond belief. A few weeks ago, out of curiosity, I asked the public relations office of a local TV station for an estimate of the number of receivers in our immediate area. To my amazement, I learned that there was a TV set available to every three persons within a fifty mile radius. At about the same time that I made this discovery I had occasion to take a trip to a city some four hundred miles away. The fastest train would have taken me there in nine hours; actual flying time was an hour and twenty minutes. In thinking about these things, I began to realize how commonplace they were and how casually I had accepted them. I had come to take for granted the fact that the world is one tenth the size it was in 1918 when the Armistice was signed and that people have available to them new devices of communication undreamed of thirty-five years ago. These commonplace facts have tremendous implications.

Only in the last few years have we here in America become dimly aware of the one and a half billion people of the world who are outside the immediate orbit of NATO activities. Two thirds of them, at least, have not yet taken sides with either the Russians or ourselves; they constitute the almost forgotten major portion of the so-called "free world." As Barr points out, these people are restless, they are hungry and desperate. They will not be content until their demands are satisfied. America has been thrust, willy nilly, into a position of world leadership not only because of her productive capacity and her flair for technological miracles but also, perhaps more significantly, because America is the moral "citadel of democracy"—the symbol of freedom for men everywhere.

It would appear then, on the basis of Dr. Barr's analysis, that our greatest danger lies in our reluctance to accept the challenge of moral leadership thrust upon us by our new status in world affairs. This reluctance is no more clearly demonstrated than by the persistence of discriminatory practices in dealing with the racial and religious minorities within our borders. Thus it happens that there is no group in the world today that occupies a more strategic position in international relations than the fifteen million Negroes in the United States.

They--perhaps I should say, we--are called upon to perform in a new and somewhat unfamiliar role; that of saving America from her own folly. This means, particularly, continuing to an early conclusion the fight to destroy segregation in every phase of American life. But it means more than this. The novelty and strangeness of the role lie not so much in the things we are called upon to do but rather in the reorientation of attitude that is required. The segregation fight now has taken on crucial world significance and can no longer be carried on as a purely selfish racial enterprise. It ties in closely, too, with the program outlined by Dr. Barr which induces a world view instead of a narrow nationalistic one. If America once sees the real issue for democracy which segregation poses, it will be much easier to recognize and to accept the challenge of a hungry world. The accumulated savings over just a few years of relief from the staggering financial burden of segregation would go a long way toward underwriting our, i.e., America's share in an International Development Authority. The speedy elimination of segregation here in America would give a new ring of sincerity to our words about equality and justice throughout the world. Now, it seems to me that it is high time that Negroes understand and appreciate their responsibility and challenge in this new world-setting.

I fear greatly, however, that the prevailing attitudes of Negroes I meet do not give much hope for either early recognition or complete acceptance of the implications of Dr. Barr's exciting proposals. Long preoccupation with the "Negro Problem" has fostered among Negroes a racial isolationism that is just as deadly and self-defeating as isolationism on the national level. The very efforts to break down segregation by law have served to promote segretation by free choice. Negroes tend to be "on edge" in the presence of white people; it is only when they are back behind the ghetto walls that they are completely comfortable. There is a strong sentimental attachment to what are popularly known as "our own institutions." A racial orthodoxy has developed--sometimes referred to as the "Negro Party Line"--to which all good "race" members must adhere under threat of being read out of the party. Appropriate myths have arisen such as the belief that the Mason-Dixon Line divides prejudiced from unprejudiced America; or that southern white people are all "crackers" who are trying to revive the Klan in order to keep Negroes "in place"; or that all southern Negroes are "Uncle Toms" who have to be guided and supervised by their wiser and more militant northern brothers.

Aside from these and other similar isolationist distortions--and somewhat more serious--is the undeniable fact that the continuance of segregation and the consequent delay in the acceptance of the world-citizenship idea, means the perpetuation in power and prestige of some of the very people who have been most outspoken in their opposition to the separatist doctrine. As Frazier and others have pointed out, many Negroes have vested interest in segregation. There are the proprietors of marginal Negro businesses who have managed to survive only because they have been sheltered from competition with whites. Also having a high stake in the continuance of segregation are the top administration officers of Negro educational and religious organizations; the teachers in Negro schools; the publishers of Negro newspapers and magazines; "first" and/or "only" Negroes who have recognition quite out of proportion to their abilities; black major league ballplayers and "high yellow" women; the paid officials of an ever-increasing number of race-relations committees and commissions; liberals, Negro and white, who have become so closely identified with the fight against segregation that they may not be able to adjust to a situation in which the fight is no longer necessary or appropriate. The list could be extended indefinitely.

Perhaps the cream of this isolationist crop is that select group composed of the members of Negro fraternities and sororities. Most of these Greek

letter societies came into being as a reaction to discrimination and they still retain much of the narrow racism that marked their origin. Paradoxically, although these college men and women have provided the intellectual leadership for the Negro Protest, they have at the same time come to constitute the anti-intellectual nucleus of the fashionable set in Negro so-called society. It is among this elite group that racial isolationism has its strongest advocates. Here are the "B--N's" of various and sundry sizes from large to extra large--- here is the ultra-respectable contingent of the Cadillac car class. They have been among the most vehement in their denunciation of the evils of segregation. But the imminent collapse of the system fills them with dread. It is something which they did not anticipate and for which they are completely unprepared. Suddenly they have realized how much their own importance has depended upon segregation. They see their tight little world threatened and they are confused and unhappy at the prospect of its dissolution. They know where they stand as half-citizens of the United States but they are uncertain as to how they would fare as "Citizens of the World."

The moral confusion of the Negro elite seems to me to be the major obstacle to their acceptance of the challenge of world citizenship. It is my conviction that the problem of integrating America into a world community and that of integrating the Negro into American society are not separate and distinct problems but rather two aspects of the same problem. And the solution hinges, primarily, upon the achievement of a new perspective. I have tried to point out some of the difficulties that stand in the way. For Negroes, what is involved is a transfer of allegiance from a racial group to the idea of world cooperation. However necessary racial solidarity may have been in the past in order to give force to the Negro Protest and to counteract racial inferiority feelings, I believe that the time has now come when aggressive race consciousness may be a serious handicap to the assimilative process. At some point, racial self-respect must give way to respect for the dignity of human individual of whatever race or nationality. We should devote our efforts not to bettering race relations but to eliminating them. Perhaps we can come to believe what the anthropologists have been telling us all along: that there is no such entity as the Negro race or, for that matter, any other race.

Do not mistake me. I do not believe that the millenium is "just around the corner." Nor do I believe that the impending Supreme Court decisions will automatically and immediately bring about a change in attitudes toward Negroes in the United States. But I do contend that to become citizens of the world we must begin to think in world terms rather than racial terms. We have got to revamp our point of view so as to take into account the technological advances that have occurred in the last few decades. People like yourself who exert some influence upon public opinion, can do much to hasten this reorientation.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Very truly yours,

C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville

FBR

April 19, 1955

Dr. C.H. Parrish
SRC Consultant
926 S. Sixth St.
Louisville, Ky.

Dear C.H.:

This letter came today from Beckman. Fred has wired him asking that he send you a copy of the enclosures. We are also wondering whether your schedule is such that you could spend a weekend in Atlanta around the end of the month.

Questions which have been raised by Sutherland (Texas) have resulted in the suggestion that you and/or Fred and/or GSN plan to attend the next meeting of their Executive and Program Planning Committee. A wire from him this morning as follows:

> "Please wire what day you prefer to attend executive committee meeting, Austin, April 29 to May 7, 29 being preferred."

Let us know which of these are possible or best for you. Thanks for the wonderful clips. They are being circulated. So proud of Kentucky!

Cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH:rnf
encl: Beckman ltr.4/18/55

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

AMT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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D. AUA147 PD=AUSTIN TEX 19 935AMC=

GEORGE S MITCHELL=

EXEC SECY SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 AUBURN ST NORTHEAST ATLA=

APR 19 1955

11:15 am

PLEASE WIRE WHAT DAY YOU PREFER TO ATTEND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING AUSTIN APRIL 29 TO MAY 7, 29TH BEING PREFERRED=

TOM SUTHERLAND=

Sam - apr. 28

29 7 29=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Fred Smith

December 22, 1955

Mr. C.H. Parrish
926 South 6th Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

I have been in correspondence with the Council's President as to the attendance by staff members at the forthcoming meeting of the Executive Committee at New Orleans (at Dillard) January 20 and 21.

That series of meetings falls neatly into three sessions: Friday afternoon, beginning at 2:00 p.m., Friday evening, and Saturday morning. In the last meeting of the Executive Committee (shortly before the Board met) it had been agreed that the Executive Committee would at its subsequent meetings have a period in which no staff members were present, a period in which some were, and a period in which only the Executive Director, from the staff, would be with the Committee.

It is agreed that the New Orleans meeting will be one in which, during the Friday afternoon session, the Executive Director and the four assistant directors and the secretary-treasurer, will be present, with a view to supplying maximum information to the Committee, I expect we should absent ourselves for the Friday night session, at which time the Committee will presumably get further with decision as to the presence of staff at its meetings-both for the remainder of the New Orleans meeting, and for subsequent Executive Committee meetings.

So please plan to be on hand in New Orleans for the afternoon of January 20, and available to the Committee for the morning of January 21.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef
P.S.: GSA can book accomodation for us at Dillard or wherever.

Arkansas---Texas---Louisiana---Mississippi---Alabama

CHP file

It is difficult to break down into state units my trip through the states mentioned above. My visits were brief and impressions were gained from conversations with the people who happened to be available at the time. My time schedule was so tight that up to now no organization of my notes has been possible. S. C., Fla., and Tenn. will be reported on after my second visit to each of these states. Actually Arkansas and Louisiana were not on my list for intensive work since it was felt that these two states were well on the way toward the completion of their organization. Louisiana has already selected a state director.

From Memphis I called Greenville, Mississippi in order to arrange a meeting with Mr. Hodding Carter. He is in New England for the summer and the projected trip to Greenville was given up. In Little Rock on Tuesday, July 27, there was considerable excitement over the primary elections for Governor and U.S. Senator. Mr. Harry Ashmore told me that nothing had been done in organizing the SRC because of the elections. He felt, however that some steps would be taken as soon as the primary was over. His idea of the organization centered around getting several big names to give prestige to the Council. It was not quite clear to me how this would be done or how effective such a plan would be getting things started.

Mississippi

From the point of view of SRC organization the trip to Mississippi was disappointing. The Chairman was away for the Summer and only one city, Jackson, was visited. The plan to see Hodding Carter at Greenville fell through when I learned that he, too, had left the state to spend the Summer in Maine. Mrs Ruby Lyles and Dr Reddix (Pres. Jackson College) were helpful but had no clear idea of what should be done in the State . Mrs Lyles had been mentioned as a possible candidate for the job of State Director but she did not manifest much enthusiasm for field work. Dr. Reddix thought a man should do the job and Bishop Gerow felt that the man should be white.

I got to Jackson just a few days after a group of Negro leaders had refused to approve Governor White's plan for voluntary segregation and the papers were full of pro and con discussion of alternative plans to get around the Supreme Court decision. This seemed to me such a significant event that I took the opportunity to make inquiries of some of the key figures not only to get a clear picture of what had really occurred but also to test the atmosphere in which SRC would work in Mississippi. Most informative were my conversations with W. M. Lauderdale of the DAILY NEWS staff and with Purser Hewitt of the CLARION-LEDGER. Both of them suggested that the situation in Mississippi was confused by political considerations and no clear picture was possible.

A talk with Governor White was not enlightening. He appeared to be disillusioned over what he considered the treachery of Negro leadership and seemed unable to grasp the meaning of what had occurred.

October 22, 1963

To: Women For Progress

Enclosed are copies of the statement and the explanatory sheet approved by Women For Progress on October 15. We know that you are eager to give those women you agreed to contact, the opportunity to endorse it. (We enclose for your information a partial list of the women who initiated this effort).

It was agreed on October 15 that our statement would be more effective if the signatures were identified with the groups in which they hold leadership roles. However, if this is not possible individuals may sign.

Our agreement that this effort must be completed promptly is of the utmost importance. We shall meet on Thursday morning, November 7th at 10:30 at the YWCA (72 Edgewood Avenue, N. E.) to receive the signed statements.

We know that each of you wants to be a part of Atlanta Women For Progress. Our witness at this time is imperative!

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Coordinator
Telephone: 688-7249

(Mrs.) Pat Leak
Secretary - Treasurer
Telephone: 636-4964

We Believe in Atlanta!

As women deeply concerned with the welfare of our city, we endorse and commend the appeal of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce with regard to making the commercial facilities of Atlanta available to all citizens.

We applaud the program of those business leaders with awareness that cooperation and interdependence are necessary to Atlanta's growth.

We pledge our economic support to those businessmen who continue to recognize their responsibility to our city. WE ALSO URGE ALL MEMBERS OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS TO PATRONIZE THOSE WHO MAKE THEIR GOODS AND SERVICES AVAILABLE TO EVERYONE.

We reaffirm our faith in Atlanta and the Atlanta way of Progress!

WOMEN FOR PROGRESS

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* Organization given for identification only.

Mrs. Edward Askren, Jr. (*Atlanta - YWCA)

Mrs. Howard Aronin (*Atlanta Council, B'nai B'rith)

Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen (*Atlanta - YWCA)

Mrs. Janet Boyte

Mrs. S. F. Crank

Mrs. David Edwards (*Atlanta League of Women Voters)

Mrs. George Gunning (*Atlanta Council of Catholic Women)

Mrs. Henry Cook Hamilton (*Southern Regional Council)

Mrs. Oze Horton (*National Board - YWCA)

Mrs. Sidney Janus (*Atlanta Association for the United Nations)

Mrs. James R. Leak (*Atlanta United Church Women)

Mrs. William Pauley (*Georgia Council on Human Relations)

Mrs. B. E. Mays (*Georgia United Church Women)

Mrs. Ray Mitchell

Mrs. H. S. Murphy (*International League for Peace & Freedom)

Mrs. Phil B. Narmore (*Georgia United Church Women)

Mrs. Walter Paschall

Mrs. Sally Ponikarski (*COPE A.F. of L. - C.I.O.)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly (*Meth. Church Women's Society for Christian Service)

Mrs. H. B. Trimble

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

THE REVEREND CHARLES DEMERÉ
CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
525-6468

DR. LIONEL NEWSOM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

MR. A. J. McCLUNG
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON
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MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM
TREASURER

MRS. FRANCES PAULEY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

file "WO" Gen Corresp.

November 13, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

file

Dear Les:

It looks today as if our Women For Progress will be a success. Much work has gone into it. Our office has stood the major part of the expenses. Mrs. Hamilton, the coordinator, has carried the bulk of the work. Although we consider it a legitimate part of our work a contribution of some $300.00 would be most acceptable.

Pat Leak is the treasurer. A check to Women For Progress - % Mrs. James R. Leak, 1942 Vance Drive, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia 30329, would be most appreciated.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Frances

Mrs. Frances Pauley

FP/es

Women For Progress

November 13, 1963

Dear Sir:

We believe you will be interested in the attached release describing a presentation made today to the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. The scroll was accompanied by signatures of endorsement from more than 600 Atlanta area women holding leadership roles in more than 100 civic and religious organizations.

We hope that this evidence of support for the Chamber of Commerce's policy regarding public accommodations in our city will encourage you to exert your efforts to make our community free of discriminatory practices.

Yours sincerely,

WOMEN FOR PROGRESS

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Coordinator

FROM: "WOMEN FOR PROGRESS" Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Coordinator 688-7249

FOR RELEASE AFTER 2:00 P.M. WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1963

MRS. EDWARD M. VINSON'S REMARKS TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ON WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1963

Last summer, five Atlanta women attended a conference in Washington at the invitation of the President. More than 300 national women's organizations were represented. The conference was convened to determine what role women could play in alleviating tensions and eliminating discrimination from all areas of American life. Atlanta was cited as one of the cities which has dealt most successfully with the problems of this transitional period.

This fall it was decided that Atlanta could not afford to sit back and rest on her successful image. "Women For Progress" came into being as a co-ordinating effort by leaders of key community women's organizations who feel that Atlanta's hard-won reputation for progress in race relations may be threatened.

We believe that all community leaders have a special responsibility to speak out.

The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce has urged that "all businesses soliciting business from the general public do so without regard to race, creed or color." As women deeply concerned with the welfare of our city, we commend the Atlanta

Chamber of Commerce for having spoken. We hope that you will give further support to those businessmen who have recognized their responsibility to our city. We know that you will continue to exert your leadership so that there will be no confusion about public accommodations in Atlanta. We are thankful that Atlanta has men who can rise to the challenge of our rapidly changing times ... and keep our city the pace-setter of the South.

FROM: WOMEN FOR PROGRESS Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Coordinator 688-7249

FOR RELEASE AFTER 2:00 P.M. WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1963

Text of scroll presented to Board of Directors of Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

We Believe in Atlanta!

As women deeply concerned with the welfare of our city, we endorse and commend the appeal of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce with regard to making the commercial facilities of Atlanta available to all citizens.

We applaud the program of those business leaders with awareness that cooperation and interdependence are necessary to Atlanta's growth.

We pledge our economic support to those businessmen who continue to recognize their responsibility to our city. WE ALSO URGE ALL MEMBERS OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS TO PATRONIZE THOSE WHO MAKE THEIR GOODS AND SERVICES AVAILABLE TO EVERYONE.

We reaffirm our faith in Atlanta and the Atlanta way of Progress!

WOMEN FOR PROGRESS

FROM: "WOMEN FOR PROGRESS" Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Coordinator 688-7249

FOR RELEASE AFTER 2:00 P.M. WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1963

WOMEN LEADERS LAUD CHAMBER'S "OPEN CITY" STAND

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson, former President of the Georgia League of Women Voters, was spokesman for more than 600 Atlanta area women with leadership roles in over 100 Civic and Religious Organizations in a special presentation to the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce at 1 o'clock Wednesday afternoon. Uniting under the banner of "Women for Progress" the organizational leaders praised the Chamber's efforts to make Atlanta's commercial facilities available to all citizens.

"We feel that all community leaders have a special responsibility to speak out," Mrs. Vinson said. "As women deeply concerned with the welfare of our city, we applaud the program of those business leaders with awareness that cooperation and interdependence are necessary to Atlanta's growth. We pledge our economic support to those businessmen who continue to recognize their responsibility to our city. We also urge all members of our organizations to patronize those who make their goods and services available to everyone!"

Mrs. Vinson emphasized that "Women for Progress" is not a formal organization in the accepted sense, but a coordinating effort by leaders of key community women's groups who feel that Atlanta's hard-won reputation for progress in race relations may be threatened "unless all segments of the community respond to the Chamber of Commerce's appeal for all businesses to serve the public without regard to race, creed or color."

Among the more than 600 signers of the scroll presented to the Chamber were:

Leaders of major cultural groups of the city including The Atlanta Symphony Guild, The Atlanta Art Association and The Atlanta Arts Festival; persons prominent among the educational leadership; outstanding alumnae of Agnes Scott, Emory, Smith, Wellesley and Vassar as well as other college alumnae associations and leaders of national women's organizations with strong Atlanta chapters.

Among the signers were 13 former Atlanta Women of the Year including: Mrs. Thomas Breeden, Mrs. Mary Kate Duskin, Mrs. Ernest Felber, Mrs. Guthrie Foster, Mrs. Leonard Haas, Mrs. Marianna Knox, Mrs. Celestine S. Little, Mrs. Carolyn Becknell Mann, Mrs. Fred Patterson, Mrs. J. O'H. Sanders, Mrs. T. Ervin Schneider, Mrs. Mamie K. Taylor and Mrs. Richard Trotter.

Among the other prominent persons signing the endorsement were the following: Mrs. Cecil Alexander, Mrs. Wallace M. Alston, Mrs. Sanford S. Atwood, Mrs. Howard Aronin (Atlanta Council B'nai B'rith), Mrs. Edward Askren, Jr. (Atlanta YWCA), Mrs. S. F. Crank (Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority), Mrs. Edward Driscoll, Mrs. David Edwards (Atlanta League of Women Voters), Mrs. Herbert Elsas (Atlanta Wellesley Club), Mrs. George Gunning (Atlanta Council of Catholic Women), Dr. Justina Hill (Smith College Club of Atlanta), Mrs. Oze Horton (National

(more)

Board - YWCA), Mrs. Sidney Janus (Atlanta Association for the United Nations), Mrs. James R. Leak (Atlanta United Church Women), Mrs. B. E. Mays (Morehouse College), Mrs. Robert MacDougall, Mrs. James Mackay (Agnes Scott Alumnae), Mrs. Sam Massell, Jr. (The Temple Sisterhood), Mrs. G. Ray Mitchell, Mrs. H. S. Murphy (Atlanta University Women's Club), Mrs. Sally Ponikarski (AFL-CIO), Mrs. H. V. Richardson (Inter-Denominational Theological Center), Mrs. Jacob Rothchild, Mrs. M. B. Satterfield (National Girl Scout Council), Mrs. Henry Toombs, Miss Josephine Wilkins (Southern Regional Council) and Mrs. P. Q. Yancey.

At the invitation of the President, some of us recently attended a conference in Washington where more than 300 national women's organizations were represented. The conference was convened to determine what role women could play in alleviating tensions and eliminating discrimination from all areas of American life.

Atlanta was cited as one of the cities which has dealt most successfully with the problems of this transitional period. But we cannot afford to rest on our successful reputation. We must reaffirm our belief that cooperation and interdependence are the keys to Atlanta's well being.

We feel that all community leaders have a special responsibility to speak out. Other cities where the respected leadership remained silent, are now suffering fearful consequences.

One effective way to speak is to give widespread endorsement to the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce's position, which urged,

> "all businesses soliciting business from the general public to do so without regard to race, creed or color ....."

We can thus buttress the Chamber's determination to keep Atlanta growing. Ours is not a formal organization, but a group of women with concern for our city's future. Your outstanding service to the community prompts us to invite you to join in signing the attached statement.

Vernon file

This is a
complete file —
except for one matter
now in process —
Name of
the I brought
Program —
it — look it up
get mailed to SRC's
file

file Cabinet #18 drawer (2) SRC - File

file

To: Women for Progress →

From: Grace T. Hamilton - Coordinator

Report of developments:

Following the meeting on Nov. 13 at which the WOMEN FOR PROGRESS' scroll and endorsing signatures was presented to the Board of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, a policy statement was released by the Chamber reaffirming its earlier position and adding "...in the areas of service to the general public and in employment opportunities, the Chamber of Commerce believes that the business community, voluntarily and without legislation or other pressure, should immediately begin to eliminate discrimination based upon race or color, in those areas where such discrimination exists....."

The Atlanta Board of Aldermen at a regular meeting on Nov. 18, refused to act upon a resolution introduced by Aldermen Cook, Fowlkes and Freeman calling for the voluntary elimination of discrimination based on race or color in places of business serving the public, and referred the proposed resolution to committee. A public hearing on this matter is planned by the chairman of the committee, Mr. Cecil Turner.

It has been suggested that the individuals and groups associated in Women for Progress' endorsement of the Chamber's policy and of businessmen who have recognized their responsibility to our city may wish to express their concern to the Board of Aldermen.

Letters or wires should —

(1) call attention to the crucial importance of official recognition by Atlanta's elected representatives that discrimination based on race or color is detrimental to the progress, and welfare of our city and is contrary to good public policy;

(2) urge prompt action by the Board of Aldermen to clarify the official position of the city's government upon the elimination of discriminatory practices based on race by business serving the public in our city.

Messages should be sent to the President of the Board of Aldermen for the Board's attention and to the chairman of the Legislative Committee.

Mr. Sam Massell, Jr., President Atlanta Board of Aldermen;
40 Pryor Street, S. W.
Mr. Cecil Turner, Chairman Legislative Committee;
Office: 530 Candler Building
Res.: 1779 Merton Road, N. E.

REMINDER: Meeting Women's Coordinating Committee - Dec. 3, 11 a.m.
YWCA - 72 Edgewood Avenue, N. E.

TO: WOMEN FOR PROGRESS

FROM: GRACE T. HAMILTON - COORDINATOR
PAT LEAK - SECRETARY - TREASURER

RE: Summary of Action - Suggestions for "follow up" - made at meeting, November 7, 1963.

1. It was agreed that the arrangements for presentation of the scroll and endorsement signatures would be made by the Coordinator after consultation with the Chamber of Commerce. (News releases sent under separate cover).

2. It was agreed that WOMEN FOR PROGRESS was not an "organization" - but a coordinated effort for this project - and that as such would not exist after the presentation on November 13th - but that a group to be known as the Women's Coordinating Committee would meet again on December 3rd, at 11:00 a. m. at the Y. W. C. A. - 72 Edgewood Avenue, N. E. - to consider possible individual or collective programs. All persons who have had a part in this "project" are welcome.

3. It was agreed that a letter should be sent to members of the Board of Aldermen, the Boards of Fulton and DeKalb County Commissioners, and to members of the Georgia General Assembly from the Metropolitan Atlanta area, and to the Boards of Business Associations concerned with public accommodations calling their attention to the evidence of community support for the Chamber of Commerce's policy represented by the signatures of endorsement accompanying the scroll presented by Women for Progress on November 13.

4. It was suggested that the period from November 15 to December 1, be devoted to "Confrontation" by persons and groups who signed the endorsement. It was proposed that persons signing the endorsement of the Chamber of Commerce's policy - might ask for the manager of the business (hotel, motel or restaurant) when using their facilities and express the hope that the facilities and services were available to all without discrimination; if the answer was affirmative, the response would indicate congratulations and support for the manager's policy; if the answer was negative, the response would indicate regret and the hope that the policy would be reconsidered in the light of the city's best welfare.

5. The importance of individucals urging the religious leadership of our city to speak out upon the necessity of our city becoming free from discrimating practices was stressed.

It was suggested that the good experience of one religious group in the community resulting from having a bi-racial panel appear before various community groups, might be tried by others. The areas discussed by the panel were: the history of segregation, the Jim Crow era, race and science, the moral aspect of segregation, the right of the Church to teach.

6. It was suggested that it was important for individuals to raise the question of "open" membership without racial limitation, in all groups to which they belong concerned with the city's religious, cultural, civic and social welfare.

It was suggested that the week of November 24, to December 1, be utilized by individuals who believe that passage of the Civil Rights Bill is important, as Writing for Rights week.

It was suggested that "Writing Coffees" might be organized by members of organizations who are supporting. Letters should be sent to our Senators and Representatives and copies to all members of the Senate Judiciary Committee and to members of the House Rules Committee. (Suggestions are attached for letters - and the names and addresses of members of the committees - and of the Georgia members of Congress).

MEMBERSHIP OF THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE:

James O. Eastland, Miss - Chairman
Suite 2241, New Senate Office Building
Washing 25, D. C.

Olin D. Johnston, S. C.
Suite 3203, New Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

John L. McClellan, Ark.
Suite 3241, New Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Sam J. Ervin, Jr., N. C.
Suite 337, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Thomas J. Dodd, Conn.
Suite 105, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Philip A. Hart, Mich.
Suite 362, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Edward V. Long, Mo.
Suite 3107, New Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Edward M. Kennedy, Mass.
Suite 432, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Birch Bayh, Ind.
Suite 1205, New Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Everett McKinley Dirkson, Illinois
Suite 204, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Roman L. Hruska, Neb.
Suite 313, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Kenneth B. Keating, N. Y.
Suite 315, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Hiram L. Fong, Hawaii
Suite 1109, New Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Hugh Scott, Pa.
Suite 451, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE:

Howard W. Smith, Va., Chairman
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Ray J. Madden, Ind.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

James J. Delaney, N. Y.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

James W. Trimble, Ark.
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

William M. Colmer, Miss.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Homer Thornberry, Texas
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Richard Bolling, Mo.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Mass.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Carl Elliott, Ala.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

B. F. Sisk, Calif.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Clarence J. Brown, Ohio
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Katharine St. George, N. Y.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

H. Allen Smith, Calif.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Elmer J. Hoffman, Illinois
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

William H. Avery, Kan.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

SAMPLE LETTERS

The Honorable (Name of Senator)
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

or

The Honorable (Name of Congressman)
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear (Senator_____, or Congressman_____):

It is my earnest belief that the Civil Rights issue involves the basic foundation upon which our democracy rests: the right of all men to equality before God and under the law. This should come before any consideration of partisan politics or regional prejudice.

I hope that you will vote for civil rights in this session of Congress.

Sincerely yours,
(Name)
(Address)

. . . . . .

Dear (Senator_____, or Congressman_____):

As an American citizen who believes in the dignity and equality of all men as guaranteed by the Consitiution, I hope that you will vote for meaningful civil rights legislation during this session of Congress.

Sincerely yours,
(Name)
(Address)

. . . . . .

Dear (Senator_____, or Congressman_____):

The future of our country depends upon whether we will live up to the challenge of universal brotherhood.

Your vote for civil rights during this session of Congress will help to make this a reality.

Sincerely yours,
(Name)
(Address)

Cr. ref
New World
Contingency Fund

November 14, 1963

Mrs. James R. Leak
1942 Vance Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Leak:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $300.00 to help defray your expenses for your recent program of open public accommodations in Atlanta.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #

cc: Mrs. Frances Pauley

New Women (contingency fund)

Nov. 14, 1963

RHA MMJ

Ruth,

Would you please make out a check for $300.00 to ~~Mrs.&&James&&R&&Leak~~ WOMEN FOR PROGRESS, %Mrs. James R. Leak. Les says this amount should be charged to our CONTINGENCY FUND.

thanx, mmj

file
Partners for Progress

March 13, 1964

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson
328 Chelsea Circle, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Betty:

Enclosed is our check for $150.00.

As we agreed over the telephone, it seems simpler to advance this sum in a lump rather than reimburse specific bills as they come in up to this sum.

It is my understanding that Partners for Progress will "replace" this amount into the funds we are holding for program purposes when you are able. Perhaps this can be done most simply by some kind of bookkeeping adjustment later on.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mrs. DeJongh Franklin
enclosure - 1. (Check #2768, $150.00)

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson
328 Chelsea Circle N. E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia

March 12, 1964

Mr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les,

Since I did not get down to the office as planned today, I am sending this account of money spent to date for the initial steps of "Partners for Progress". This does not include the bill for the newspaper ad.

Stamps and stamped envelopes-	$5.00-	first mailing to organizations
	$48.00-	mailing to individuals
P.O. Box for March--------	1.50	
Photo off-set letters (1000)	17.51-(	individuals- invitation to support and attend March 17 meeting)
Return address rubber stamp-	3.46	
Postage to Nat'l Committee-	1.13	(Women's Committee on Civil Rights)
Total:	$ 76.60	

This is what I have spent to date on "Partners for Progress". When I talked with Phoebe Franklin, I told her w e would replace any money from "the fund" advanced for operations until we can raise some other money. We agreed on a limit of $150 for this little revolving "door".

Thanks again for all your help and support- AND patience.

Sincerely,
Betty A. Vinson
Mrs. EdwardmM. Vinson

150.00
Partners for Progress

Sorry, but we did not get postal receipts for stamps and envelopes. Other receipts attached -

Always show your P.O. Box Number in your return address

SEE REGULATIONS ON REVERSE — ORIGINAL — 166

RECEIVED FROM (*Name of patron*): Partners for Progress Mrs. Ed. M. Vinson

RENT FOR (*Box No.*): 15238

FOR PERIOD ENDING (*Date*): March 30, 1964

AMOUNT RECEIVED: $ 1.50

DATING STAMP: MAR - 4 1964

PAYMENT RECEIVED BY (*Initials of Postmaster or Accepting Clerk*): R.W. Lee

Emory University Station, Atlanta, Ga. 30333

POD FORM 1538 SEP. 1959 — BOX RENT RECEIPT

FORM NO. 1793

AMERICAN SEAL & STAMP COMPANY
33 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. PHONE: JA 3-5547
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

No. 18535

DATE 3/10 1964

RECEIVED FROM Mrs Vinson

~~two~~ three dollars + 46 DOLLARS $ 3.46

FOR stamps + Pad

AMOUNT OF ACCOUNT $

AMOUNT PAID . . . . . $ THANK YOU.

BALANCE DUE . . . . . $

CASH ☐ CHECK ☐ M. O. ☐

AMERICAN SEAL & STAMP COMPANY

BY MH

3.46
.33 Postage
24.00
27.79

REGULATIONS REGARDING COLLECTION OF BOX RENT

Collections shall be made on or before the beginning of a calendar quarter for the entire quarter or in advance for the current fiscal year. Box patrons are required to pay rental on post-office boxes in advance for a quarter or for not more than one full fiscal year, July 1 to June 30, next, or for the quarters remaining in the fiscal year. If a box holder fails to renew his right to his box on or before the last day of the period for which rented, the box shall then be closed and offered for rent and the mail placed in the general delivery, unless deliverable by carrier.

GPO 16—15837-8

TELEPHONE 522-5118

EAGLE-EMPIRE
LITHOGRAPHING-PRINTING

81 WALTON ST., N. W.—ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Sold To:

Mrs. EM Vinson
Partners for Progress

DATE: 3/5/64

INVOICE NO.: 157-C

1000 Front and back -		$ 16.00
	Tax	.48
		$ 16.48
	Fold —	1.03
		$ 17.51

Paid ok
3-9-64

—PLEASE PAY BY INVOICES.

NO STATEMENTS RENDERED—UNLESS REQUESTED BY CUSTOMER—
EXCEPT ON PAST-DUE ACCOUNTS—

Your Business Is Appreciated—THANKS

Rec'd 3/23/64

328 Chelsea Circle, N.E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia
March 21, 1964

LM
PAV
LDV

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les,

Because "your man" did not have a chance to attend the March 17 PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS meeting, I am sending you a copy of my remarks that day. There is nothing fancy or special about them; but I finally did type them up from my written notes.

The only reason I spoke of myself at all was my feeling that many would come who did not know me and might wonder what I was up to, anyway. When - or if- there are minutes from the meeting, I shall send them along too.

You will note that the order of prodedure was changed slightly from that on the agenda, and that I did not use the Kennedy record. I did not have time to tape the section I wanted to use.

I am somewhat reluctant to send this copy of remarks along because it looks so rather formal on paper. Actually, the meeting was rather a relaxed, casual affair. Even without the proper launching champagne, the feeling was somewhat "bubbly," and I hope we can keep it this way.

You wom't mind if I sign off,

Fondly,

Betty

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson

File: Partners for Progress

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS: MEETING ON MARCH 17, 1964

AGENDA

CALL TO ORDER: BETTY VINSON 10.30

BRIEF STATEMENT OF PURPOSE: SAME

ADOPTION OF BY-LAWS: MRS. SIDNEY Q. JANUS (To be read with changes included. After read in entirety and Leah moves adoption, discussion and amendment will be in order.)

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: MRS. CECIL ALEXANDER (Presents slate for steering committee, moves adoption. We may or may not have nominations from the floor.)

REPORT ON GRADY ACTIVITIES: MRS. HAMILTON LOKEY* (NOT for press to mention or comment on. May omit because of time.)

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER: MRS. H.C. HAMILTON

SPEAKER: MR. HAMILTON DOUGLAS, CHAIRMAN OF MAYOR'S COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REGISTRATION- by distribution of cards to be completed for record of attendance and interest in working.

GRAND SEND-OFF: A. RESOLUTION OF COMMITMENT, MRS. DAVID NEIMAN

B. VINSON- or KENNEDY RECORD

****

NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT

CHAIRMAN: MRS EDWARD M. VINSON

Vice- chairman: Mrs. ~~Sidney Q. Janus~~ Henry Cook Hamilton
Mrs. Sidney Q. Janus
Mrs. George L. Gunning
Mrs. Fred W. Patterson

Secretary: Mrs. Hamilton Lokey

Treasurer: Mrs. J.R. Wilson, Jr.

ADDITIONL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Mrs. Cecil Alexander, Mrs. Edward L. ~~Askren~~ Askren, Jr., Mrs. Dan Berge, Mrs. DeJongh Franklin

Mrs. Donald Ross Green, Mrs. David Neiman, Mrs. Harry V. Richardson

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS: LAUNCHING MEETING, MARCH 17, 1964

(NOTES FROM B. VINSON REMARKS)

Call to order- 10.30- Thanks to Y.W.C.A. for meeting space, etc.

Telegram from Mayor Ivan Allen: "May I commend you as you launch Partners For Progress and express my appreciation for your desire to be of assistance to your city."

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE FOR PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

"We, the steering committee of Partners for Progress, called you together today-

-not to start a new organization or an additional series of meetings;

not because we feel existing organizations are failing to do what needs to be done.

Rather, we called you together because of the intense need for a rallying point around which to coordinate the varied activities and the underlying "good will" now existing.

We called you together so that we could give public notice to the community that we are joining hands to help create a community genuinely and openly concerned about the quality of life for all its citizens.

"Partners for Progress", as a movement, is rising from a groundswell demonstrated in another effort known as "Women for Progress". That group was formed last Fall as a committee to commend and support the appeal for voluntary integration made by the Chamber of Commerce.

It consisted of some 600 women leaders representing approximately 100 civic, philanthropic, religious and cultural groups. "Women for Progress" limited its activity to securing endorsements of the Chamber resolution urging Atlanta businesses to make their services and facilities available to all on an equal basis. This endorsement, in the form of a scroll was presented to the Board of the Chamber. The scroll contained also a pledge of the signers to patronize those businesses making their goods and services available to everyone, and to urge their organizations to do the same.

This effort was considered so valuable that when civic leaders began searching for a longer-termed effort in this direction, they turned to "Women for Progress". The original leaders were called together to determine what role they could play, or whether any new group was needed in the community. The outcome of that meeting is coming to fruition today in this meeting called to launch "Partners for Progress".

We shall not limit our efforts to supporting business, eating and lodging enterprises making their facilities and services available too all. Rather, we are joining hands in an united effort to make progress toward:

ONE: individual growth in awareness of the human needs of the Atlanta Metropolitan area;

TWO-PROGRESS TOWARD: Expanded opportunities to achieve equally available opportunites for all in education, employment, health, housing, services, etc.
and
THREE- PROGRESS TOWARD: a climate of opinion supporting those goals.

To do this successfully we must have clear commitment to the goals; but we must have also a practical framework within which to work- to keep us out of each other's hair- to help us operate smoothly. That is why we present these by-laws for your consideration.. We have made every effort to provide a flexible but clear guidelines for operation.

Tentative by-laws were sent to organizations whose members participated in Women for Progress. Copies are in your hands now. Mrs. Sidney Janus will read these by-laws, with the addition of a few changes- mainly editorial- made by the steering committee chairman, based upon suggestions by groups considering their relationship to "Partners for Progress."

(. . . procedural instructions. By-laws read, adoption moved, one more amendment added, adopted.)

(Then followed election, with Mrs. Cecil Alexander, chairman of nominations for the steering committee, reading the slate. Nominations from floor were permitted but not given.

- Mrs. Hamilton Lokey reported on the Grady campaign- for which she had in hand carbon copies of over 150 letters already written. Additional copies of the Grady Fact Sheet were distributed.

- Registration cards were distributed.

- Judy Neiman presented the "Statement of Belief", so that those present could take them back to groups. Should like thousands of signatures, as a proof of attitude in area.

MRS. GRACE HAMILTON introduced Mr. Hamilton Douglas, who spoke to the meeting.

CLOSING REMARKS BY VINSON:

To you w ho have participated today, we say thank you. There are others who are equally committed to our goals, but who could not come.

As for my own position as chairman, let me say the position was thrust upon me. I did not seek it. The goals of Partners for Progress are commitments I have felt since student days at Agnes Scott College. My reluctance to serve lay in my belief that the group needed truly great leadership, and in my desire to take a year of

RESPITE FROM "DOING"- a pause for musing. - A dream many of you hold too, I know.

However, there are other forces at work. The time to muse will have to come later. These are some of the forces which spurred me on:

- President John Kennedy's inaugural words:" Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans. . . unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world."

- Then,there a haunting memory of Emerson's words, "Every wall is a door". These were fortified, given special meaning by Camus' comment on them:"Let us not look for the door, and the way out, anywhere but in the wall against which we are living. Instead, let us seek the respite where it is- in the very thick of battle".

Dear

We have been concerned by reports of instances of improper and degrading treatment of women and girls jailed in protest demonstrations and have met with representatives of four other national organizations to discuss this problem - the National Council of Catholic Women, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, and the United Church Women. They share our concern, as we know you do, whenever and wherever women are subjected to indignities, indecencies, and abuses, and we have agreed to work together in an effort to correct these conditions.

In our discussions it has been proposed that each of our five organizations gather representative women from communities where there has been and is likely to be further tension so that local women, aware and concerned, will be in a position to effect a united plan in behalf of any women who are the victims of such treatment. In such an exchange of information and discussion of possible actions on the local level, you can help us deterihe how the YWCA and other organizations at the national level can give support and help to their members in these critical days.

Plans are under way for a private consultation of approximately eighty representatives of the five organizations in Atlanta, Georgia, on March 15 and 16, 1964, starting at 3:00 P.M. on March 15 and ending not later than 4:00 P.M. on March 16. It will be held at the Americana Motor Hotel. You are one of a selected group of women invited to participate in this consultation.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones
Vice President

RPR
3/10/64

Partners for Progress

file

April 1, 1964

C & H Fund, Inc.
c/o Mrs. Cecil A. Alexander
2322 Mt. Paran Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

Mr. Dunbar asked that I acknowledge receipt of the $100. contribution from the C & H Fund for the Partners for Progress Project.

The Council's official receipt is enclosed for your files.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure

CR 100-
3-30-64

C & H Fund, Inc.

C/o

Mrs. Cecil A.
Alexander

2322 Mt. Paran
Road NW

Atlanta, Ga.

Partners for Progress

$1,00 00

3/27/64 Contribution

file: Partners for Progress

April 7, 1964

MEMO TO: RHA

FROM : LWD/slw

RE : Check Issuance

Please issue a check for $348.04 payable to Mrs. Edward M. Vinson. Mrs. Vinson's address is 328 Chelsea Circle, N. E.

This expenditure should be charged to the Atlanta Project and is to cover the cost of newspaper ads.

File: Partners for Progress
cr. ref.: Atlanta Council On Hum. Rels.

April 14, 1964

Mrs. Phern Stanley
525 Avery Street
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Phern:

I have read the copy you sent me of your letter of April 9 to Betty. I suppose you wanted me to see it -- and I am grateful to you for sending it -- because we have been greatly interested in the growth and success of Partners for Progress.

When Partners was getting started, I said to Eliza that it offered a chance, I thought, for a greater outreach of the influence of the Atlanta Council. It seems to me now that the emergency room desegregation at Grady may bear that out, that Partners provided the extra bit of leverage to bring a measure of success to the Atlanta Council's long effort, I think too that when Partners has finished its time, many people will have caught the Atlanta Council spirit.

For it is an organization to help through what we all believe may be the most trying season the South, and Atlanta, have known. I feel sure that Betty will share your own desire to work closely together.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/slw

cc: Betty Vinson
Eliza Paschall

Paul Anthony
Vernon Jordan
Louis Mitchell

April 9, 1964

Mrs. Betty Vinson
Chairman, Steering Committee
Partners for Progress
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Vinson:

As Program Chairman of the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, I am writing to you as Chairman of the Steering Committee of Partners for Progress, concerning the organization of, the purpose of, the program and method of implementing a program or programs of Partners for Progress.

For instance, I have been asked who or what body appoints persons to the Steering Committee of Partners for Progress. Is Partners for Progress a membership organization?

We have the understanding that one facet of undertaking of Partners for Progress is to coordinate both information and plans of and for program of various efforts in the field of human relations in Atlanta. We have received no information as to your plans of implementation or coordination and no inquiries from you about the plans we have for program.

We are glad of the wish to coordinate both information and plans of program of like-minded groups working in the field and are happy to cooperate with any group or groups and shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Phern Stanley
Chairman, Program Committee

PS/jb

cc: Mr. Leslie Dunbar

File "Partners for Progress"

File

Atl. Const. Apr. 21, 1964

There Are Others...

Yes, there are others...

who, like yourself, share a compassionate concern for the right of every human being to live, to work, and to mature in a community that makes its goods, services and opportunities for growth available to all its citizens.

There are others...

who believe, as you do, that Atlanta will reassert her leadership role . . . and that we will achieve positive human relations goals because these goals are *right*, because they are needed, because they are implicit in the word "American."

There are others...

who want, as you do, to help Atlanta attain equal opportunities for all in the specific areas of education, employment, health, housing and public services . . . and who realize that a supporting climate of opinion is vital to their achievement.

Join your own personal good will and desire to act with that of other women and women's organizations . . . come join hands in

File

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303 • Room 503 • Telephone 523-0347

—A coordinating effort by Atlanta women of all faiths and fifteen key women's organizations.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson, Chairman • Mrs. George J. Gunning • Mrs. H. Cooke Hamilton • Mrs. Sidney Q. Janus, Mrs. Fred W. Patterson, Vice Chairmen • Mrs. Hamilton Lokey, Secretary • Mrs. J. R. Wilson Sr., Treasurer • Mrs. Cecil Alexander • Mrs. Edward Askren • Mrs. Dan Burge • Mrs. Donald Ross Green • Mrs. DeJongh Franklin • Mrs. David Neiman • Mrs. Brittain Pendergrast • Mrs. Harry Richardson

TO: PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS
P. O. Box 15238
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Yes, I share your concerns and would like to know more about Partners for Progress.

Name:_____

Address:_____ **Zone**_____

Telephone:_____

Atl. Const - Apr. 21, 1964

"I NEED YOUR MORAL and FINANCIAL SUPPORT"

–George C. Wallace
Governor of Alabama

★ ★ ★

Governor Wallace, champion of constitutional government and States' Rights, has just won a great and far-reaching victory at the polls in Wisconsin.

He now carries **our** fight to the people of Indiana and Maryland . . . with the Wisconsin victory adding muscle and new strength to his campaigns.

He needs your help **NOW.** You can have an important part by sending your contributions. Television, radio and newspaper advertising runs into thousands...every one of your dollars will help carry the message of sanity and freedom to the people of Indiana, Maryland and the Nation.

Governor George C. Wallace
State Capitol Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Governor:

I am proud of you and of the fight you are making for our cause. Here is my $_____ to help you carry the message to the people of Indiana and Maryland. God bless you.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

This Advertisement Paid for by
THE SOUTHERN COMMITTEE TO HELP ELECT THE
NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
Marvin E. Collum, Jr., Treasurer, Jackson, Mississippi

HAMILTON ASSOCIATES 582 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. W., ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA
CONSULTANTS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT · COMMUNITY RELATIONS · RESEARCH · PLANNING

MRS. GRACE T. HAMILTON MURRAY 8-7249

PA ✓
VJ ✓
LM ✓
LD ✓

April 27, 1964

Dear Les :

The enclosed memo is the one I spoke about last evening. It defines the philosophy and the process of PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS . In my opinion it illustrates how the important "middle group" may be constructively involved in the current racial crisis. It provides a channel for the creative energies of those liberals (Negro and white) who while not satisfied with the spectator's role, are not prepared to participate in direct action.

It might be timely for SRC to consider how support might be secured and made available at the community level to prepare for "compliance without compulsion" to the Civil Rights Act.

Good wishes always,

Grace

Grace T. Hamilton

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Sorry not to have copies of all the attachments - copies of advertisements and press comment.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 96 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

Established June 16, 1868

Issued daily except New Year's, July 4, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas. Second-class postage paid at Atlanta, Georgia.

The Atlanta Constitution (morning), and The Atlanta Journal (evening), and The Atlanta Constitution and The Atlanta Journal (Sunday), published by Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., 10 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Georgia.

Home-delivered subscription rates: Morning and Sunday, or evening and Sunday, 1 week, 50c. Morning or evening daily only, 1 week, 30c. Morning, evening and Sunday (13 issues), 1 week, 80c. Subscription prices by mail on request. Single copies: Daily, 5c; Sunday, 20c, plus 3% sales tax on sales and deliveries made within the state of Georgia.

* * * * * *

Rx, Not Race, in Emergency Rooms

Without previous announcement and without ruckus, Grady Hospital officials quietly integrated the emergency rooms at the giant medical center this week.

Female patients now are being treated without regard to race in what once had been the white emergency room, and male patients in the former Negro room.

Certainly racial segregation made the least sense of all in emergency treatment facilities. There had been cases of absurd delay resulting from attendants' trying to determine the race of light-skinned accident victims.

Desegregation of Grady is one of the goals of the Negro community's "Action for Democracy" program. Hospital authorities said the emergency room action was "voluntary."

It makes little difference whether the decision was voluntary, or based on Negro's requests or urging by a Partners for Progress-sponsored letter campaign or recent court decisions on tax-supported hospitals. The point is that the action is right.

Dropping discriminatory bars has proved workable in one small part of the hospital. Now the job should be completed.

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS - PURPOSE - PROJECTS - POTENTIAL

PURPOSE:

The basic philosophy underlying WOMEN FOR PROGRESS and the subsequently organized PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS is the conviction that most Americans share a belief in justice, in fair play and in equal opportunity. The purpose of this movement, therefore, is to develop projects which cultivate awareness of opportunities and provide occasions for action on these basic beliefs.

Such action is evidence of growing public support, which in turn encourages policies and practices by government, business and community agencies to extend equality of opportunity.

PROJECTS - OCCASIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES:

WOMEN FOR PROGRESS - The first project - provided an opportunity for women in leadership roles of organizations to sign an endorsement of a policy statement of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce which urged all Atlanta business to make their goods and services available to all of the public without distinctions based on race or color. Those who signed the scroll of endorsement pledged their economic support to those establishments which accepted the Chamber's position. They promised further to encourage members of their organizations to do likewise. The response to this opportunity was enthusiastic. More than 800 signatures were secured representing the leadership of approximately 100 religious, civic and cultural groups. (Attachment 1)

Subsequently fifteen of the organizations whose leadership participated in the WOMEN FOR PROGRESS Chamber of Commerce project

became officially cooperating groups of Partners for Progress. (List attached). It was organized as a "coordinating effort of individuals and women's organizations to encourage and support the extension of equal opportunity in business, government and community affairs and to influence public opinion to that end".

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS was publicly introduced through a newspaper advertisement which included a blank to be clipped and returned by persons who agreed with the statement of beliefs. (Attachment 2 & 3).

Signators of the WOMEN FOR PROGRESS endorsement and persons who returned the advertisement blank were invited to the "launching meeting" at which by-laws were approved and officers and an executive committee were elected. A second advertisement is resulting in additional names of those who wish to be "Partners". (Attachment 4).

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS immediately undertook two projects - (1). Support for extension of "open" public facilities, (2). Support for the elimination of segregation based on race in the facilities and services of Grady Hospital.

The "Open Facilities" project includes personal letters from PARTNERS to owners and managers of restaurants, hotels and motels whose facilities and services are open to all. This letter "commends and salutes" and states that "since you have made the American way your way of doing business, we will make it our

business to eat or stay with you whenever we can. What's more we will encourage our husbands, our friends and all members of organizations to which we belong to do so regularly and often". Lists of open facilities are distributed to Partners for Progress and to cooperating organizations.

PARTNERS volunteer as visitors to call upon the owners or managers of restaurants, hotels and motels whose practices are not known or uncertain to inquire about present policy and about their attitude towards "compliance without compulsion" if and when Title II of the Civil Rights Bill is passed. The supporting letter goes to all new open places as they are discovered as a result of Partners Visits. (Before embarking, VISITORS attend an orientation session which includes an analysis of the provisions of Title II, discussion of the visiting procedure and reporting system and the choice of places to visit). Two orientation sessions have been held - and 32 visitors have volunteered.

The Grady Hospital project offered an occasion for letters to be written to the responsible officials (members of the Hospital Authority, the County Commissioners and the Emory Medical School) suggesting that racial segregation is inappropriate in the public hospital. More than 243 letters were written. Visits were made to the hospital to see the segregated arrangements of the emergency clinic. Two weeks after the project began, the emergency clinic of Grady Hospital was "quietly integrated". (Attachment 5).

Projects in planning are: education; police; jail conditions and the use of public service programs on radio and television.

POTENTIAL:

The basic commitment to justice and fair play held by a majority of the population of any American community represents a powerful force and one frequently underestimated in the current crisis in race relations. But this potent force must be properly channeled through organized action...especially at a time when it is necessary for southern communities to prepare for "compliance without compulsion".

Response to the opportunities for action presented in the initial projects and the tangible results already obtained bear witness to the latent power of the American belief in justice and fair play. A concommitant value to participants is self-education. Many volunteers in this area first become interested out of a desire to "do for" the underprivileged Negro. But through day-by-day experience they come to understand the true meaning of equality. No other situation provides this opportunity for intellectual and spiritual growth.

FINANCING:

Partners for Progress has received contributions totaling $3500 towards its annual operating costs from local sources (SRC, $1000, Atlanta business, $2500). Individual contributions have

amounted to about $400 as of April 20. Members of the executive committee are indicating the need for financial contributions in personal and organizational contacts. Arrangements have been made for contributions of more than $25.00 to be tax deductible if made to the Southern Regional Council and designated for Partners for Progress.

Have asked Betty Vinnie to debate this section

However, no campaign for financial contributions from co-operating organizations nor from individuals is contemplated. Wide spread participation in program projects is the main objective and diversion of energies in fund raising is inconsistent with this purpose. The organization is geared for one year's intensive public opinion building program. The operating expenses are estimated at $10,000 and proposed program projects at $20,000. Of the total operating and program budget of $30,000, $6400 is in hand. The estimates do not include professional assistance for program development or coordination.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES:

WOMEN FOR PROGRESS had the assistance of a part time professional coordinator, whose small honorium was provided by one of the cooperating organizations. Professional assistance will be required if the potential inherent in the Atlanta situation are to be achieved. It is estimated that a minimum of $6000 is needed to provide part-time professional assistance for program development and coordination.

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

* Organizations officially cooperating:

ATLANTA ARCHDIOCESAN COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN

ATLANTA ASSOCIATION OF UNITED NATIONS

ATLANTA ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

ATLANTA COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN

ATLANTA CHAPTER OF B'NAI B'RITH

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA

DEKALB DEMOCRATS

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

INTERNATIONAL VISITORS COMMITTEE

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF ATLANTA

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN - ATLANTA SECTION

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

* Organizations unofficially cooperating:

EMORY UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB

FULTON COUNTY MEDICAL AUXILIARY

* As of April 10, 1964. We are continuing the process of bringing in organizations.

File
Partners for Progress

April 30, 1964

Mrs. J. R. Wilson, Sr.
Treasurer
Partners for Progress
2989 Collier Road, N. W.
Atlanta 18, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Wilson:

We are very pleased to contribute the enclosed check for $1,000.00 to the educational program of the Partners for Progress.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #3070; $1,000.00)

File
Partners for Progress

May 7, 1964

The Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mayor Allen:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with thanks your letter of May 5, 1964, and the enclosed check for $200.00 for the Atlanta Project; our official receipt is enclosed.

I share in full measure your own high esteem for the wonderful service being given by Partners for Progress to this city.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mrs. Edward Vinson
encl. - 1. (Official receipt)

CITY OF ATLANTA

IVAN ALLEN, JR.
MAYOR

May 5, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

$200.00
CR
RHR
5/7/64

Dear Les:

This is the contribution made from the Allen Foundation through the Southern Regional Council for Partners for Progress.

I would appreciate your advising Mrs. Vinson that you have received this.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.,
Mayor

IAJr/br

Enclosure

File: Partners for Progress

July 9, 1964

Mrs. J. R. Wilson, Sr.
2989 Collier Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Wilson:

At the request of Mrs. Vinson, enclosed is our check for $289.92, rperesenting payment of the balance of contributions received for the educational work of Partners for Progress.

There is a balance of $1,400.61 from the Aaron Norman Fund grant which we continue to hold.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc.
cc: Mrs. Edward M. Vinson

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

FINANCIAL REPORT -July 8, 1964

Expenditures

Telephone	
3-23-64	$50.00
4-30-64	38.32
6-4	21.19
6-15	21.19
	130.70
Cash 5-6-64	25.00
Postage & rental box, 4-7-64	6.95
Postage -4-15-64	5.00
" 5-18	50.00
" 6-1	25.00
7-1	86.95
	8.25
	95.20
Salary	
4-30	171.85
5-18	171.85
6-1	171.85
6-15	171.85
7-1	171.85
	859.25

Printing & Supplies

Eagle Empire 4-30	14.94
Ivan Allen Cp. 5-6	65.36
Patrick Morris -6-4	3.09
Amer. Seal Co. "	3.09
AAA Quick Copy "	3.35
Ivan Allen Co. "	10.02
Eagle Empire "	47.22
	147.07

Balance on hand: $236.28

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303 • Room 503 • Telephone 523-0347

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson, Chairman • Mrs. George J. Gunning • Mrs. H. Cooke Hamilton • Mrs. Sidney Q. Janus
Mrs. Fred W. Patterson, Vice-Chairmen • Mrs. Hamilton Lokey, Secretary • Mrs. J. R. Wilson, Sr., Treasurer
Mrs. Cecil Alexander • Mrs. Edward Askren • Mrs. Dan Burge • Mrs. Donald Ross Green • Mrs. DeJongh Franklin • Mrs. David Neiman • Mrs. Brittain Pendergrast • Mrs. Harry Richardson

July 7, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Attached is a run-down on our expenditure of funds in PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS to date. Since the March every "member" mailing, we have sent only one to all our "supporters." (Attached)

A bulletin reporting on current activities is at the printer now. We shall send you a copy as soon as it is ready.

My understanding is that we have spent only $10.08 of the Hermi Alexander $100 gift (for postage run through your meter in May) and none of Mayor Allen's $200 contribution.

The Phoebe Franklin "ad" money balance, we shall leave intact at the moment--in your care.

If you will send Mrs. J. R. Wilson, Sr. (PFP Treasurer) 2989 Collier Road, N. W. -30318, our balance from the other two gifts, that will help us bridge the gap until we can raise a few more "sheckles."

A follow-up letter to restaurants etc. is in process, as is a letter to public officials in 45 governmental units in the Metropolitan area. Copies will be sent to you.

Sincerely,

Betty H. Vinson

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson
Chairman

Enc/

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

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July 6, 1964

We most cordially invite your attention to an unique educational experience which, no doubt, you have given much thought, but for which, for the first time Federal funds have been made available.

We have been struck with the unusual aspects motivating the provision of these funds. We refer, of course, to the Seminar or Workshop program for teachers as outlined in the attached memorandum.

It is noteworthy that this sharing of educational insight is proposed on a basis which makes it available and voluntary, not mandatory nor prescribed. Moreover, under this program teachers may be compensated for their willingness to expend time in a spirit of compliance rather than under compulsion.

We are confident that you have deliberated on this inevitable transitional phase for education in Metropolitan Atlanta. We consider it our privilege to petition your exploration of this program which can be implemented this summer when the teachers return for school conferences prior to the fall opening.

May we counsel with you at your earliest convenience?

Betty A. Vinson

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson
Chairman

Mrs. Sidney Q. Janus
Vice-President and
Chairman Education
Committee

Enc/

AN OPPORTUNITY OF UNUSUAL PROPORTIONS AND SPECIAL VALUE

FOR THE FIVE COUNTY METROPOLITAN AREA -- JULY 6, 1964

SECTION 404 of the Civil Rights Bill provides for training institutes available immediately to help school personnel with desegregation problems. Now it is strongly possible that such institutes could be planned for the late summer, after summer schools are over, or during the ten extra days teachers must now plan to be in their schools, prior to school opening. Also it is possible that these institutes could go on all during the school year.

SECTION 404 states: "The Commissioner (of Education) is authorized to arrange through grants or contracts with institutions of higher education for the operation of short-term or regular session institutes for special training designed to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation. Individuals who attend such an institute may be paid stipends for the period of their attendance at such institute in amounts specified by the Commissioner in regulations, including allowances for dependents and including allowances for travel to attend such institute."

The Executive Committee of PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS believes that all school personnel would benefit from such a program. Specific training to deal with segregation problems is really basic training which could be invaluable to all teachers and which could enhance school personnel service to students and to the community at no extra cost to the school system.

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS
41 Exchange Place, S. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tel. 523-0347

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July 6, 1964

Dear Partner:

We are writing to you because you have indicated a committment to the purpose of PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS. As you may know, we have been trying to survey hotels, motels and restaurants to express our support of those which are open to all, and to determine which ones would comply with requirements of the new Civil Rights Law.

Government and civic leaders in Atlanta (which includes the whole five county Metropolitan area in the eyes of the nation) are anxious to move ahead with a minimum of resistance which would lead to demonstrations. For the incorporated City of Atlanta to do this successfully, the cooperation of proprietors in the surrounding areas is necessary.

Enclosed is a leaflet summarizing the public accomodations section of the Civil Rights Bill and a set of directions which has been used by Atlanta PARTNERS calling on hotels and restaurants. If you are able to help call on proprietors in your area, more information can be sent you if you will call the office, 523-0347.

Your help at this point would be invaluable.

Sincerely yours,

Betty A. Vinson

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson
Chairman

Enc/

This went to over 100 women in these areas outside Atlanta which lie within the 5 county metro. area.

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June 8, 1964

MEMO:

TO: PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS-- AND OPEN FACILITIES COMMITTEE

FROM: Hermi Alexander --- Margy Manchester) Chairmen and
Jane Branch --- Grace Hamilton) Recorders

Thus comes first of all to thank you who have helped as Visitors in PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS' Open Facilities Committee.

Also, it comes to tell you that additional visitors are needed. We hope that those who already made visits may be willing to find a "Partner" and make a few additional visits. We hope that others who have been unable to help in this way heretofore will also find a partner and accept some assignments. Only twelve teams, each visiting three or four places will enable us to complete our goal by the end of June.

As you know, the purposes of our visits are to assure places whose services are available to all of the public of our patronage and support and to express our conviction about the importance to the common welfare of our community that there be "compliance without compulsion" when Title II and III of the pending Civil Rights legislation becomes the law of the land.

A letter has been sent to all proprietors of places we expect to visit, along with the leaflet about facts of Title II and III, which pave the way for the visiting Partners.

If you are able to be a visitor during the next few weeks, please call Margaret Richards (523-0347) and assignment cards will be mailed to you. We hope you will be willing to visit and to mail the return cards promptly. Please notify her too, if you are unable to complete your visits.

The enclosed clipping reminds us that our efforts are important!

Visitors who have not attended an orientation session may find the Outline for Procedure helpful. Ask for it when you call for assignment.

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

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Mrs. Cecil Alexander • Mrs. Edward Askren • Mrs. Dan Burge • Mrs. Donald Ross Green • Mrs. DeJongh Franklin • Mrs. David Neiman • Mrs. Brittain Pendergrast • Mrs. Harry Richardson

June 1, 1964

Letter sent to list of restaurants, hotels + motels belonging to Chamber of Commerce.

"Just the facts, M'am...just the facts..."

Not too long ago, that phrase became a household catchword because most people tend to "sound off" on any given subject without being quite sure of what the facts are.

The enclosed leaflet will help you get the facts on the Civil Rights Bill now pending before Congress. It explains the most discussed sections, Titles II and III, dealing with Public Accomodations and Public Facilities...the two Titles which pertain directly to your business.

We believe it is good business to do business in the American way...to serve all who wish service with courtesy and fairness. You may be reassured to know that responsible Atlantans believe so too...and will support you by dining at your restaurant as often as they can.

If you are one of the many fine Atlanta restauranteurs who has already opened your doors to all of the public, we salute you! If not, we hope you be encouraged to do so soon...secure in the knowledge that what you are about to do is not only right, it is implicit in the word "American".

We look forward to eating in your restaurant in the near future, so that we may talk with you about this further.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson
Chairman

Enc/

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Enclosed are copies of a letter and summary regarding certain education provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

These went to all Superintendents and board of education members in the eight Metropolitan School Systems.

This mailing is a first step follow-up of the PFP Education Committee meeting on June 23.

Leah Janus, Chairman
Education Committee

Mr. Dunbar -

I am unable to reach Mrs. Wilson for the latest financial report to include now, but will call her in the morning and have it mailed to you.

Margaret Richards

OUTLINE OF PROCEDURE

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS OPEN FACILITIES COMMITTEE

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS' Open Facilities Committee has three purposes:

1. To encourage patronage and increase support for all proprietors whose places of business are open to all the public. (Restaurants, hotels, motels).

2. To determine the policy of places whose policy is presently unknown and to assure the proprietor of PARTNERS' intent to encourage patronage of places open to all.

3. To express PARTNERS' conviction of the importance to the welfare of our community that all business covered under Title II and III of the pending Civil Rights legislation comply promptly and without compulsion to the law of the land when the legislation is passed.

ALL PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS contribute to the first purpose by themselves eating at these places and by encouraging their husbands, friends and members of organizations to which they belong to eat and stay at places open to all. (See April 11th list of "Open Facilities").

VISITORS are PARTNERS who agree to help on purposes (2) and (3) above.

VISITORS take assignment cards on which the place of business, address and proprietor's name are listed. The assignment cards include space to record answers to the questions, such as, "The facility is--or--is not open to all; the owner expects to comply; does not expect to comply when legislation is passed." Also, date of visit and signature of VISITORS.

The following suggestions are based on experience:

Most PARTNERS prefer to visit as a team of two. It is sometimes helpful to telephone ahead to be sure that the proprietor or responsible manager is available.

Plan to visit before 11:30 a. m. or after 1:30 p. m. Begin the visit by explaining that PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS includes members of organizations who wish to be customers of places whose services are open to all of the public. Since the policy of the place being visited is not known, this visit is to find out whether PARTNERS can be free to eat here and to encourage their friends to do so.

If the answer is "yes" (open to all) the VISITORS express their satisfaction and promise to encourage patronage. If the answer is "no" VISITORS express the hope that the policy will be changed in the interest of the city's welfare, when the public accomodations titles become the law.

Plan to eat after the policy is known! When the visit is over, complete the assignment card, date, sign and mail promptly to recorders.

COMMUNICATIONS: Before and after VISITS:

A factual summary of the provisions of Titles II and III has been sent to all businesses which will be visited. Letters pledging support of PFP are sent to proprietors as reports indicate an open policy. Revised lists will be distributed to PFP from time to time, so that all may encourage patrongge and become customers of places with an "open" policy.

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303 · Room 503 · Telephone 523-0347

NEWS OF OPPORTUNITIES AND OCCASIONS TO SHARE IN PROGRESS

EDUCATION: The PFP Board will meet Thursday, May 21, to develop detailed education plans and to decide whether or not to undertake PFP support of the scholarship program for summer schools. Meantime, you may wish to help as an individual or through your organizations.

Free summer school will be available in Atlanta for all 18 schools on double session during the immediate past school year. This applies mostly to grades 1 through 3. Students not on double session will have to pay a registration fee of $20.00 ($25.00 after June 5). The Atlanta League of Women Voters is sponsoring a drive for donations so that children who cannot afford this fee will be able to attend.

Contributions should be sent to Mrs. G. Ray Mitchell, 3986 Club Drive, N. E., Atlanta 30319. Many children in deprived areas (who have the least opportunity for stimulation and learning at home during summer months) cannot take advantage of summer school without financial help. School principals will select the students. You may designate that you want your contribution to go for white or Negro students, or for a particular age group.

VISITATION PROGRAM: If you would like to join the group calling on restaurants and hotels to help in the PFP survey of attitude and status regarding serving all the public, please call

Mrs. Margy Manchester -- CE 7-6607
or
Mrs. Cecil Alexander -- CE 7-2812
or
PFP Office -- Miss Margaret Richards -- 523-0347

About 30 women are working now, and it is not too late to join this effort.

NO! WE DID NOT .....

take any position on the May 6 liquor referendum. PFP by-laws prohibit our taking action as a body to support or oppose legislations candidates or referendum matters. Because the sponsoring group of the referendum called itself "Citizens for Progress" there was some confusion about our position. We do believe and work for service in bars (as well as restaurants, hotels, motels and other food service facilities), being available to all without discrimination based on race, creed or national origin.

ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATING TO DATE

Note: We have new information and forms for use by organizations or groups interested in cooperating with PFP. Call the office if you wish this material

* Organizations officially cooperating:

ATLANTA ARCHDIOCESAN COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
ATLANTA ASSOCIATION OF UNITED NATIONS
ATLANTA ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
ATLANTA COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN
ATLANTA CHAPTER OF B'NAI B'RITH
ATLANTA DENTAL AUXILIARY
COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA
EMORY UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB
GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
INTERNATIONAL VISITORS COMMITTEE
JACK AND JILL -- ATLANTA CHAPTER
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF ATLANTA
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN -- ATLANTA SECTION
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
THE LINKS
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

* Organizations unofficially cooperating:

DEKALB DEMOCRATS
DRUID HILLS ART COUNCIL
FULTON COUNTY MEDICAL AUXILIARY

* As of May 8, 1964. We are continuing the process of bringing in organizations.

File: Partners for Progress

July 20, 1964

Mrs. Sidney Q. Janus
1435 West Wesley Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Janus:

On behalf of the Partners for Progress, the Southern Regional Council, Inc., acknowledges with gratitude your contribution of $25. toward its Atlanta project.

The Council's official receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Receipt $25.)

cc: Mrs. Edward M. Vinson

Mrs. Sidney Q. Janus
1435 West Wesley Road, N.W.
30327

July 17, 1964.

Gentlemen:

I would like to make the enclosed contribution to assist in the work of Partners for Progress.

Yours sincerely,
Leah A. Janus
(Mrs. Sidney Q.)

7/20/64
$25.00 CK
RHA

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

July 20, 1964

Patterson Barclay Memorial Foundation
1020 Spring Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

On behalf of the Partners for Progress, the Southern Regional Council, Inc. acknowledges with gratitude the $500. contribution from the Patterson Barclay Memorial Foundation toward its Atlanta Project.

The Council's official receipt is enclosed for your files.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Receipt $500.)

cc: Mrs. Edward M. Vinson

Recd 12/21/64

PA/VI

SW-file

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303 • Room 503 • Telephone 523-0347

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Mrs. Cecil Alexander • Mrs. Edward Askren • Mrs. Dan Burge • Mrs. Donald Ross Green • Mrs. DeJongh Franklin • Mrs. David Neiman • Mrs. Brittain Pendergrast • Mrs. Harry Richardson

December 19, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunber, Director
Southern Regional Council
5Forsyth Street Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les,

Enclosed is a copy of our financial statement, representing the fruits of my Christmas season pre-occupation, and a copy of a letter to Phoebe Franklin.

I really have no idea whether or not shee will agree to my suggestion about writing off the $500 advance lent to us in November. My only other hopes are Mrs. Fred Patterson, who will let me know Wednesday how much they can put into the effort-having already put in $500.00 and Ivan Allen. I am not going to ask Mr. Oliver to help cover the past, but to finance us between now and the end of March.

I am definitely going to work for Jim Mackay-fuhl time, and this will preclude my being chairman of Partners. The Executive Committee can appoint one to finish the term, and we have the chairmen and the committees for the interim work. I am sure the workers will be found too. We are just not bothering people until after the holidays.

Thanks so much for all your advice and patience AND financial help. I'll keep in touch, and I hope you will call me when I can perhaps be of some help in the "new office".

Best wishes,

Betty

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson

Home Telephone: 377-3780

December 19, 1964

Mrs. DeJengh Franklin
1585 West Paces Ferry Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

Dear Phoebe,

There is just too much to tell over the phone, and besides, you need the figures; so here is the "hot dope" I am sending everyone. Pardon the rather messy typing. I'm strictly an amateur.

As you will see, we owe the Norman fund the $500.00 you advanced us in November. I have a proposal for you to consider.

As you will see from the finance report, the expenses directly connected with forwarding the purpose of PFP are these:

NEWSLETTER.....	$318.66
POSTAGE.....	386.45
Special printings	83.62
	$ 788.73

How would it be if you could write off $500.00 of this from the fund? The bills, of course, are paid, so we do not actually owe the money to anyone but the fund. The $300 from the Georgia Council can be a gift if we cannot raise the $300.00

The money is coming in slowly from the 150 letters I sent out on November 7 and 8; but not in enough volume to do any more than pay the telephone and other tiny bills.

Sonia Kuniansky and Leah are gathering information on the culturally deprived child ren projects; but I cannot give you any budget yet.

We are no longer employing Margaret, and I do not anticipate doing so unless Mr. Oliver or someone is willing to underwrite this. I shall see him on Monday, probably with Hermie.

(More)

For the program we agreed on at the December meeting, the minimum budget would be as follows:

Telphone Dec. thru March.....	$87.24
Postage for 3 mailings to all supporters	156.00
Newsletters (three).....	180.00
Fact sheets for school campaign.....	10.00
Postage for school campaign ..	15.00
Court observation program: Fact sheets and Report forms.....	30.00
	$478.24 NOTE below
*Cost of PFP workshop on attitude aids for teachers and parents in integrated schools.....	500.00
	$978.24

* We decided to do this in September and again on Dec. 1, at the Biltmore meeting. I have had the Atlanta area colleges and Universities written re. their having such programs in their regular adult, non-credit programs. To date we have heard from Georgia State and Emory. Both will have programs in the Spring, for which we could recruit attendance and perhaps pay scholarships. Leah may have heard from others by now. But we may find we do not need to do our own workshop.

I am disappointed at how long it is taking to get any specific information on the day care programs for the deprived children. Even John Hungblut is relying on us to get the facts.

NOTE: I am sure there will be some miscellaneous costs. We have supplies on hand for letters and mailings, but not for unforseen "things".

Am so sorry this has turned into a nuisance for you, instead of a pleasure; but I am positive we can find a good place for the $1050 balance in the fund. When we met at Herren's last Monday, I did not ask you because you said you wanted to steer clear for the moment. Hermie can give you all the details; but everyone , except Les, was quite sure we should continue. I am looking for a "home" for us, with a financial roof and independence for PFP. Tentatively, we are thinking about the National Conference of Christians and Jews,with PFP being an Ad Hoc committee with its own identification.

Happy Holidays,

Betty Turner

"PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS": FINANCIAL REPORT

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES FROM MARCH 1964 THROUGH DECEMBER 21, 1964

INCOME

Individual contributions directly to PFP	$995.00
Individual contributions through SRC	950.00
Contribution from Southern Regional Council	1000.00
Norman fund to SRC for PFP projects	2500.00
	$5,445.00
Special from Ga. Council to M. Richards (for balance of Nov. salary and withholding)	300.00
	5,745.00

EXPENDITURES

A1) Salary less with-holdings	$2,209.65
A2) With-holdings (I.T. and Sec. Sec.)	365.70
B) Telephone	278.90*
C) Postage	386.45
D) NEWSLETTER	318.66
E) Special printings for Grady and Public Accomodations projects	83.62
F) Miscellaneous: School personnel directory and summer school scholarship	8.75
G) Office supplies	108.63
H) Bank Charges	9.18
Spent directly by PFP	$3, 769.54

AD CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES FROM NORMAN FUND

AD # ONE	$348.04
AD # TWO	601.35
	$949.39

Total in Norman fund	$2500.00
Less AD cost	949.39
"Theoretical" balance	$1550.61
Less advance to PFP (10/64)	500.00
Actual balance	$1050. 61 (On hand at SRC.)

DEBTS

$500.00... owed Norman fund for operation advance on Nov. 10
168.00... to Betty Vinson for Oct. 1 thru 15th salary paid to M. Richards.

$668.00
300.00..... Paid to M. Richards for Nov. salary. We'd like to repay this.

$986.00

* $50.00 of this telephone cost is the original deposit which is refundable.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

March 4, 1965

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

March 1, 1964 to February 28, 1965

ATLANTA PROJECT - PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

RECEIPTS

Aaron E. Norman Fund	$ 2,500.00	
Allen Foundation	200.00	
C & H Fund	200.00	
Patterson-Barclay Memorial Foundation	750.00	
Mrs. Sidney Q. Janus	25.00	
Mrs. Herman Heyman	25.00	
Sears, Roebuck and Company (Mr. L. E. Oliver)	250.00	
Total Receipts		$ 3,950.00

DISBURSEMENTS

(from Aaron E. Norman Fund)

Printing of Newspaper Ad	(4/64)	$ 348.04	
Newspaper Advertisement	(5/64)	601.35	
		$ 949.39	
Partners for Progress	(7/64)	500.00	
Total			$ 1,449.39

$ 2,500.00
- 1,449.39
$ 1,050.61

P. for Progress
File "Partners for Progress"

April 5, 1965

Mrs. Hamilton Lokey
737 Woodward Way, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Lokey:

Mr. Dunbar asked that I acknowledge on behalf of the Council receipt of the $100. check from Partners for Progress received April 1, 1965.

Thank you and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Receipt $100.)

4/1/65 100.00 MP

RHA

MRS. HAMILTON LOKEY
737 WOODWARD WAY NORTH WEST
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30327

Dear Dr. Dunbar

Enclosed is a check for $100.00 from Partners for Progress. Betty Vinson asked me to send this to the Council as a refund on money originally loaned us for our use.

Thank you.

Muriel M. Lokey

March 31, '65

Ack. Acknowledge

Memo from **RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER**

150.00 - 3/13

789.92

10.08

350.00

1450 —

130000

250

1550000

1550

1449.39

2999.39

348.04

601.35

500.00

1449.39

2500.00

1449.39

1050.61

PA ✓
VJ ✓
SB ✓
mj - file

To: Women for Progress - file - "WO" Gen. Corresp

From: Grace T. Hamilton - Coordinator

Report of developments:

Following the meeting on Nov. 13 at which the WOMEN FOR PROGRESS' scroll and endorsing signatures was presented to the Board of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, a policy statement was released by the Chamber reaffirming its earlier position and adding "...in the areas of service to the general public and in employment opportunities, the Chamber of Commerce believes that the business community, voluntarily and without legislation or other pressure, should immediately begin to eliminate discrimination based upon race or color, in those areas where such discrimination exists....."

The Atlanta Board of Aldermen at a regular meeting on Nov. 18, refused to act upon a resolution introduced by Aldermen Cook, Fowlkes and Freeman calling for the voluntary elimination of discrimination based on race or color in places of business serving the public, and referred the proposed resolution to committee. A public hearing on this matter is planned by the chairman of the committee, Mr. Cecil Turner.

It has been suggested that the individuals and groups associated in Women for Progress' endorsement of the Chamber's policy and of bussinessmen who have recognized their responsibility to our city may wish to express their concern to the Board of Aldermen.

Letters or wires should —

(1) call attention to the crucial importance of official recognition by Atlanta's elected representatives that discrimination based on race or color is detrimental to the progress, and welfare of our city and is contrary to good public policy;

(2) urge prompt action by the Board of Aldermen to clarify the official position of the city's government upon the elimination of discriminatory practices based on race by business serving the public in our city.

Messages should be sent to the President of the Board of Aldermen for the Board's attention and to the chairman of the Legislative Committee.

Mr. Sam Massell, Jr., President Atlanta Board of Aldermen;
40 Pryor Street, S. W.
Mr. Cecil Turner, Chairman Legislative Committee;
Office: 530 Candler Building
Res.: 1779 Merton Road, N. E.

REMINDER: Meeting Women's Coordinating Committee - Dec. 3, 11 a.m.
YWCA - 72 Edgewood Avenue, N. E.

Return, ~~[illegible]~~ as soon as read — I have only 3 copies. — M E. J. —

file

Partners for Progress — Atlanta, Georgia

Fact Sheet on Grady Hospital Desegregation

1. The attached names and addresses belong to Public Officials who are responsible for the operation of the Henry Grady Hospital.

2. Please write a minimum of four letters, preferably to the underscored names, (more if you like, or if you know any of the men personally) in your own words. Your letters can say the same thing (since they will be going to different people) and they can be as short as you desire.

3. It is important that you make a carbon of each one of your letters. Even though you may write in longhand, a ballpoint pen makes a perfectly legible copy.

4. Return your copies to your telephone chairman. It is most urgent that we have a record of how many letters have been sent. Your letters will not be made public; neither will your name.

5. Keep your letters simple and to the point. We are asking that Grady Hospital, a public, tax-supported institution be desegregated. We believe that all forms of segregation are immoral. But segregation in hospital facilities, treatment and training of medical personnel are particularly reprehensible. Illness knows no color line. The segregated set-up at Grady results in enormous duplication and waste of human and economic resources, as well as embarrassment and inconvenience to members of both races.

Two examples give ample illustration of the above point:

(1) Grady operates two entirely separate Emergency Clinics. Often, one of the Clinics (either White or Negro) is standing idle, while patients desperately in need of emergency medical attention await their turn, sometimes for hours in a never-ending line. Wouldn't everyone receive better medical care if all emergencies were treated on a "first-come, first-served" basis.

(2) Even the switchboard at Grady functions on a color line. You have probably heard of the anxious mother whose child had just swallowed some Turpentine. The mother frantically phoned the Grady Poison Clinic and said, "My three-year old has just swallowed Turpentine. What do I do?" The answer came back matter-of-factly, "White or colored?" Fantastic as this sounds, it is repeated in hundreds of daily calls to the hospital.

6. If you wish to follow up your letters with a telephone call, we have furnished telephone numbers for your convenience. We wish to state what we are for -- not to berate any particular individual for what he may be against.

7. If you have time, and wish to do so, please send a "Letter to the Editor" (either The Constitution or The Journal) on this subject. It would be most helpful. However, our main purpose at this time is to let our Public Officials (who should be responsive to public opinion) know how we feel.

Read the sheet of instructions first and write a letter to each of these 4 men -- give me a carbon copy of each. Mrs. M. E. Tilly

1. <u>The Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority</u>

   W. O. Duvall, Chairman 22 Marietta St., N.W. 523-8421

2. <u>The Fulton County Commissioner</u>

   Harold F. McCart, Chairman Bus: 1112 Peachtree St., N.E. 874-6314
   Res: 1619 Lady Marion Lane, N.E. 876-6951

3. <u>The DeKalb County Commissioner</u>

   Charles O. Emmerich, Chairman Bus: DeKalb Bldg. Decatur DR 3-5731
   Res: 2399 Clairmont Rd., NE ME 4-3265

4. Dr. Sanford G. Atwood, President Emory University*
   1380 S. Oxford Rd., N.E. 377-2411

* Emory University is responsible for Medical Training at Grady.

-file

WE BELIEVE . . .

. . . in the possibilities of growth for a greater Atlanta and of individual citizens in Atlanta.

WE ARE COMMITTED . . .

. . . to the belief that every citizen of Atlanta can and must be extended the same opportunities.

WE ARE AWARE . . .

. . . that all women are deeply concerned that every child in Atlanta be allowed and encouraged to grow up in a climate of good will, and an atmosphere of calm acceptance of the responsibility of being a good citizen.

WE ARE CONCERNED . . .

. . . that Atlanta learn from the experiences of other cities, both the good experiences and the bad. We are even more concerned that Atlanta become the city where every child and every adult have an equal opportunity . . . and that this be done because it is right.

WE ARE ENCOURAGED . . .

. . . that many of Atlanta's leading citizens, that the leading merchants and businesses, that many of the finest restaurants have recognized and assumed their responsibility of making their services available to ALL citizens of Atlanta.

WE JOIN HANDS . . .

. . . in asking other women to declare their belief in opportunities for all, in urging our churches, our civic organizations and the business interests of Atlanta to remove the barriers that keep any citizen from full participation in the community that is Atlanta.

WE HAVE FAITH . . .

. . . in Atlanta, in its future, in the ability of Atlanta to act because of the rightness of full citizenship.

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

(ATLANTA WOMEN OF ALL FAITHS WHO SUBSCRIBE TO THE FOREGOING PRINCIPLES)

STEERING COMMITTEE

Mrs. Cecil Alexander
Mrs. Dan Burge
Mrs. Van P. Enloe
Mrs. DeJongh Franklin
Mrs. Donald Ross Green
Mrs. George Gunning
Mrs. Henry Cook Hamilton
Mrs. Sidney Janus
Mrs. Hamilton Lokey
Mrs. Phil Narmore
Mrs. David Neiman
Mrs. Fred W. Patterson
Mrs. John Patton
Mrs. Brittain Pendergrast
Mrs. Harry V. Richardson
Mrs. H. B. Trimble
Mrs. Edward M. Vinson
Mrs. J. R. Wilson, Sr.

TO: Partners For Progress
P. O. Box 15238
Atlanta, Georgia, 30333

I, too, am committed to the above principles. I would like to join hands with you.

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

August 6, 1959

Miss Lillian Schorr
Secretary to Mr. Lloyd Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
N ew York 22, New York

Dear Miss Schorr:

We have checked our mailing list and, I trust, Mr. Garrison will henceforth receive only one copy of our materials.

Thank you for calling this matter to our attention.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 8-5600

CABLE: LONGSIGHT, N.Y.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON*
SIMON H. RIFKIND
ROBERT E. SAMUELS
JOHN F. WHARTON
LLOYD K. GARRISON
MYER D. MERMIN
HOWARD A. SEITZ
H. RUSSELL WINOKUR
SAMUEL J. SILVERMAN
ALEXANDER HEHMEYER
ADRIAN W. DEWIND
W. WILLARD WIRTZ*
CAROLYN E. AGGER**
LOUIS EISENSTEIN
MORDECAI ROCHLIN
PAUL J. NEWLON
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JAMES B. LEWIS
SIDNEY R. NUSSENFELD
MARTIN KLEINBARD
RICHARD H. PAUL
WILLIAM McC. BLAIR, JR.*
NEWTON N. MINOW*
NORMAN ZELENKO
JOHN E. MASSENGALE

*MEMBER ILL. BAR ONLY
**MEMBER D.C. BAR ONLY

IN CHICAGO
STEVENSON, RIFKIND & WIRTZ
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET

IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
STEVENSON, PAUL, RIFKIND,
WHARTON & GARRISON
1614 EYE STREET, N.W.

ARTHUR J. COHEN
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

July 30, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I believe I have written you once before, advising that Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison's name evidently appears twice on your mailing list because we get duplicate envelopes of everything you send out. Just today two envelopes arrived from your office (8¢ postage on each) with the identical enclosures.

Wouldn't you like to correct your mailing list and show his name just once?

Very truly yours,

Lillian Schorr

Lillian Schorr
Secretary to Mr. Garrison

via air mail

September 30, 1959

Mr. Lloyd Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Garrison:

For some time now, I have very much wanted to have an opportunity to talk with you (without benefit of an agenda!) about our various mutual interests. I am to be in New York Wednesday and Thursday of next week, October 7 and 8, and am hoping that you may have time to see me on one of those days.

I realize that you are hard pressed and will be prepared to how to whatever time limit your schedule may require.

In any case, I will call your secretary Wednesday morning to see what is possible.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

via air mail

October 2, 1959

Miss Lillian Schorr
Secretary to Mr. Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Schorr:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of last Wednesday.

As it happens, I am to be in New York on Friday the 9th, but didn't mention it since I will be in meetings most of the day. However, I will be free between 11:30 and 12:30 or 1:00. If Mr. Garrison should happen to be free at the same time, I will be grateful for an appointment.

In the likely event that there is not time for a reply to reach me before my departure Tuesday evening, I will call Wednesday morning.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON
575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 8-5600
CABLE: LONGSIGHT, N.Y.

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WILLIAM McC. BLAIR, JR.*
NEWTON N. MINOW*
NORMAN ZELENKO
JOHN E. MASSENGALE

*MEMBER ILL. BAR ONLY
**MEMBER D.C. BAR ONLY

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IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
STEVENSON, PAUL, RIFKIND,
WHARTON & GARRISON
1614 EYE STREET, N.W.

ARTHUR J. COHEN
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1948-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

RECEIVED OCT 2 1959

October 1, 1959

AIR MAIL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Garrison has your letter of September 30 and asked me to tell you that unfortunately he will be in Chicago on October 6, 7 and 8. But he is quite anxious to talk with you, and if there is a possibility that you will be in New York on the 9th, or will be coming back in the very near future, he would like very much to hear from you.

Very truly yours,

Lillian Schorr

Lillian Schorr
Secretary to Mr. Garrison

January 4, 1961

Mr. Adrian W. DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue, N
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. DeWind:

Here are copies of some of the material on economics and racial problems that we have prepared and/or distributed. Most of these items went to chambers of commerce and other business leaders, newspaper editors, "open school" advocates in the major Southern cities, and the like.

The most comprehensive effort thus far was that made by the Little Rock Women's Emergency Committee. Both the full report and a summary (in our mimeographed report L-11) are enclosed.

I will look forward to hearing what you and Thurgood work out, and will be glad to be of any help I can.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Enclosures:

Settling a Sit-in, Westfeldt
Reprint from the Nashville Tennessean "New Factories Thing of Past in Little Rock", May 31, 1959
The South and the Nation, Collins
"The Role of Business Leaders, NEW SOUTH, May 1956 Opie L. Shelton
L-Reports nos:2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 18, 19, 21, and 22.
Private Business and Public Education in the South, Helen Hill Miller - July-August 1960
Little Rock Report; The City, Its People, Its Business - The Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools - Littl Rock, Ark.

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON
575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 8-5600
CABLE: LONGSIGHT, N.Y.

Rec'd
12-23-60

ADLAI E. STEVENSON*
SIMON H. RIFKIND
ROBERT E. SAMUELS
JOHN F. WHARTON
LLOYD K. GARRISON
MYER D. MERMIN
HOWARD A. SEITZ
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NORMAN ZELENKO
JOHN E. MASSENGALE
JAY H. TOPKIS
EDWARD N. COSTIKYAN

*MEMBER ILL. BAR ONLY

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1625 EYE STREET, N.W.

ARTHUR J. COHEN
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

December 19, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for your letter of December 15. Your ideas and recommendations will be very useful to us. When Thurgood and I have had a chance to pursue it a little further, I will let you know what we are doing. In the meantime, if you have a file on Little Rock, Norfolk and the like that you could lend me so that I could copy any items that might help us, I will take very good care of it and return it to you promptly.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Adrian W. DeWind

Adrian W. DeWind

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON
575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 8-5600
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ARTHUR J. COHEN
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

Ernest Rubenstein
John G Simon

January 6, 1961

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks very much for the material you sent me. I have been trying to get hold of Thurgood to complete our plans, but he is a hard man to find these days. I will let you know as soon as I catch up with him.

Sincerely,

Adrian W. DeWind

Adrian W. DeWind

via air mail special March 7, 1961

Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Garrison:

Enclosed is a copy of the Charter of the Southern Regional Council, as requested this afternoon by Mrs. Levy of the Taconic Foundation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1. (SRC Charter)

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLY REFER TO
T:R:EO:3
RFB

MAR 22 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This is in reference to a letter dated December 14, 1961, from Mr. Adrian W. DeWind, Attorney, New York City, in which he requests in your behalf a ruling that your present exemption from Federal income tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code will not be adversely affected by the voter registration program you propose to undertake.

The information available for our use in considering your request includes that furnished at a conference held in the National Office of the Internal Revenue Service on January 31, 1962, between our representatives and Mr. Harold C. Fleming and Mr. Adrian W. DeWind, as well as that presented by Mr. DeWind in his letter of February 9, 1962.

The purpose of the program called Project is to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register. Inasmuch as there are various agencies and groups actively engaged in and staffed for work in voter registration areas, you do not propose to have Project do the field work itself. Rather, you believe that such work can be done most economically and effectively by organizations experienced therein. Accordingly, Project will grant funds and provide consultants for approved voter registration programs conducted by these organizations. In this connection, it appears that Project intends to support a variety of programs: Some involving voter education on an individual basis; some on a group or meeting basis; some working primarily through church organizations; others through community or civic groups. So long as a program is practicable and appears effectively designed to secure voter registration, does not unduly duplicate any other approved program, meets the conditions of Project and will be useful as a source of research, knowledge and experience, it may be considered for approval.

Programs of the cooperating organizations must be submitted to and approved by Project before any grant is made. Basically, approval will be limited to organizations which in your opinion have a background, experience, knowledge and personnel fitted to carry out the work of Project. No program will be approved which does not provide that the program, its employees and agents will refrain from any partisan political propaganda or activity aimed at influencing legislation or supporting any political party or the campaign of any candidate for election to public office. Further, cooperating organizations will be required to submit a proposed detailed budget of their programs, to establish and maintain separate accounting records for Project funds, and to conduct the Project program separately and apart from any of their other activities which are not exclusively charitable or educational. The Project staff will visit and work with the cooperating organizations in the field and the staff will also have the right at any time to examine the pertinent accounting records of each cooperating organization. You intend by such supervision to assure that any misuse of Project funds would come almost immediately to the attention of the Project Director. Furthermore, since payments on the grant to each cooperating organization will be made quarterly, the possibility of cancelling the unpaid balance of the grant will serve as a sanction against the diversion of funds by these organizations from their Project-approved programs.

In addition to the above activities, it is indicated that Project will be used to obtain reports of the programs from the cooperating organizations. The reports will disclose in detail information with respect to the activities, areas of operation, public response, problems encountered, solutions developed and results of the programs. The programs will be analyzed and additional independent research in the matter will be conducted by the Project staff and your research department. After Project has been completed, you intend to publish a report, analysis and evaluation of the programs.

We have concluded that, if you operate Project strictly in accordance with the representations made by Mr. DeWind in his letters of December 14, 1961 and February 9, 1962, the

activity will not adversely affect your present exemption from Federal income tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Code. In this connection, it is requested that you submit with your annual information return, Form 990-A, a statement in duplicate disclosing full details with respect to your operation of Project during the year covered by the return. The statement should include among other things a complete description of the activities of Project during the year, how the programs of the cooperating organizations are being conducted, the name of each cooperating organization and the amount of the grant made by you to each organization. There is enclosed a copy of this ruling which should be attached to the information return when it is filed.

The District Director of Internal Revenue, Atlanta, Georgia, is being notified of this action.

Very truly yours,

John W S Littleton

Director, Tax Rulings Division

Enclosure:
Copy of this ruling.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1963.

GARRISON IS FETED BY REFORM GROUP

Eleanor Roosevelt Award Given by Democrats

By RICHARD P. HUNT

Lloyd K. Garrison, a lawyer and champion of liberal causes, received the first annual Eleanor Roosevelt Political and Public Service Memorial Award last night for "efforts for the cause of good government."

Adlai E. Stevenson, the United States representative in the United Nations, made the presentation in behalf of the New York Committee for Democratic Voters, which had established the award in memory of Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Garrison was associated with Mrs. Roosevelt and others in forming the Committee for Democratic Voters, an organization of reform Democrats set up in 1958 to fight the old-line regulars in the Democratic party.

He also has been chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, a member of the National War Labor Board, and an officer of the National Urban League. He is now a member of the New York City Board of Education.

700 at Dinner

The award, a photograph of Mrs. Roosevelt in a silver frame inscribed with a citation, was presented at a dinner for about 700 persons in the Americana hotel.

The citation said Mr. Garrison's "devotion to and efforts for the cause of good government splendidly reflect those ideals and principles which dominated the mind and heart of Mrs. Roosevelt."

Mr. Stevenson is the chairman of an 18-member group appointed by President Kennedy to further the aims of Mrs. Roosevelt, who died last Nov. 7 at the age of 78.

In an address prepared for delivery at the dinner, Mr. Garrison said:

"Eleanor Roosevelt was the greatest human being I have ever known. To have my name linked with hers, even for a single fugitive moment, is a breathtaking experience."

Friends Review Life

However, he had another experience last night, when seven friends surprised Mr. Garrison by relating the part he had played in their lives. The program was patterned after the television show, "This Is Your Life."

Marc Connelly, the playwright, was master of ceremonies for the review of Mr. Garrison's career. The others who spoke were Senator Gaylord A. Nelson, Democrat of Wisconsin; Newton N. Minow, chairman of the Federal Communciations Commission; Langston Hughes, poet and playwright; Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College; Emily Kimbrough, author, and Charles Kinsolving, Democratic leader of the First Assembly District North.

Dore Schary, motion picture producer, read a tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt. Messages from former Governor Herbert H. Lehman and Fel Frankfurter, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, conveyed their congratulations to Mr. Garrison.

Among the guests were Judge Thurgood Marshall of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Senator Frank E. Moss, Democrat of Utah, Mrs. Marietta Tree, a special adviser to Ambassador Stevenson, Burke Marshall, chief of the civil rights division of the Justice Department, and William H. McKeon, the Democratic state chairman.

Civil Rights Champion

Lloyd Kirkham Garrison

C. V. Fee

TWENTY-FIVE years ago when Lloyd Kirkham Garrison was being mentioned as a possible selection for the Supreme Court, a skeptical observer suggested that perhaps he lacked the practical experience for such an appointment. However, one of Mr. Garrison's fervid supporters—and most of his supporters seem to qualify as fervid — countered by saying: "He was a successful Wall Street lawyer. That sounds practical, doesn't it?"

Man in the News

Mr. Garrison's career is an unusual combination of the practical and the idealistic. He is a reformer with a sense of humor, a self-effacing scholarly man who has penetrated into the jungle of New York politics, and a humanitarian who has faced grim realities.

Last night Mr. Garrison received the first annual Eleanor Roosevelt Political and Public Service Memorial Award.

The tall, rangy lawyer is the great-grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, the Boston abolitionist leader whose fiery, uncompromising pronouncements a century ago whipped up strong emotions on the subject of slavery.

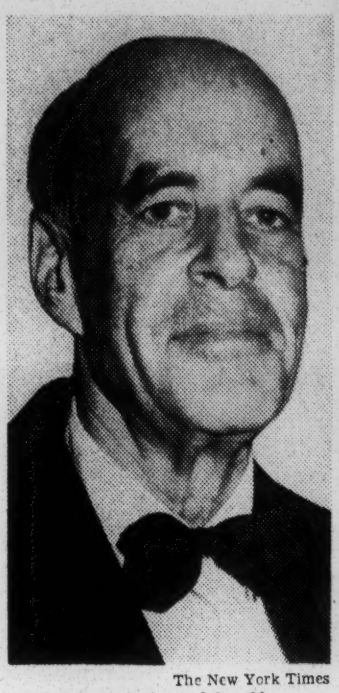
Mr. Garrison was born here on Nov. 19, 1897, to Lloyd McKim and Alice Kirkham Garrison. His paternal grandfather, Wendell Phillips Garrison, was literary editor of The Nation.

In Father's Footsteps

A graduate of St. Paul's and Harvard College, Mr. Garrison served in the Navy in World War I, rising to the rank of chief petty officer. After briefly considering becoming a writer, he decided to follow his father's footsteps in law.

He graduated from Harvard Law School in 1922 and then gained a position in the Wall Street law firm headed by Elihu Root. In 1926, he became a member of the law firm of Parker & Garrison.

Mr. Garrison retired from the private practice of law in 1932 to become professor and dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School. Two years later, he was called to Washington to organize the National Labor Relations Board. He soon became closely identified with the labor relations field and in World War II, as chairman of the National War Labor Board, issued a report that emphasized "the principle of equal pay for equal work, regardless of race, color, creed or sex."



The New York Times

Practicing idealist

(Mr. Garrison before receiving award yesterday evening)

Mr. Garrison recently told an interviewer that he had never planned his life, and that for him "life has been a series of accidents." Such an "accident," he declared, was his joining the National Urban League in 1924. His membership in the league, which is devoted to improving the living conditions of Negroes, opened his eyes "to the realities," he said. He has also long been active in the American Civil Liberties Union.

Member of Law Firm

Since 1946 Mr. Garrison has been a member of the law firm of Paul Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison.

The 65-year-old lawyer's principal hobbies are said to be bird-watching, keeping up the grounds of his country home in Brewster, N.Y., and reading philosphy, Greek literature and politics.

One who has known him describes him as "moderately shy but not rigid in his attitudes," and says "he is warm and delightful, has no preconceived notions and can listen dispassionately before making a decision."

Mr. Garrison is married to the former Ellen Jay, a descendent of John Jay, the first United States Chief Justice. They have two daughters, a son and nine grandchildren. They live at 133 East 64th Street.

file - Garrison, Lloyd

April 28, 1965

Mr. Morris Abram
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Morris:

I thought you might want to have a copy of our annual report.

Max Hahn has told me about Jane's operation. I am deeply sorry, but glad and relieved to head that apparently everything has turned out fine.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Annual Report)

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON
575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

MURRAY HILL 8-5600
CABLE: LONGSIGHT, N.Y.

SIMON H. RIFKIND
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JAMES L. PURCELL
ARTHUR KALISH
DAVID T. WASHBURN
BERNARD FINKELSTEIN

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

August 25, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Please excuse my long delay in replying to your letter of July 14. I have been vacationing and, with a lot of other people in the office away, I have been overloaded.

I see no reason why you should not re-establish an active Voter Education Project. Moreover I do not see why, so long as it is conducted on an educational, entirely non-partisan basis, that it is an essential part of the project that it lead to a research report, although that certainly was part of the basis for obtaining the original ruling. I should think that to avoid any necessity of having to go back for a reaffirmation of the ruling by the Internal Revenue Service, that you should continue to have reports prepared of the results of the project so that it will maintain its research nature even though the research may be less elaborate than in the past.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Adrian W. DeWind

AIR MAIL

file

July 14, 1965

Mr. Adrian DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind,
Wharton, and Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Bill:

Enough inquiries are coming to us now about resuming the Voter Education Project that I would like to get some counsel from you. I would not like to be giving the wrong answers.

The old VEP wound up all its field work last fall. We still have to produce our study, and are under contract with Harcourt Brace to deliver a manuscript by next April.

I have re-read the Treasury letter of March 22, 1962, and I do not see anything in it which would inhibit us from re-establishing an active project. No termination date was mentioned. The fact that we consider the project ended and are now preparing a final report may, however, have some bearing. On the other hand, if VEP were resumed, presumably some kind of report would come out at the end of the new VEP. The book we are now doing might be considered just one stage.

It seems to me that we might also consider whether something like VEP could not be carried on here without, this time, any reference necessarily to research objectives.

I believe we could with security hold that voter registration is a non-political activity, and that whatever doubt over this there may have been has been dispelled by passage of the Voting Rights bill. I believe we have demonstrated that we are able to administer a voter registration program without partisan activity.

I would greatly appreciate your guidance.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

File

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

BC: Mrs. Ruth Field
Mrs. David Rust
Mr. Arthur Krim
Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Mr. Maxwell Hahn

Party
MI

September 1, 1965

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

First, on behalf of Mrs. Field, Mrs. Rust, Mr. Krim, Dr. Dunbar and myself, and all the Directors of the Field Foundation, I want to thank you sincerely for your time, your interest, and the exciting ideas which you contributed to the meeting yesterday. I don't think I have spent a more profitable hour since the occasion on which you told Sargent Shriver, Bill Moyers and me your views on the Peace Corps legislation then pending in the Congress.

I also would like to add my appreciation for the excellent staff work--through Wiley Branton--and want to assure you that it is our intention to follow through with such suggestions as ultimately prove out to the satisfaction of you, your staff, and the Directors of the Field Foundation.

Meanwhile, I would like to transmit a memorandum of my partner, Lloyd K. Garrison, who, as you know, is President of the New York Board of Education, and also a Director of the Field Foundation. He has served the Foundation for many years as the Chairman of its Race Relations Committee. He brings to the subject, therefore, unique competence and experience. This memorandum is right on the point with respect to many issues which we discussed, and I am deeply impressed with the fundamental and imaginative way in which Lloyd has dealt with these problems. I know your staff will find this memorandum a real contribution to the subject, and I am positive that Lloyd Garrison would find the time to discuss further any of the points, should you so desire.

Sincerely,

Morris B. Abram

MBA:m
Encl.

CC: Wiley Branton, Esq.

file

September 24, 1965

Mr. Morris Abram
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Morris:

We are moving into Pelham next Friday, October 1. I shall be in the office on Monday, October 4.

In reviewing things in my mind, there are a number of questions I would like to take up with you as soon as you could conveniently give me some time; most of them could, I think, be disposed of pretty quickly. Except for what will be a fairly long lunch on Tuesday, October 5, I could get together with you anytime that first week, if that would be possible for you. Could you have your secretary leave some word at the office?

I have a date to stop off in Washington next Wednesday morning to meet with Wiley Branton, Max Kampelmann, and Evron Kirkpatrick for discussion along the lines we had with the Vice-President. Today's administrative shakeup may cancel these plans, but if we do have a meeting, I'll give you a report when I see you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file

via air mail special October 6, 1965

Mr. Morris Abram
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Abram:

At the request of Mr. Anthony I send the enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

(LWD ltr. to Wiley Branton dtd Aug. 5, 1965)

December 21, 1965

Mr. Morris Abram
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Morris:

Please accept from all of us here our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the Field Foundation.

The fact that the Foundation obviously chose the best man, not withstanding, we still take neighborly pride in your accomplishment and still hope that some day you will find time to visit us again.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

MJ-file

SIMON H. RIFKIND
ROBERT E. SAMUELS
JOHN F. WHARTON
LLOYD K. GARRISON
MYER D. MERMIN
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575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

MURRAY HILL 8-5600
CABLE: LONGSIGHT, N.Y.

ARTHUR J. COHEN
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

December 27, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your warm and appreciated letter of December 21st.

Southern Regional Council has always been one of Field's favorite philanthropies. I don't know what we would do without you.

Best regards,

Morris

Morris B. Abram

Dictated by Mr. Abram
12/23 and signed in his
absence by R.L

file.

cr. ref
V.E.P., 1966 gen. corresp.

February 22, 1966

Mr. Adrian W. DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. DeWind:

Thank you for your letter of February 9 and your comments on the continued Voter Education Project. We shall continue as you suggest.

It is very likely that there will be a growing emphasis on the research functions of this project and that we shall establish a close working relationship with a number of colleges and universities in the region.

Please know we are deeply grateful for your interest and assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Face
Paul. Weiss

January 21, 1966

Mr. Adrian W. DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. DeWind:

The Council is fast approaching the launching of a second Voter Education Project. To that end we are enclosing for your review the following: (1) a copy of the proposal submitted to the Field and Taconic Foundations; (2) a report of the meeting of the Advisory Committee to the Voter Education Project, which was also submitted to the foundations; (3) a copy of the memorandum submitted by our CPA firm of Sowell and Harden suggesting financial procedures for the Voter Education Project, and (4) tentative guidelines as drafted by the VEP staff.

Hopefully, the project will be operable in terms of grant-making on/or about February 1st. However, prior to making any grants, we need the advice of counsel as to whether the enclosed materials are consistent with the tax-exemption of the first VEP.

We assume from your letter of August 25 to Leslie Dunbar that we may continue this program, emphasizing its educational and non-partisan nature,

and continuing sending annual reports to the Internal Revenue Service without further checking with IRS. In this regard, through our anticipated cooperation with a number of colleges and universities, through student scholarships, and in other ways, we believe there will actually be a more identifiable educational aspect to the program than with the first project.

We would deeply appreciate your appraisal of the situation at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

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ARTHUR L. LIMAN

JOHN F. WHARTON
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1948-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

Recd 2/10/66

February 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Les Dunbar was in this morning and mentioned that you were anxious to have our views on the second Voter Registration Project. I told Les I had written to you sometime ago about this, only to discover that I was quite wrong--that somehow my reply had not gone forward to you. Many apologies.

I think the second project, as outlined in your letter of January 21, falls within the Internal Revenue Service ruling of March 22, 1962, and that you should have no difficulty on that score in carrying it forward. While the research report aspects may be less extensive than in the case of the first project, I do not think it constitutes a significant departure.

Let me know if you need anything further.

Sincerely,

Adrian W. DeWind

Adrian W. DeWind

Air Mail

Rec'd 5/15/67

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

(212) 688-5600

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GERALD D. STERN

JOHN F. WHARTON
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

May 12, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I have studied your letter of April 24 and the enclosures relating to the Workshop for candidates which you conducted in cooperation with the Legal Defense Fund.

As you note, this activity is not one which was described in our ruling application and, accordingly, is a change in activity which would normally be reported to the Internal Revenue Service with the next filing of your Form 990-A. Therefore, the Internal Revenue Service has not blessed this activity as a qualified one for a charitable organization.

As you describe the nature of the project and its method of operation, it seems to me that it falls within the definition of charitable activities in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code and the applicable regulations. It is, of course, a crucial fact that the Internal Revenue Service might conceivably wish to establish by audit that the Workshop in no way participated in the election campaign of any candidate, but since you assure me that this is not so, I do not believe you should have any difficulty with the Service. The fact that the Legal Defense Fund was a cooperating agency should also be helpful in establishing the bona fide charitable nature of the project.

If there is anything further you would like to have from me, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Adrian W. DeWind

Rec'd 5/15/67

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

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May 12, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

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If there is anything further you would like to have from me, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Adrian W. DeWind

Adrian W. DeWind

File
Paul Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

May 31, 1967

Mr. Adrian W. DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. DeWind:

Please forgive me this long delay in responding to your letter of May 12th. However, I have been out of the office since that time until today.

Your letter is very helpful to us, and we are grateful for your response and opinion.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 5/15/67

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

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GERALD D. STERN

JOHN F. WHARTON
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

Copy to 25-7

May 12, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I have studied your letter of April 24 and the enclosures relating to the Workshop for candidates which you conducted in cooperation with the Legal Defense Fund.

As you note, this activity is not one which was described in our ruling application and, accordingly, is a change in activity which would normally be reported to the Internal Revenue Service with the next filing of your Form 990-A. Therefore, the Internal Revenue Service has not blessed this activity as a qualified one for a charitable organization.

As you describe the nature of the project and its method of operation, it seems to me that it falls within the definition of charitable activities in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code and the applicable regulations. It is, of course, a crucial fact that the Internal Revenue Service might conceivably wish to establish by audit that the Workshop in no way participated in the election campaign of any candidate, but since you assure me that this is not so, I do not believe you should have any difficulty with the Service. The fact that the Legal Defense Fund was a cooperating agency should also be helpful in establishing the bona fide charitable nature of the project.

If there is anything further you would like to have from me, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Adrian W. DeWind

Adrian W. DeWind

file
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind,
Wharton & Garrison

October 27, 1967

Mr. Adrian W. DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. DeWind:

Thank you for your reactions to the Jordan statement. Your response indicates the situation is as grave as I had feared. It appears the quote was somewhat out of context, but certainly it should not have occurred.

We are taking steps to see that such a thing does not occur again.

Again my sincere appreciation for your valuable assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

September 7, 1954

Miss Flo Pedlar
345 Bonebank Street
Winnipeg 9,
Manitoba, Canada

Dear Miss Pedlar:

Thank you for your letter of August 10th expressing interest in professional work with the Southern Regional Council.

We enclose a folder which describes the objectives and program of the Council. We hope that you will continue your interest in the Southern regionl and in the field of race relations, although it is not possible to indicate employment opportunities for you at this time.

Yours cordially,

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Associate Executive Director.

GTH/eab

BTH
to reply

345 Bonkank St.,
Winnipeg 9, Man.,
August 10, 1954.

Dear Sir:

Would you please send me an outline of the nature and scope of the work which a graduate social worker could do in your organization?

I am a Third year Arts student at the University of Manitoba and intend to enter Social Work after I receive my B.A. I am interested in a career in race relations.

I was referred to your organization by Mrs. Clara Newman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Sincerely yours,
(Miss) Flo Pedlar

October 25, 1954

Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, S. Ca.

Dear Courtney:

I have sent a copy of the September "New South" to Dr. McArthur, making you a special price of nothing down, 2% in ten days.

Seriously we are glad to have a chance to propagandize any effective school person and will be glad to get any further suggestions if they occur to you.

Hope young John behaved himself like a gentleman on your recent family junket.

Best to you all.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rf

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
Director

October 10, 1954

Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Harold,

Have just read the September "New South", and find along wi th the previous ones excellant.

Sent HCF

Would like for you to send copy of same to Dr. Currie McArthur, Supt. of School District #1, Beaufort, S.C. He's a good guy but worried about the private school angle. Bill me for the copy, letting me know if it's 12% in 10, or net in 30 days.

Leaving Tuesday for Board meeting in New York, via family reunion in Illinois. Taking John, so pray for us.

Liked the Ashmore-Fleming report mucho.

Regards to family. Come for a visit.

Sincerely,

Courtney

Churches - Meth - Ga

Paine College

ESTABLISHED 1882

AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

E.C. PETERS, PRESIDENT

Augusta, Georgia

Feb. 14, 1956.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Asst. Dir.
The Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wonder if you could give me the name of the machine, the manufacturer, and the name of an Augusta dealer if there is one, of the Copying Machine that you showed me when I was in your office last week. If there is not an Augusta dealer please give me the name of an Atlanta dealer. Any information you can give me along these lines will be appreciated.

Thanking you, I am

Very truly yours,

Ed Peters

ECP:W

P.S. Atlanta dealer with address will do. Thank you

Ans. 2-22-56
HCF

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

March 26, 1956

Mr. James Peck
552 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Peck:

Appreciate kind words, and I hope ypu will continue to like us.

We are a queer old outfit. Perhaps nicest thing is that we really belong. An old gentleman who died last month, Dr. W.W. Alexander, got concerned about these matters during World War I, and after it he was used to settle some of the race riots. He established beginning in 1919 a lot of local interracial committees, and hooked them together into State Interracial Committees, and hooked them together into a Commission on Interracial Cooperation, here in Atlanta. That lasted 'til the middle 'forties. It seldom raised issues of segregation, fought interracial violence of all kinds, headed off a many a lynching, and did a good deal in this locality or that to begin fetching things around toward decency. But it was often inactive, and was accused of failing to keep up with the times. Then the Sociologists wrote big books, that said people ought to be more equal. That seemed good to get around. And with World War I came the general urge toward some show of real democracy.

A large meeting was held in Durham in 1943, I think, of Negro persons. They drafted a statement of what needed to be done soon. Then some white people met and agreed that the statement was reasonable. Then the two met together and said they would have to have a Southern Regional Council to get things done. So that was SRC - February, 1944.

Into the pot they put the surviving interracial groups, the Sociologists, and the civic restlessness. They've all been aboard since. It makes for some lack of clarity in policy, but (mercifully) it makes us fit reality.

In 1951 we got around to a new policy statement, herewith, which said segregation would have to be got rid of. So we are and have been straight on that.

As to money, we begged the Ford people to let us set up twelve State organizations in human relations, and at last, in the months of 1954 that the Court spoke, the Fund for the Republic did generously help us. And we have a going State Council on Human Relations in each of the twelve States. Staffed with good people, quite interracial in staff and in Board and in program. And being honest and helpful. Excellent in some of the States (better than half); limping here and there, but lame only in one.

Problem is that the Fund for the Republic, like all Foundations, understandably requires us to raise astronomical amounts from elsewhere, in order to qualify for each successive installment of help from them. And that worry presses us always. If you will help, please do. We are fully tax exempt.

In the South we are memberless, except for our eight-man board. And the twelve State outfits are affiliated with us. We have associate members north of the M&D line, who are voteless, but who do get our publications, and who send us an annual check - ten dollars or what they will.

We put out a useful magazine, points of which enter pretty widely into Southern controversy. I send you some back issues. And a compendium of the best of the past, called Changing Patterns.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

P.S. Published items coming separately.

RECEIVED MAR 26 1956

G.5M

552 Riverside Dr.
New York 27, N.Y.
March 22, 1956

Southern Regional Council
69 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs,

For some years I have had high regard for the work of the Councils in the southern states and have been meaning to send a contribution. At present, with the rise of the white Citizens Councils, your work becomes more important than ever.

I obtained your address from the NAACP, to which I belong and am writing you to get more specific data on whether you accept contributions (or membership applications), what the money is spent for, in particular, and to whom checks are made payable.

Sincerely,

James Peck

James Peck

Signed by mef in Dr. Mitchell's absence. Sent Airmail.

April 4, 1956

Mr. James P. Peck
552 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Peck:

You help us no end and we are warmly grateful.

Our real view is that whatever happens it comes down at the last to some white and some Negro people coming together around a table. We say start that way instead of finish!

I am to be in New York April 8, 9 and 10, staying at the Abbey Hotel on 51st Street, and padding about seeing people. By the way, I begin on Sunday afternoon, April 8, with a speech quite near to you and perhaps you will come. At the Church of the Master, which is at 122nd Street and Morningside Avenue, I do at 3:30 on Sunday, April 8, for a Mr. Walter Pinkston elevated in some fraternity (presumably Negro) sketch in a map of the South and show what this business is all about. You will be most welcome and I do hope that you will come and that would be a chance for us to be acquainted. 'Tis my one and only good speech.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

552 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N.Y.
March 30, 1956

George S. Mitchell, executive director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED APR 2 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you for your letter of March 26 giving the historical background of the Councils. Enclosed is a check for $200. — check Rha
Count me in as an associate member. As I said in my original letter, I have been interested in the work of the Councils for some years and consider it even more important today to counteract the influence of the white Citizens Councils. One factor which perpetuates hatred--particularly in a situation like Montgomery--is the complete absence of personal contact between the races, even on the ministerial level. By working on this particular phase of the broblem, the regional Councils are doing an important job.

Sincerely,

Jim Peck

Jim Peck

July 27, 1956

Mr. Henry Harap, Associate Director
Division of Surveys and Field Services
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Harap:

Please delete from your bibliography of our pamphlets the following titles:

Race and Law Enforcement
Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts
Answers for Action, Schools in the South

Change price on Changing Patterns in the New South from 50¢ to 25¢. Revised 1955.

Add:

What the Supreme Court Said.... By Professor Robert A. Leflar. Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. 1956. 12 pages. 10 cents. Texts of the two Supreme Court school decisions with an analysis by Professor Leflar.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo
Encs.

December 29, 1956

Dr. H. T. Penn
36 Center Avenue, N.W.
Roanoke 17, Virginia

Dear Dr. Penn:

The Southern Regional Council is conducting a quick survey to determine what Southern cities have desegregated their buses. We have discovered, in contrast to Tallahassee, Birmingham, and Montgomery, that a number of cities have quietly and effectively ended bus segregation.

It has come to our attention that Roanoke is one of these cities. However, before issuing a public statement to that effect, it is obviously wise to check with a person in that community.

Could you, in the midst of this busy season, give us information on the Roanoke bus situation? We are concerned with the time any desegregation efforts took place, who prompted or began such a move, the reaction of city officials, the bus company and the white community, and the amount of remaining voluntary segregation which may still be practiced. Most important, however, is a simple confirmation of the current situation. Please don't go to undue trouble or time to secure the details surrounding the present condition. An immediate reply will be of more value than a detailed report.

The central office staff has asked that I express their sincere best wishes for the season.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Information Service

PA:mm

February 5, 1957

Mrs. Kenneth Parker
11435 Plainfield Road
La Grange, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Parker:

George Mitchell has probably written you about his plans to take leave of his work with the Council so that he can have a well-deserved change of pace in the Highlands of Scotland. Before he left, he told me of your long-standing interest in the Council's efforts, and of your generous assistance to it from time to time.

I think you will be interested in the enclosed report which sums up briefly the activities we are carrying on, a few achievements of recent months, and what we hope to do in the months ahead. The need for the kind of thing that the Council, almost uniquely, does in the South has been increasing at a tremendous rate within the last two years. And we have been trying to increase our efforts accordingly. As the enclosed report is intended to make clear, we feel that this is a time when the Council must make its most effective contribution to the growth of democracy in the South.

All of this is to say that I earnestly hope that the Council will have your continued confidence and support, and that we may look forward to a renewal of your contribution for 1957.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

April 24, 1957

Mrs. Kenneth R. Parker
713 Kingsley Avenue
Pomona, California

Dear Mrs. Parker:

Miss Florence Irving of our staff has sent some material to the Reverend Mr. Farnsworth, as you requested.

I have just received a letter from George Mitchell reporting varied and stimulating activities, since he and Alice arrived in Scotland. They scouted the western Highlands, and finally found both a desirable site for the two cottages they are planning to build, and a house nearby which they could rent until August. It all sounds quite idyllic though he comments that the house is "1896 in construction and plumbing and heating (which is coal fires)." I am sure he and Alice would want me to convey their warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

March 17 - '57
713 Kingsley Ave
Pomona, California

RECEIVED MAR 20 1957

Southern Regional Council -

Gentlemen:

Since George Mitchell's departure for Scotland and mine for California, I am unable to address any of you personally, as I left all my S.R.C letters and news behind.

Today, in conversation, the Rev. John Farnsworth ask me what I knew of the work opportunities and scholarships for the Negro in the deep south, it seems a group of young people in his

Church, Episcopal, are writing
Lenten papers on this subject.
I conferred I knew nothing, but
assured him I could get pertin-
ent information from you.
He will give the group information
so one copy of each ~~pamphlet~~ pamphlet
is all that is necessary.
May he have them as soon as
possible. The address is
Rev. John Farnsworth
713 Kingsley Ave, Pomona, California.
What news of the Mitchells?

Sincerely yours
Adele B. Parker
(Mrs. Kenneth R. Parker)

August 14, 1958

Mr. Lester H. Persells
7036 Altama Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Mr. Persells:

Enclosed is a portion of our proposal to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund which I have been asked to pass on to you for your information.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Harold C. Fleming

MHF

August 21, 1958

Mr. David R. Baldwin, Research Associate
Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc.
1029 Union Trust Building
Pittsburg 19, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

Your letter of August 12th to Harold Fleming has been referred to me. The request for information on the Georgia Legislature's annual session plan and the alternate year budget session is a little far afield for us. We are very much interested in some aspects of state governmental affairs but usually as they relate to that complex which makes up the human relations picture in our region.

Three sources of information come to mind. Each is responsible with long experience in the workings of Georgia's government and a constructive interest in obtaining practical efficiency. They are:

The League of Women Voters of Georgia
78 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Professor Cullen B. Gosnell
Department of Political Science
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Rep. (state) James Mackay
Masonic Temple Building
Decatur, Georgia

I trust that these leads will help you obtain the information in which you are interested.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
(Signed in his absence)

EFV:ls

Rcd 8/14/58

PENNSYLVANIA ECONOMY LEAGUE, INC.
FOUNDED 1932
WESTERN DIVISION
1029 UNION TRUST BUILDING, PITTSBURGH 19, PA.

August 12, 1958

League of Women Voters
Prof. Allen B. Morrill
Rep. James Manley

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director for Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At its last session, the Pennsylvania General Assembly created a special Commission on Constitutional Revision. At the request of that Commission, the Pennsylvania Economy League is presently engaged in conducting research into various phases of the problem.

One of the topics with which we are dealing concerns the proposal to provide for annual sessions of the legislature in place of the present biennial sessions. Should this prove desirable, it is further proposed that in alternate years the session should be devoted exclusively to budget matters.

We have noted that Georgia has adopted the annual session plan and that sessions in alternate years are devoted to budgets.

Because we feel that you have undoubtedly been close to the situation and have formed some opinions on the matter, we are hoping that you would be willing to give us the benefit of your observations, specifically:

(1) What prompted the change to annual sessions? If possible, what were some of the arguments pro and con and what do you feel was the key point that put it over?

(2) In your opinion, how has it worked out?

(3) How has the provision for alternate year budget sessions affected the preparation and management of the state budget?

Any information you are able to give us on this subject will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

David R. Baldwin

David R. Baldwin
Research Associate

DRB:jms

April 20, 1959

Mr. M. C. Pettigrew
P. O. Box 441
Fitzgerald, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pettigrew:

It is with considerable regret that I cannot accept your invitation to participate in the Georgia Leadership Training School. Unfortunately, one of our senior staff members is leaving the Council June 1st and because of this it would be extremely difficult for me to be away from the office for a week.

All of us at the Council, especially Mrs. M. E. Tilly, have a great deal of interest in the annual Training School and are appreciative of the good work done in these sessions. Therefore, if there is any other way in which we can be of help, please call on us. Perhaps through Mr. Lucius Pitts we can determine some way in which we can be of assistance. I would be happy to have you contact me or Mr. Pitts concerning your ideas on this.

Please know that I am grateful for your invitation and very sorry that it is not possible to accept.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
cc: Mr. Lucius Pitts

P. O. Box 441
Fitzgerald, Georgia
April 1, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
c/o Reverend L. H. Pitts
825 Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You have been selected by the Regional Committee of the 1959 Georgia Leadership Training School to serve as instructor of Youth and Changing Social Patterns . The Georgia Leadership Training School convenes from June 14-22, 1959, at Paine College, Augusta, Georgia.

Room and board of all instructors will be taken care of, plus an honorarium at the close of the session.

It is certainly our hope that you can accept this opportunity to serve, as we feel that your instructional assistance will greatly enhance our program.

May I hear from you at an early date?

Yours in Christ,

M. C. Pettigrew

M. C. Pettigrew

February 9, 1960

Mr. E. H. Peeples
1100 West Franklin Street, Apt. 2
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Peeples:

I was glad to note your recent letter indicating your interest in going into the field of human relations as a career. There certainly is a need for trained professional workers in this field. Most of us currently in this work came in by way of graduate work in social science or the ministry. These are reasonable channels into the field but it is encouraging to note that universities are beginning to set up programs aimed at training the intergroup professional worker.

I do not know of any scholarship program which would help you move ahead with this kind of advanced preparation. Perhaps Dan Dodson will inform you of any scholarships offered at NYU. It might be useful for you to communicate with Mr. John Lassoe, director of NAIRO, concerning the internship program which that organization coordinates for persons entering the field of intergroup relations. This would be more in the line of practical training and could not help you in your search for scholarship aid. I hope you will be able to follow through in your interest.

Let us know if we can be of service.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

1100 West Franklin Street
Apt. 2
Richmond, Virginia

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

HCF

PR - I can't bear it. Will you write him? HCF

Dear Sirs:

I am a twenty-four year old white Southernor with an intense interest in the current plights of minority groups and particularly in my section of the country; and I have an ardent desire to make human relations or inter-group relations a career. At present I have a bachelors degree in social science and am keenly interested in preparing myself further by studying in this field on the masters level in the School of Education at New York

University next fall under Dr. Dan Dodson.

So, I am writing in query of knowledge of possible scholarships that your agency or some other source might provide.

I will be most pleased with any data or leads you might give me regarding my inquiry. Thank you.

Sincerely,

E. H. Peeples

September 2, 1960

Dr. Harry T. Penn
36 Center Avenue, N. W.
Roanoke 17, Virginia

Dear Dr. Penn:

It was most thoughtful of you to send us the information on lunch-counter desegregation in Roanoke. We are grateful for it.

You and your associates on the Citizens Bi-Racial Committee deserve all appreciation for your sound and effective efforts to bring this about.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HARRY T. PENN, D. D. S.
36 CENTER AVENUE, N. W.
ROANOKE 17, VIRGINIA

DIAMOND 4-4637

August 31, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed you will find a few articles I thought might be of interest to the Southern Regional Council.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harry T. Penn, D.D.S.

HTP:gb

August 8, 1961

Mr. L. W. Pearson
Keysville
Virginia

Dear Mr. Pearson:

For some time I have meant to write and thank you for your interest in the Council and the interesting material you share with us. We are most grateful for this as well as for your valuable contributions to the field of human relations. Please call on us at any time that we might possibly be of service.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

Pa/sm

Keyseville, Va
July 17, 1961

Gentlemen:

I'm sending you this section of U.S. News and World Report thinking you might be interested in what Dr. Eastland has to say about "Freedom Riders".

Of course, it is quite likely you have already seen it.

Sincerely
W. L. Pearson

PEACE CORPS

Washington 25, D. C.

October 11, 1961
air mail

file

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Many people want to know more about the Peace Corps. To provide answers to their questions, a series of fourteen regional Peace Corps conferences have been scheduled across the Nation and will be sponsored by local organizations and institutions in each city.

As Chairman of the National Advisory Council for the Peace Corps, I would like to extend a personal invitation to you to attend the Conference in Washington, D. C., on October 20-21, at the Sheraton-Park Hotel. You will be joining with other leaders of civic, farm, labor, business, professional, educational and student groups who have indicated their interest in this conference.

Members of the Peace Corps staff will be present to answer your questions and discuss the program with you. A member of the National Advisory Council will be present at most of these conferences. There will be few speeches, but much open forum discussion. A tentative agenda for the Conference is attached.

The Sheraton-Park Hotel has reserved a block of rooms for our use at the following rates: $8.00 per day for a single room; $12.00 per day for a double. There will be a registration fee of $4.00, which includes luncheon on the second day.

Please complete the enclosed advance registration form and return it to the Peace Corps, giving us the names of members of your organization who will attend. Hotel reservation cards will then be mailed to these people.

I hope you will be able to be in Washington, D. C. on October 20-21 to discuss the Peace Corps.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Lyndon B. Johnson

PEACE CORPS

RECRUITMENT CONFERENCE

City Auditorium
Atlanta, Georgia

October 17, 1961

PROPOSED AGENDA

9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. - Registration

10:00 a.m. - Welcoming address--National Advisory Council member

10:15 a.m. - "Why the Peace Corps?" (broad sketch of origin of Peace Corps idea, its meaning, implications and ideals)

10:45 a.m. - Outline of Peace Corps programming and projects--Staff member

11:15 a.m. - Coffee

11:30 a.m. - The Peace Corps Volunteer, I (complete outline as to who he is, how he was recruited, selected and trained, how he is to be cared for overseas, etc.)--Staff member

12:00 noon - The Peace Corps Volunteer, II (a brief synopsis of experiences and impressions gained in working with Peace Corps Volunteers during a typical training cycle)--University faculty member from one of the campuses engaged in training

1:00 p.m. - Luncheon, address by Director or member of Director's immediate staff

2:30 p.m. - Outline of afternoon discussion groups, their purpose and scope

2:45 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. - Division of registrants into three equal groups to cover any topic of interest to the group, including kinds of volunteers needed, selection process, recruitment, training, project development and administration.

ADVANCE REGISTRATION FORM

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

_____

I will be attending the Peace Corps Regional Conference at

_____ on _____

I will be representing _____
(Name of organization or school)

The following people will accompany me:

1. _____
Name Address

2. _____
Name Address

3. _____
Name Address

Please return this form to:

Regional Conferences
Office of Recruitment
PEACE CORPS
Washington 25, D.C.

NOTE: In order to insure accomodations, please fill out and return this form immediately so that we may send your hotel reservation cards out by return mail.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD
130 SIXTH STREET, N. W. · ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA · TRINITY 5-9211

Rec'd 2/20/64
MA - pls. reply

February 19, 1964

2-21-64
We received a letter too; I replied yesterday
MA

file
Pe "Gen. Corresp

Miss Anne Marie Peckham
Newton College of the
Sacred Heart
885 Centre Street
Newton, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Peckham:

Thank you for your letter of February 12.

With regard to the first part of your letter, I am referring your requests to Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, who may be able to supply material that would be useful to you in the preparation of your dissertation.

In accordance with your request for information about the Southern Regional Education Board, I am enclosing a copy of our last annual report which contains details about the history, objectives, and accomplishments of the Board.

Sincerely yours,

Rudolph Pate

Rudolph Pate
Associate Director
for Development

RP:sp
enclosure

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

COPY

RP
EJH

FEB 17 1964

Newton College of the
Sacred Heart
885 Centre Street
Newton, Massachusetts
February 12, 1964

Southern Regional Education Board
130 Sixth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 13, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a senior at Newton College of the Sacred Heart, a liberal arts college located in Newton, Massachusetts and am presently engaged in writing a Senior Dissertation approaching the problem of racial discrimination in the education of the Southern Negro, particularly on the elementary school level.

I would greatly appreciate any information you could supply me with concerning this general topic, wither pro or con the present situation. Any statistics, current Southern programs, specific problems, proposed solutions and so forth. would be welcomed. Also I would be grateful for any information you could provide me with concerning your regional board, its purpose, activity, enactment powers, territorial scope, etc.. If there is a charge for this service, please bill me.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Anne Marie Peckham

Anne Marie Peckham
Newton College
Newton, Massachusetts

December 11, 1964

Mr. William Peters
Producer
CBS Reports
524 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Bill:

You did a good show.

Do I hear right - you are doing something on Mississippi?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Thought you would like to know that CBS REPORTS: SEGREGATION: NORTHERN-STYLE will be broadcast on Wednesday evening, Dec. 9 (7:30 EST -- see local listings for time in other time zones).

I hope you will have a chance to watch it.

William Peters
Producer
CBS REPORTS
524 West 57th St.
New York, N.Y. 10019

WB
PWC
SW file

CBS NEWS

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

December 16, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks for your note. We are considering something on Mississippi, though it is still in the "iffy" stage. Whether I will have anything to do with it or not, I'm not sure at the moment, but you will know when and if it becomes ripe.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters
Producer

/jls

See Pergament

March 1, 1965

Mr. David Seeley
Special Assistant to the
U.S. Commissioner of Education
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Seeley:

Miss Revelle Pergament has requested that I write to you regarding her qualifications for work with the Equal Educational Opportunity Program.

I am very glad to recommend Miss Pergament to you. I have known her for two or more years and have been able to observe her work with the National Student Association. I have been impressed not only by her very high personal qualities but also by her evident intelligence and sincerity. I believe that she has learned a great deal regarding the whole span of the human relations movement in the South. She has also shown first rate ability to work with people in a constructive manner and with good judgement.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:p

file

MS file

GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE for TEACHERS

Divisions: The Graduate School, The College, The Peabody Demonstration School, Survey and Field Services

NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

October 15, 1965

Dr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We appreciate your personal contribution to the success of the October 7-9 Planning Conference at Montgomery Bell State Park. We are hopeful that the proposal will be approved by the U. S. Office of Education and that all of us will be able to get on with the job which needs to be done.

Enclosed are a check for personal expenses incurred in connection with the conference and a receipt which should be signed and returned in the envelope provided.

And thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Tom

Tom Warren
Associate Director
Human Rights Institute

TW/cs

Enclosures: Check
Receipt and envelope

Come to see us. Sorry we won't be able to attend the NARIO meeting in Chicago - just noticed your name on the program.

PEPSI-COLA COMPANY

500 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022/MU·8-4500

JAMES B. SOMERALL
PRESIDENT

March 3, 1966

A MEMORANDUM OF INTEREST

"Adventures in Negro History," an LP record album highlighting contributions of Negro Americans to the growth and development of America, was introduced two years ago as a public service by Pepsi-Cola Company.

The enthusiastic acceptance of this record by educators, community leaders and the general public far exceeded our expectations and, as a result, we have decided to continue our efforts in this direction.

We are pleased to send you this preview copy of "Adventures in Negro History," Volume II, which dramatizes the exciting years in which Frederick Douglass lived, 1817-1895.

We hope you will enjoy these few minutes of entertainment and enlightenment, and will be interested in receiving your comments.

Sincerely yours,

J. B. Somerall

Att.

March 30, 1966

Mr. J. B. Somerall
President
Pepsi-Cola Company
500 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Somerall:

Thank you for the record album, "Adventures in Negro History," Vol. 2, which I have listened to with appreciation.

The Pepsi-Cola Company is to be commended for this material and for all of the leadership it is giving to this difficult situation.

Please let us know if we can be of any possible assistance to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MEMORANDUM March 30, 1966

To: BCCook

From: MMJ

Bernice,

Please package up and send (SPECIAL HANDLING) to Mary Alice Baldinger in Washington the following:

400 Copies of SOUTHERN JUSTICE
200 NEW SOUTH SUBSCRIPTION FORMS

(these should go in the mails today) = Labels attached

NOTE: THESE HAVE TO REACH MARY ALICE BY APRIL 6

MS - file

Pendulum Books, Inc. 210 simpson street, n.w. atlanta ga. 30313

phone 577 1582
area code 404

File - Pe - gen

April 29, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
25 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir;

This is to introduce Laurence E. Alan Baughman, who has been commissioned by this firm to write a book dealing with the psycological aspects of segregation in the South.

Any assistance you might be able to render him would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Jo Carol Andress

Jo Carol Andress

JCA/mk

file "Pe" gen'

January 31, 1967

Mr. John A. Pecoul, Jr.
2213 Burdette Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

Dear John:

Thanks for the excellent piece.

It was a real pleasure having you here and we do look forward to getting you back. In the meantime, every good wish in your new work.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

1/24/67

Rec'd 1/25/67

Dear Paul,

Here is the text of my survey on agricultural poverty and policy. I hope it is a framework for what you want but, because of the haste and pressure under which it was written, I think it leaves something to be desired.

Most crucial is to make the last section, i.e. your memo to John Wheeler, most specific and to revise it in the light of Al's new ideas on coops, etc. The whole paper definitely has the air of a city denizen writing about farms from books.

But, it is a start on what you need. I have tried to send it on

in time for it to be improved for your testimony to the Commission.

Thank you again for all that my days at S.R.C. did for my own sense of personal direction — albeit that direction was something other than what you were hoping for. In addition to the sheer joy of an association with the S.R.C. people — some of the South's best, I know now —, I realized that "pure research and writing" is not for me at this point. Nevertheless, I enjoyed tremendously what I did write — except for this farm piece!

I hope that my contribution to S.R.C. was of some value, too. With fondness and a smile,

John

P.S.: I think Al's fact sheets should be included as appendices.

Free
Pendulum books
(Check to see if here
Set up file
already
Not please
do so)

May 17, 1966

Mr. L. Alan Baughman
Editor
Pendulum Books, Inc.
210 Simpson Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

Dear Mr. Baughman:

This will give you our permission to reprint "In the Name of Southern Womanhood," by Eliza Heard, as published in the November-December 1962 edition of New South.

We would appreciate the credit as outlined in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

(5)

Pendulum Books, Inc. 210 simpson street, n.w. atlanta ga. 30313

phone 577 1582
area code 404

Rec'd 5/9/66

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I respectfully request permission to use: "In the Name of Southern Womanhood" by Eliza Heard (pseudonym) as published in the November-December 1962 edition of NEW SOUTH, Volume 17, Numbers 11 and 12, an SRC publication. This article is to be used in its entirety, in a work tentatively titled "Southern Rape Comples - 100 Year Psychosis," a psychological study of segregation.

We shall, of course, fully credit both the author and the original publisher, either in a bibliography or in the form of a footnote.

Sincerely yours,

L. Alan Baughman

L. Alan Baughman,
Editor

LAB:bjd

Gem. cam.

November 20, 1955

Dear, dear Nichols,

We think of you often, but especially when we come upon examples of British speech like the one enclosed. Occurs to me Papa George may have known Henry Gillett at Oxford, as Douglas Steere did.

I also thought of you at the bazaar of St. Helena's Church, where they sold lightwood in little bundles for 35¢. If I'd thought U.S. Mule really dependable, I'd have sent you some.

Courtney and I went to the S.C. Human Relations Council meeting in Columbia ten days ago, with Helen Austensen - Beaufort's only real liberal in my opinion. She is white-haired, proper, Episcopalian and honest, penetrating and consistent. We all liked the talk by Carl Pritchard; also seeing the dear old ladies, the man with the long beard who is always there, and the woman from S.C. State College who said too much of the wrong thing.

Returned home to find John with a temperature of 103° and an attack of tonsilitis! That was grim, but he is much better now. We're very busy reading The Little Engine that Could and other classics such as Mike Mulligan and his Steam Shovel over and over.

We'll take this moment to wish you a happy Thanksgiving and Christmas.

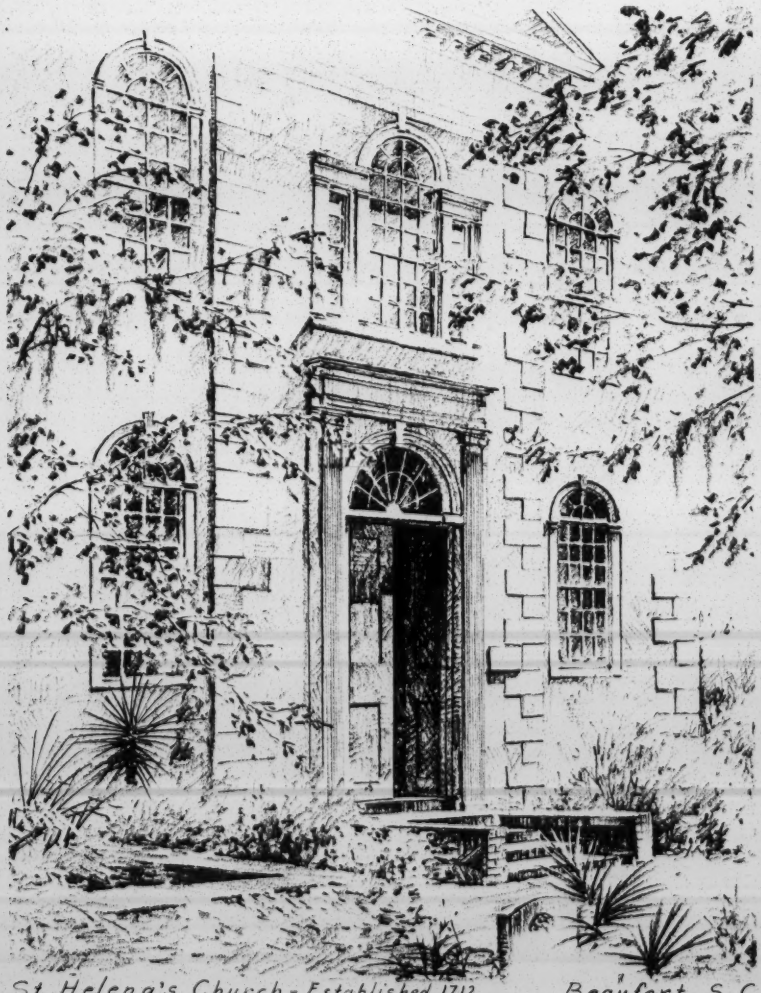
JOHN MOLL
OXFORD,
MD.

I always feel I should write a short novel on each Christmas card and, consequently, never finish. This year I may not even begin.

Emily Calhoun spent a week with us on her way north and told about her pleasant visit with you. We are still hoping for that long-heralded visit of the Mitchells. John will have many fascinating things to show you - and perhaps let you help feed the chickens.

Our love to you all.

Elizabeth



St. Helena's Church - Established 1712 Beaufort, S.C.

1956

Mr. and Mrs. Courtney Si[redacted]
Penn School
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

FILE COPY

Dear the Siceloffs:

The Executiv[redacted] Regional Council, by [redacted]al thanks [redacted]ordinary [redacted] during the two [redacted] Executive Committee there, July 20-21.

The Board and the Community Center performed a great service to the South in opening these facilities for conference use.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: MAW
c/o Taft Hotel
New York City

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

July 24, 1956

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

The Atlanta Southern Regional office of the National Student YWCA, 'twill be remembered, is in this building. In the brave days when Rosalie Oakes managed it they began a tolerably well-known list of interracial conference spots in these Southerns. I went down yesterday with a flock of invitations to the Islands and talked with Mademoiselle Stodghill, who is not the boss-queen, but who is the only one I ever catch down there doing anything.

I explained to her how Rosalie kept a list and what a nice place Penn Community is, and the use of these facilities, and asked her to spread it around discreetly. She is discreet and she will behave herself well.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Frogmore, South Carolina
July 24, 1956

Dear George Mitchell:

Enclosed are my gobs of typing of the executive committee proceedings. Your phrasing was more apt than you realized, perhaps. This material is very rough, but I felt that speed was important, particularly because of the time to be lost in mailing. I have no doubt that these garbled paragraphs will appear shortly in beautiful Mitchellese.

I haven't seen Courtney since your letter arrived this morning (am secluded in the cottage behind the water tower so little boys can't find me) but we must arrange a family council soon to bask in its warmth. It was a great pleasure to us to have all of you; I think you know that. We hope you can come again when things are more finished and we can make everyone more comfortable.

Our breeze returned right after you left, in the most insulting manner. To my mind, there has never been a hotter afternoon on St. Helena than Friday, July 20. And I certainly hope that there won't be such a day again.

I made private arrangements with Alice Mitchell for her withdrawal from life whenever it becomes necessary - or even possible. Please tell her that we can arrange for any degree of withdrawal that she wishes, as long as she agrees to read Horton the Elephant to John. All of the visiting relatives, and four new ones, are exhausted already, reading the new Mitchell books over and over. I have finished the book Alice brought to me and found it charming.

Greet all the brethren there for us.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

P.S. Please ask Ruth Alexander to let me know if she would like me to mail the shorthand notes for the record. Seems to me Mrs. McKoy used to preserve such items in the safe, along with the paper clips.

ES

August 1, 1956

Mrs. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Miss Elizabeth:

Each business day I have been trying to get to the Minutes and do my part and boil down what you wrote in extenso. And I keep letting other things get ahead of me.

Maybe luck tomorrow.

Meanwhile I have had occasion to check at one or two vital points and have found your account of what happened exactly what happened.

And the check got written today and should be mailed to you tonight.

We continue abidingly grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. SRC #209 $40.00

August 2, 1956

Mrs. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Miss Elizabeth:

This morning I went through the Minutes and transferred directions about them to Mrs. Brantley's book. Never before in all history has this job of extracting Minutes from notes been so speedily done. Thy ladyship produced Minutes. For the last half hour I have been saying page 6 O.K. as is, page 10 O.K. as is, page 11 O.K. with one minor change. Most rare and unusual!

When we came to the business about the White House, I asked Harold to recompress that to his taste, and he will.

A most splendid bargain for us, and we are duly grateful, not just for the squiggles, but for the judgement and organizational discrimination.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 22, 1956

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn School
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Here is the "Daily File" copy of my letter of July 23rd.

I suppose that a trip to Quaker Ohio means a trip to Southern Ohio. But if you get to northeastern Ohio the daughter, Charlotte, starts at Oberlin about September 12th.

When you are at Hendersonville, please do put on company manners and call on my friend Father Kerin at the handsome new Catholic Assembly spot near Flat Rock. Has to stay there most of the year as I understand, he is in charge. I praise Bishop Waters of Raleigh whose planning it was. And there are all too few occasions when those of us in other religions make friendly and interested visits to Father Kerin and his ilk. I am interested because they had me up there a few weeks ago to do the map speech for some conference.

The Mitchells had mainly a tomato diet for some weeks after Frogmore. But it was long before we disremembered the taste of cantaloupe and the watermelon too.

I greatly enjoyed the recordings and wish I had had more time for more of them.

Affectionately,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encl.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

August 21, 1956

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RECEIVED AUG 22 1956

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Please accept a very belated thanks for arranging to bring the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council here this past month. It was surely good to see you and your family as well as meeting some of the board members and staff.

After the conference you sent me a fine letter indicating the usefulness of Penn as a conference site. Marion Wright, who received a copy of the letter, wrote that we should get it duplicated. One copy could be sent to the Fund of the Republic, to whom we are applying for a grant to expand our facilities, and could show them the need for Penn Services as a conference site.

attached

Marion suggested other copies to go to Board members and several additional copies kept on hand to show to other prospective users of the conference facilities.

I did not immediately realize to what material end your testimonial could be put. Since our filing system is rather limited, I must admit that I did not retain your letter for posterity. I wrote Marion Wright for his copy of the letter, but he answered from New York saying that he was not sure if he had his copy, but that I should write you for another. If you still have the copy of that letter, would you mind sending it to me again? However, if your copy has gone the way of the others, will you please compose another that could be put to the use as mentioned above. Thanks very much.

I expect that Elizabeth and I will go to Ohio by way of the mountains so as to attend the F.S.C. Conference at Blue Ridge, and on our return will probably spend a few days in Preacher Jones' cabin near Hendersonville. Thank you very much for your invitation to come to Atlanta, and we do still hope to get there before your Scottish trip. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

RECEIVED DEC 3 1956

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

Sent 3 copies Inter-Op 12-4-56

November 28, 1956

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Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I've just attended the Board meeting with Marion Wright and have been brought up to date with things going on in the South. And amazingly enough, they seem to be concentrating around the Southern Regional Council. Marion Wright spoke of the PAMPHLET "Integration ~~both~~ North and South." If you are handling the distribution of this booklet, I would appreciate having three (3) copies; and if someone else is distributing, please give me the address where I can obtain them.

While attending our home Quaker meeting outside of Philadelphia two Sundays ago, this booklet was held up as something that would be of interest to the members of the meeting; however, I did not get to see inside the book. Also, Frank Loescher, who was a member of the meeting, was present, and I was able to speak a few words with him concerning our application for funds.

Marion Wright further indicates that this pamphlet which has just been published, includes the names of ministerial associations, nurses groups, etc., which have already integrated and is broken down by the state, and suggests that I obtain the NAMES OF people TO contact in these organizations with the view in mind of inviting them to meet at Penn. If you have the president of the group, or address of the executive secretary, AND if the information is not confidential, I would appreciate very much obtaining this for both South Carolina and Georgia.

FBI

Furthermore, a certain Board member of yours volunteered the use of your copying machine for duplicating letters of testimonials about Penn, that might be helpful in interesting other groups to come here. He already has one such letter which I suppose he will be negotiating with you soon; however, since I realize you're not running a commercial establishment there, I am sure that we can get the letter duplicated in a commercial office in either Savannah or Charleston, if this duplication is inconvenient. Please be very frank. There may be several such letters, but should not be many; but should like to know what to do in the future concerning duplication.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

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DIRECTOR

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Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

We are looking for a visit from you all down here to Frogmore, and hope that it will be soon.

Best wishes,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

Please bill me for the "Integration" booklet, + for time spent in ferreting out names + addresses of contact persons in the integrated groups — also for the copying if you have the letter at hand.

December 3, 1956

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Delighted to run the letters and here they are. Along with the letters comes the billet doux. Not much.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

I N V O I C E

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

December 3, 1956

Purchase Order No.
Date Shipped:

20 copies: Letter as requested @ .04 **$0.80**

THANK YOU

December 7, 1956

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Incorporated
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Good to hear from you. In my absence from the office my secretary caused to have sent to you three copies of the integration booklet we are handling for the Fund on consignment.

Our staff is loaded at the moment, but I'm asking Florence Irving, our research assistant, to get up for you as soon as she can the information on integrated groups in George and South Carolina.

We can always make a few copies of letters for you on our duplicating machine, but anything more than a few gets to be a fairly big deal. Let me know how many copies you are thinking in terms of.

All the best to you and Lib.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

December 20, 1956

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Incorporated
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thanks for your letter and the kind words about the integration booklet.

You will be getting a note -- if you haven't already -- from Florence Irving concerning the South Carolina agencies you're interested in.

Feel free to call on us for a repeat on the letter duplications.

Best wishes for Christmas and the New Year to you and Lib.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

December 13, 1956

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your letter and for the copies of the integration booklet. The idea and its execution were excellent , and congratulations.

I think there are only a couple of groups on which I'd like to have information about whom to contact in reference to the use of Penn Center,—that is, the Nurses Association of South Carolina, listed on page 80, and the South Carolina Association of Psychogists, listed on page 104. There is no particular hurry on this, and if you do not have that information readily, I am sure that I can secure it without much difficulty elsewhere.

Marion Wright has already had George Mitchell run off twenty copies of a letter from us. There may be two or three more letters that we would want about the same number of copies made; however, I'm sure that I can get this done commercially if it is not convenient for you to do it.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

May 15, 1957

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

I am glad that the Mays stopped by St. Helena's. We thought they were exceptionally congenial people.

As I understand the situation, May expects to be charged with the administration of a substantial sum for race relations at some time in the future, possibly sooner, possibly later. At present, he does administer a small family foundation which is interested in intergroup matters. This is the Columbia Foundation. Ironically, I was inhibited myself in discussing the possibilities of assistance for our work, since I was cast in the role of host. To a somewhat lesser degree, I imagine you felt similarly inhibited.

My advice to you would be to write him an informal letter asking whether it would be appropriate for Penn to submit an application to the Foundation he directs for support of the project you discussed with him. I am sure that he would reply quite candidly. In that way, you would not be shooting in the dark and might save yourself unnecessary effort in preparing a formal proposal. Of course, I share your hope that the response will be favorable, though I didn't get enough information to judge the possibility. I should also think that you would be well-advised to raise quite baldly the question of the amount of money you would be shooting for. I have found that most foundations are not averse to telling you what amount and what terms would be within the bounds of consideration.

It is quite true that Jane and I keep fanning the hope of a week-end visit to St. Helena. The news of the new attic fan gives us new incentive, and we may be writing you for an invitation one of these days. Meanwhile, all the best to you and Lib and John.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

May 11, 1957

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Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAY 13 1957

Dear Harold:

We had a delightful visit from John and Marguerita May, of San Francisco. They were both quite enraptured with you and Jane, and indicated that they hope to see you later in New York.

I appreciate very much your directing them by Penn. Their visit was quite brief since they were on the way to Charleston. He indicated that an amount of money was given to be used for the welfare of Negroes outside the San Francisco area, and obviously, his trip was to look at various projects. He did not ask many questions, but I did tell him something of the work here. I also indicated that we had just been turned down by Ford Foundation, for a person to help with the Conference Program. I also indicated that we had just received approval from Selective Service, as an agency to employ conscientious objectors to do their alternative service work, for two years.

It is a slave system, (I know. I did this for three years,) where the CO receives room and board plus about $15.00 a month. However, this is the only possibility I see for increasing our staff, though the Board may have reservations about hiring a CO. I also pointed out to John May , as subtly as I could, that we could not hope to hire even a CO until our next fiscal year, some 360 days away.

What I would like to have your advice on, is whether I should draw up a proposition for a certain amount of money, that we could hire the CO, and present this to Mr. May. I have not had any direct connection with applications to foundations before, other than knowing what Marion Wright was doing in relation to the Ford Foundation. Do you think this would be presumptuous of me to make such a proposition, or should I wait and see if he was sufficiently impressed by the program, to make his own grant of money? I figure that we could take care of the CO for around $900.00 per year, but it would undoubtedly cost another two or three hundred dollars in the extra travel with the use of my car.

If you do think it is proper to submit such a ~~pay~~ proposal, should I make it, ~~safe~~ say for two years at a total of around $2400.00?

Mr May indicated that you and Jane hope to get down here. I really hope that this will materialize. At present, we are installing an attic fan just for such an event, so I hope we're not wasting our time in the installation of such.

Best wishes,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

CC: Marion Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

P.S. I guess you know that Marion is now our chairman of the Board.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

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Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

May 23, 1957

Dear Friend:

One day this winter our three-year-old John looked across the road and saw a number of cars parked at Frissell Community House. "Are the midwives back?" he asked, and with a special gleam of delight, "Is Miss Driver here?" (Miss Driver is one of the State Board of Health staff members who supervises the annual Midwife Institutes.) Even to John, we thought, the groups who come and go bring special and personal relationships.

Because you have shared in the life at Penn Center -- as a visitor, conference participant, or work camper -- we are sending you with this letter our latest report. Whether yours was a long or short stay, wielding gavel or paint brush, we look on you as a part of our growing family, and families need to keep in touch!

The enclosed folder describes developments in our community and conference program. Just now the tomato cooperative enters the period of rather intensive activity that accompanies the tomato shipping season. The nursery school children are getting ready for "graduation." Finishing touches are being put on the bell tower, built by students from University of North Carolina during the Easter holiday, so that the old Penn School bell can summon you to meals when you next come to Penn.

We invite you to share in what is for us a highly creative and satisfying way of giving testimony in today's "troubled South." Your contributions are welcome, your letters are savored, and a return visit is warmly sought.

Sincerely,

Courtney + Elizabeth

Courtney and Elizabeth Siceloff

Penn Community Services, Incorporated

Courtney Siceloff, Director

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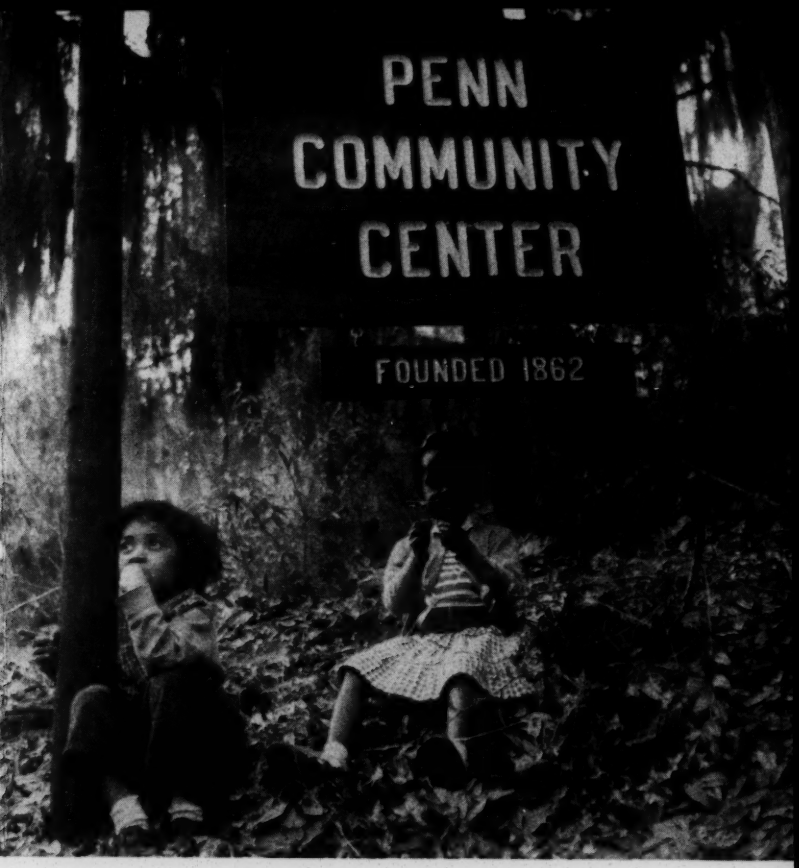


Penn Community Services

ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Penn Community Services is seeking to meet human needs: first, through a community center for St. Helena and the neighboring sea islands. Beyond that, Penn offers a friendly conference center where groups from all parts of a troubled South can meet freely together.

After a recent conference at Penn, the executive of a Southwide agency wrote, "The Board and Community Center performed a great service to the South in opening these facilities for conference use."

Students, teachers, midwives, scouts and others, numbering more than 500, have been in residence for periods ranging from two days to two weeks. These persons have come from five Southern States and the West Indies.

In addition to generous contributions of Penn supporters, over 100 work campers and local volunteers donated time and skill in renovating the conference buildings.

MARKETING COOPERATIVE

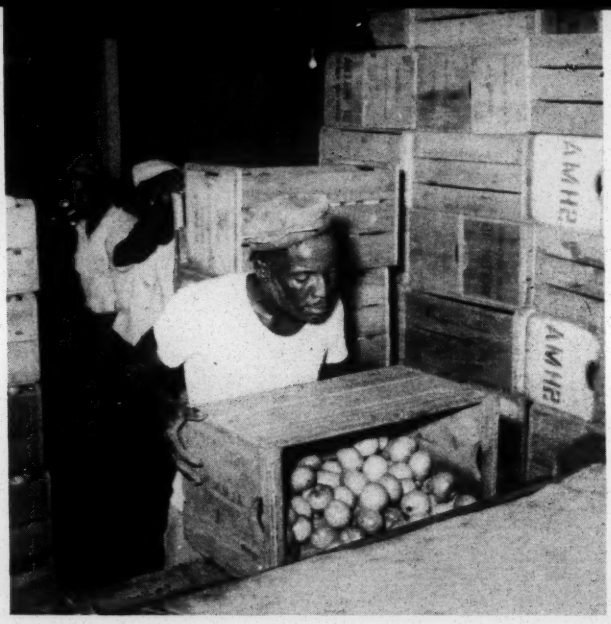
Tomato farmers meet regularly to study improved farming and marketing methods. During the last shipping season, the loan from the Bank of Cooperatives for purchase of machinery was liquidated.

TEEN CANTEEN

A newly organized program for young people is the Teen Canteen, under the supervision of an experienced leader. Purposes include the creation of new interests and the development of skills.

ROSSA COOLEY HEALTH CENTER

Pre-natal and well-baby clinics are held regularly. A kitchen range has been added to the equipment for use in demonstrating the preparation of foods as an aid in the study of nutrition.



LIBRARY

Penn provides attractive and appropriate facilities for the library. An average of 900 books are circulated monthly through the Penn library and its branches. A fund for the purchase of a bookmobile has been started.

HOMEMAKING CLASS

Homemakers study with the County Home Demonstration Agent and acquire skill in dressmaking, cooking, quiltmaking and other types of handwork.

DAY NURSERY AND KINDERGARTEN

A capacity enrollment in this fifth year of operation, meets a continuing need in the community. Increasingly the parents are assuming financial responsibility for operating the school, but Penn underwrites approximately one-third of the budget.

SALES HOUSE

Clothing donated to Penn Community Services is sold by a staff of volunteer workers to low income families on the Island. Proceeds from the sales go to the community program.

The work of Penn Community Services is supported by participants in the program, income from a small endowment, and contributions of persons interested in seeing such a pilot project contine to operate. Gifts to Penn are tax deductible.

June 14, 1957

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thanks for your two recent communications and the encouraging news they contained. It is good to know that your local council in human relations is off the ground.

Lib has an excellent memory. We still have some materials on the community self-survey program and I should think that this technique could be adapted by your group. I am sending you a packet separately.

Whenever we can work out a trip down there, I will be happy to double in brass as honored outside speaker. Goodness knows when that will be, but our intentions are strong and durable.

Be sure to let me know how you make out with Mr. May. I hope you get lots.

Best to you both,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

June 2, 1957

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Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

The Executive Committee for our local Council on Human Relations met recently and tried to plan a program for several months ahead. I recall that Elizabeth mentioned a "study of your community" series, in which I believe Jane was actually engaged.

I wonder if the Council still has material on this project and whether it might fit into a program such as ours. Of course, if the reply is in the affirmative, we would then like to know if there would be someone in the Council who would come down and discuss it with our group. We have two or three speakers lined up, but feel that maybe some action project might be very helpful for the group.

Sincerely,

Courtney

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp Here's another device to try to get you to come

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

June 1, 1957

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Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your letter of May 15 concerning applying for funds from Mr. Maye. I forthwith dashed him off a letter and will be interested in his reply. It certainly was helpful to have your experienced counsel in this respect.

Two weeks ago we held the first meeting of our Bi-Racial committee here at Penn. The group is being pushed particularly, by a young White Methodist Minister from Bluffton, the lower part of the county. He has enlisted the support of a number of Negroes in Jasper County, and it is going under the name of a Tri-County ~~Racial Committee.~~ Council on Human Relations, way I heard it. Our speaker for the occasion was Mack Secrest, who is publisher of the Cheraw Chronicle, whose editorials you have reprinted. He is quite a fellow, and a new trustee of Penn. There must have been about thirty-five present, but few White people. We hope to increase the latter in the coming months.

Any possibility of luring you down as Honorable, talented out-side speaker for one of these occasions? Maybe in that way we can get a visit from the whole family. I hope the answer is in the affirmative.

Best wishes,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

Dear Harold -

Courtney is flitting and asked me to sign some letters for him. His suggestion (yours coming) seems like a pregnant one. Work on it.

F.T

October 10, 1957

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thanks for your letter of October 3rd describing the plan of operation developed by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

This gives us a satisfactory basis for proceeding with the grant-in-aid of $5,000 for 1957-1958.

As you may know, the first quarterly payment was sent to the state office on October 1st.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

October 3, 1957

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Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

At the Executive Committee Meeting of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations which met on September 15, 1957, plans were formulated for the coming year.

A budget of $10,000 was adopted on the assumption of $5,000 coming from Southern Regional Council, the remainder to be raised locally by the State Council. The Executive Committee decided to hire a full time assistant to Mrs. Spearman. The person suggested by Mrs. Spearman is a Mrs. Ruff, a Negro who has clerical ability, and lives in Columbia. The hiring of Mrs. Ruff will enable us to continue our bi-racial staff, and will aid a great deal in the pilot project to be undertaken in Columbia. While Mrs. Ruff will aid in the pilot project and the raising of funds for the support of the program, her primary responsibility will be the carrying on of clerical work of the office.

The entire Board will be meeting on October 12 and 13 at Penn Center, here on St. Helena. We are glad that you are going to be able to help us formulate our specific program for the oncoming months. We expect to discuss quite fully, the undertaking of the finances during this period.

The Executive Committee will recommend to the Board, an increase in the cost of membership. It would be five dollars for a single person, seven dollars and fifty cents for a couple. This would automatically include a subscription to the New South. You may be interested in knowing that the Executive Committee discussed rather fully the membership fee, since our Board is attempting to raise a larger sum than last year. However, the committee unanimously agreed that the bulletin New South should be included, since one cannot find the information included in the bulletin, elsewhere. Also, it was thought that members would be getting something tangible for their membership, and might be more apt to renew them at the term of expiration.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

October 21, 1957

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Following the very successful conference of the South Carolina Council last week, I want to extend a word of commendation to you and to Penn Community Services.

It must give you great satisfaction to consider the unique importance of Penn's function as a conference center where groups composed of both races can meet in a pleasant and relaxed atmosphere. There is no counterpart of Penn, certainly not in the deep South.

I heard many participants in last week's conference comment enthusiastically on the congeniality and comfort of Penn's facilities. They spoke my own sentiments exactly, and I thought it only proper to pass them on to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
(Sighed in Mr. Fleming's absence)

Ltr. to Courtney Siceloff

Dear Courtney:

Following the very successful conference of the South Carolina Council last week, I want to extend a word of commendation to you and to Penn Community Services.

It must give you great satisfaction to consider the unique importance of Penn's function as a conference center where groups composed of both races can meet in a pleasant and relaxed atmosphere. There is no counterpart of Penn, certainly not in the deep South.

I heard many participants in last week's conference comment enthusiastically on the congeniality and comfort of Penn's facilities. They spoke my own sentiments exactly, and I thought it only proper to pass them on to you.

(over)

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

With best regards,

Sincerely,

HCF

Encl: Ltr from Max. Hahn - dtd. 10/30/57

November 8, 1957

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

I am glad that my letter in praise of Penn struck you as useful and arrived at so timely a moment.

I hope you had your tongue in cheek when you spoke of my great fund-raising abilities and of our non-existent consultant in fund-raising. I do know about the Field Foundation. In fact, I have just had a letter from Max Hahn, the executive director, a confidential copy of which I am enclosing. As you will see, the prospect of early assistant from Field is nil.

The directory of foundations, titled: American Foundations and Their Fields, Seventh Edition by Wilmer Shields Rich, can be secured, I believe, from The American Foundations Information Service, 860 Broadway, New York 3. I don't recall the price, but it is fairly expensive. However, I am in the same stage you are - namely, exploring all possibilities, and I find the Rich book extremely useful in singling out foundations to shoot at.

All the best to you and Lib.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure.

RECEIVED OCT 28 1957

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

October 25, 1957

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It certainly was a very nice letter that you wrote concerning Penn. It also arrived at a very opportune moment when I was planning to go to New York for a Board meeting, as well as seek some foundation assistance.

I trust that you will not mind if I tote your letter along for support. Again, with your permission, I would like to have it duplicated later.

Best wishes,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

COURTNEY SICELOFF
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October 22, 1957

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Charleston, S. C.

Paul Kellogg
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. William W. Smith, II
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I really muffed the opportunity to talk to you about foundation support when you were here over the week end. Since you have no trouble along these lines, I'm surprised that Penn hasn't made an application directly to you instead of going to the foundation.

We have had representatives from several groups look at Penn, who ~~and~~ feel that life would be a bit too spartan for their delegates to take. I've drawn up a small list of needs that would amount to around seventeen thousand dollars, that I think would enable us to attract a number of such groups. My theory is that if we are able to attract a number of "respectable" groups, and thus seek to identify Penn as ~~either~~ not strictly a Negro institution, that our chances of having interracial meetings involving key persons over the state, would be greatly enhanced.

John May was here several months ago, and said that the Marshall-Field Foundation might be open to a proposition - one in which we could "ethically manipulate" them. Do you happen to know who is the executive in charge of that foundation's New York office? Also, is there not a publication which lists all types of foundations ~~in that state~~, and the primary interest of each. If so, could you please give me the publisher's address?

Obviously, we would not be adverse to having any other leads that you might suggest.

Best wishes,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

RECEIVED OCT 2 1 '57

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

October 21, 1957

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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Manchester, Mass.

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Mrs. William W. Smith, II
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 10, indicating that South Carolina would be receiving five thousand dollars for the year 1957-58. I am certainly pleased with our present staff and the prospects for the coming year. I feel certain that we will raise the amount set as our goal.

I speak not only for the State Council, but certainly, for us personally, that we were delighted to have you here over the week end. I trust that we will be hearing soon about your new consultant on finances, and his availability to South Carolina for several days in November.

I certainly hope that you made that plane out of Charleston Sunday. Otherwise, I would not have envied your roaming around the empty Sunday streets of Charleston, trying to pass the few hours.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

Penn

November 12, 1957

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Marion Wright has been in the office and we have been talking about the advisability of you becoming a member of NAIRO. He has asked me to write you saying that you are authorised by the Board to join and that they will pay your membership, and if you wish to attend the annual meeting Mr. Wright will guarantee up to $75.00 expenses.

The annual meeting is being held in Kansas City, Missouri, on November 20th, 21st and 22nd, and will take place at the Pickwick Hotel. If you decide to go I would advise that you write the hotel immediately for room reservations. Rooms run from $6.85 up. I think it would be good if you go.

Warm regards to the family.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

(Dictated by Mr. Routh but signed in his absence)

FBR:fcl

November 18, 1957

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Court:

Marion Wright is in the office and I shall pass on your letter so that he will be fully advised of the action you have taken regarding NAIRO.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

(Dictated by Fred Routh but signed in his absence)

FBR:fcl

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

November 14, 1957

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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Mrs. William W. Smith, II
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks very much for the information on NAIRO, and I am sending in a membership fee to Mr. Lassoe. I would like very much to attend the meeting, but will not be able to do so at this time. I would like very much to attend the next one if it is at all possible.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

cc. Marion Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

November 19, 1957

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is presumptious of me - rather like GSM's correcting Gunnar Myrdal's pronunciation- but when I came across the enclosed letterhead yesterday, it reminded me of my perennial dislike for the SRC letterhead. I realize you probably wouldn't want anything as extreme as Pendle Hill's. But couldn't we have a democratic, grass-roots movement to eliminate those vulgar capitals, the S and R and C, in the letterhead?

By the way, today Courtney received a letter from Fred Routh which wafted in on the most gorgeous scent. Is that a new feature of SRC correspondence?

Yours,

Libbo

pendle hill

WALLINGFORD
PENNSYLVANIA

A QUAKER CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL STUDY

DOUGLAS V. STEERE, Chairman
MARY HOXIE JONES, Vice-Chairman
THOMAS T. TAYLOR, Treasurer
MARY R. CALHOUN, Secretary

DAN WILSON, DIRECTOR
GILBERT H. KILPACK, DIRECTOR OF STUDIES

Dear Courtney,

Much to my shame, I have found a folder of receipts that was filed without acknowledgment. I know you will understand, but your interest and help are too important to us to go unheeded.

It was so good to see you here, even briefly. I hope you gospels study group goes well. Love to you and Elizabeth.

Your friend,

Dan

November 8, 1957 Dan Wilson

November 27, 1957

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Center
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Delighted to have you aboard.

I thought that "re-elected" might throw you. Actually, though you didn't know it, you were a member (ex-officio) for a short time after your election as chairman of the South Carolina Council.

More 'lasses?

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Nov 22, 1967

Dear Harold,

I appreciate the invitation to join the governing council of SRC, and consider it an honor; I am delighted to accept.

Concerning your statement of my being "re-elected" reminds me of the boy who was asked if he cared for molasses and replied, "I haven't had any 'lasses yet."

Cordially

RECEIVED DEC - 2 1957

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

FBR

St. Helena Island

Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

November 30, 1957

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Yes, I think it would help a little to block in the vulgar capitals; I think it would change them from vulgar to repulsive. It's all right, though, I am concentrating on other peeves now, so you needn't do anything.

We're leaving December 6 for our trek to Texas and Mexico, and must drive like the wind to Dallas in order to see Courtney's sister before she departs with her family to Libya. This sounds captainish and will be if we accomplish it. Sadly, it means no stop in Atlanta. In fact, the situation is so desperate some of our coffee breaks may have to be sacrificed! Tell Jane. Tell her I'll try to return Kristin L. before Lent. I am just now recovering from the gloom it brought over me.

We were to have a student group from the University of South Carolina - all white, of course - for a YM-YW retreat this weekend. A similar group came last year. We slipped up and allowed a local newsman to write a story

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

before the event, which appeared last week in the Charleston News & Courier. Long distance calls began coming in for the President of USC (Russell), protesting the students coming to Penn. He called in the University chaplain, Lauren Brubaker. Lauren reassured the President, and he said the retreat could go on, but as the calls continued to come, and then a petition signed by about 25 Beaufort people, the YM secretary, Ted Ledeen, was called in and it was decided not to hold the retreat at Penn. After a lot of telephoning, they finally located a hotel in Summerville which would house the group.

We were in North Carolina last weekend and were tracked down by Alice Spearman with this news. On the return trip, we stopped in Columbia and Courtney met with Ted Ledeen and the various religious secretaries, who were sponsoring the retreat jointly. Apparently they were not in any trouble with the administration, and this relieved us. Seems the only ones in trouble are us, with some Beaufort people as yet unknown to us. We are trying to find out who they are. One theory was that there might be a political angle, an attempt to discredit Pres. Russell in his announced candidacy for the Governorship. But that's only a theory. We hope to find out something soon. Meanwhile, it looks like we'll have to avoid publicity of all kinds for a while.

Our holiday greetings are early but we think we'd better send them now. Love to you all.

And many stars, candles, and Lazarus cups!

Libby

January 21, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

The tax-exemption memo mentioned by Marion Wright is evidently one prepared for NAIRO which we distributed to the state organizations about a year ago. It was mimeographed, entitled: "Tax Exemption and Private Intergroup Relations Agencies," forwarded to each state office by memo from Fred Routh dated December 14, 1956.

We were able to get only a limited number of copies and have here only one file copy, which I would rather hang onto if the S. C. Council has it on file. I suggest you check with Alice. If she can't turn up the S. C. Council's copy, let me know and I will shake loose our file copy.

It's a good memo, well worth careful reading.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JAN 20 1958

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

January 18, 1958

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Marion Wright, who has spent a couple of days here enroute to Florida, indicated that you have a paper giving the opinion of Mr. Haas, on what constitutes political activity. Since we (SCRC) have just obtained our tax-exempt status, we certainly do not want to endanger it, and would appreciate it very much if you could send two copies. However, if the supply is low I would be glad just to borrow one.

With best wishes,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

xxxxx
File

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

January 28, 1958

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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William E. Cadbury
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Secretary
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
Treasurer
Haverford College
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Joseph Wright
Beaufort, S. C.

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J. Nelson Frierson
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Paul Kellogg
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. William W. Smith, II
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Mr. Frederick Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

So glad to know that you will be joining the Penn Board of Advisors. Marion and I, among others, felt we needed some young, aggressive man --that one can do certain things in South Carolina at this time. I have not heard yet from Marion what the response has been to the invitations, but I am sure once the composition of the Board is settled, that a meeting will be called soon.

I do not think that the Advisory Board would have to meet often, but it will probably be a good idea to get together to know one another and to possibly come up with some ideas, and or contacts for developing the Conference Center particularly.

We are also wanting to contact Grace Hamilton, of Atlanta, in this connection. If you have her address, I would appreciate very much having it.

Best wishes,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

Good heavens! Is your name Frederick?
Lib

? PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

Jan. 31, 1958

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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New York, N. Y.

Mrs. William W. Smith, II
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Mr. Fredric B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

We are delighted at your acceptance of appointment to Penn's Advisory Board. No doubt you will be hearing from Courtney Siceloff or myself in the near future as to matters about which we would like to have your counsel.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Marion Wright

Marion Wright
Chairman

February 20, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thanks for sharing Bill Peters' letter to Helen Christensen. I knew from conversation with him that Peters was interested in this angle. In answer to his question, I told him that SRC, George Mitchell, and I were all audited within a period of a few months; but I also made it clear that we have suffered no injury and have no desire to make an issue of the fact. Having found at least a few others who had recently been checked by the Internal Revenue Service, Peters evidently decided to do a more general survey. I have no idea what he will find, but he is a trustworthy person who can be relied on not to violate any confidences. (Among other things, he is working with AFSC.)

Congratulations on the new member of the family. Did we tell you about ours? Arrived at Christmas, now about 15 pounds, black curly hair, and favors a rag-mop. She -- for such it is -- over-reacts to the name of Bridey Murphy. We must get her and Dondi together.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

rec 2/17

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

February 14, 1958

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Helen Christensen recently passed on the enclosed letter to me, to ask if I had heard of any such intimidation by members of the Internal Revenue Department. Although I grant that such is a possibility, it would seem most unlikely that this practice could be widespread.

I felt surely that you would have been consulted by Mr. Peters, but am sending it on in case you have not.

Did we tell you that we were expecting, and have now an addition to our family? It's a male, and weighs somewhere around nine pounds, grey eyes, black hair, and it is hard to say whom he favors. However, I must confess that it was an adoption, and was arranged between the families of Dabbs and Siceloffs. The pup sometimes answers to the name of Dondi.

Best wishes,

Courtney

cs:rfp

Enclosure

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Annual Meeting March 15, 1958

MINUTES

The Annual Meeting of the Trustees of Penn Community Services, Incorporated, was held at Hampton House, Frogmore, South Carolina, March 15, 1958, beginning at 10:00 A.M.

Trustees present were as follows: Chairman Marion Wright, Secretary Wood, Miss House, Mesdames Spearman and Sanders, Messrs. Aull, Cadbury, Dabbs, Evans, Brown, and J. Wright. Mrs. Y.W. Bailey of the Advisory Board was also present.

Sending regrets were Trustees Bell, Curtis, Jenks, Mays, Reid, Silver, and Solomon; and Advisory Board: Kellogg and Smith.

The meeting began with a brief period of silence, following which the Board went into executive session.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Chairman commended Director Siceloff and his work. Miss House concurred and brought out the fact that the Siceloffs have won the love and respect of the residents of St. Helena.

The Secretary stated that at the meeting of the Executive Committee on 14 March it was recommended that Mr. Siceloff be commended to the Board for employment as Director for the ensuing year, upon the terms specified by the Board as set forth on the first page of the minutes covering the meeting held in Philadelphia on 29 October 1957.

Director employed.

Upon MOTION duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, Mr. Siceloff was thereupon engaged for the term of one year at the salary specified in the 29 October 1957 minutes.

The following resolution was presented by Dr. Aull and was unanimously adopted:

> "In re-electing Courtney Siceloff as Director for the ensuing year, the Board takes occasion to express its great satisfaction with the services rendered by him and its appreciation for his devotion and skill in developing Penn's program.
>
> We believe that, largely as the result of his efforts, the physical plant has been rehabilitated, the campus made more attractive, the number of Penn's friends increased and the prestige and usefulness of the institution enhanced.

With great tact, intelligence and powers of persuasion he has conducted a needed program with a minimum of friction and opposition to the point that its value is now generally recognized and its success assured.

We pledge him our continued loyal support in the years ahead."

AGENDA AND MINUTES

The Agenda previously transmitted by mail was adopted. (Appended to Minute Book.)

The minutes of the 29 October 1957 meeting were accepted in the form previously mailed.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Secretary submitted the following report of actions taken by the Executive Committee at its meeting at Frogmore, South Carolina, on 14 March 1958.

Budget. As specified by the By-Laws, the Executive Committee reviewed the fiscal year 1959 proposed budget which the Director had previously mailed to the Trustees. (A copy of the mailed budget proposal is appended to the official Minute Book copy of these minutes.) The Executive Committee recommends that the amount projected as receipts from "Contributions" be reduced to $5000; that receipts from "Invested Funds" be reduced to $10,500; that receipts from "Sale of Timber" be increased to $500; that the salary of the Director be increased to $4800; and that the expenditures for "Reforestation" be increased to $800.

Noting that the Director had not been able to work with the Treasurer in preparing the projected budget, the Executive Committee recommends the adoption of the budget subject to the changes just described and further subject to readjustments to be made by the Executive Committee at a later time, after appropriate review by the Treasurer, and in the light of the desirability that a depreciation reserve should be established in connection with the Conference Income and Expenditure accounts.

Depreciation. The Executive Committee reviewed the matter of depreciation which has been discussed at previous meetings of the Board. The Committee noted that our existing policy of not providing for depreciation in the Conference accounts was originally adopted for two reasons: uncertainty as to proper depreciation rates to be charged, and the desirability of initially pricing conferee per capita rates in such a manner as to stimulate use of the new facilities.

The Executive Committee now directs that the Treasurer and Director consult in order to develop satisfactory depreciation schedules, with the instruction that wherever possible hereafter, the per capita rate be adjusted so as to amortize the true depreciation costs: and that the fiscal year 1959 budget be hereafter adjusted accordingly; and, further, that the fiscal year 1960 budget be prepared in accordance with "sound accounting practices".

Library Program. The Executive Committee recommends to the Board that the Chairman be instructed to approach county and state authorities with a view to securing full financial support from these sources for the library program.

Pensions. Director Siceloff read to the Executive Committee a letter from George Brown inquiring whether he were eligible under the existing pension program. The Executive Committee recommends that the Director be instructed to verify the details of Mr. Brown's dates of employment before responding; further, that the Board instruct the Executive Committee to re-study the existing program in light of changes in OASI (Federal Social Security) and in state Teachers' Retirement pension provisions which have taken place subsequent to adoption of the Penn pension program.

James Foundation. The Secretary read a letter which former Trustee Purves on 6 March 1958 wrote to Miss House regarding the possibility of an approach to the James Foundation. As a preliminary to taking action along the lines suggested by Mr. Purves, the Executive Committee recommends that the Board instruct the Director to secure a copy of the James Will, together with verifiable facts as to the dates and financial extent to which Mr. James was associated with this Board, referring this information to the Secretary.

Other Business. The Executive Committee discussed the following matter:

A request from the Highlander Folk School for the use of our facilities; since Penn now operates a conference center and not a school, the Committee recommends that the Board instruct the Director to decline.

The report of the Executive Committee was received by the Board, to be acted upon as the various subjects are reached in the agenda of today's meeting.

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

a) Oral Summary By Director. Director Siceloff summarized the written report dated 15 March 1958 which he had previously mailed to the Trustees. A copy of this report is appended to these minutes in the official Minute Book.

Clinic. Pursuant to the Director's recommendation, upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Board authorized transfer of the Rossa Cooley Clinic from the Frissell Building to Cope Building, in order to achieve more effective space utilization and so as to provide for a lounge for conferees in Frissell, noting that funds for such transfer will be available from the restricted endowment supporting the Rossa Cooley Clinic.

Sales House. Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, relocation of the Sales House activity from present quarters to Cope Building was authorized for the similar purpose of providing more efficient space utilization. (Miss Watson, of the Sales House, who participated in this portion of the meeting, as noted below, supported this proposal.)

James Foundation. Miss House recommended that the James Foundation be approached for funds to make possible a complete renovation of Cope Building for these purposes.

Adult Education. In completing his summary, Director Siceloff expressed the opinion that Penn would hereafter move in the direction of greater emphasis upon adult education programs.

b) Projects Summarized by Community Leaders. The Director then asked community representatives of the various Penn projects to summarize the current activities.

Library -- Mrs. Bailey. The librarian noted the addition of one depository outpost on the St. Helena and Lady's Islands, bringing the present number to nineteen. A growing circulation has now reached a maximum of 1193 books per month. $500 has been raised toward the acquisition of a bookmobile. Enthusiasm for the Story Hour program has resulted in the development of two such activities: a youth program on Mondays, and a younger children's program on Fridays.

As to financial support, Mrs. Bailey noted that the county originally contributed $1000 a year but is now giving $1800. The present asking for the next budget year is $2900, so as to increase the librarian's salary and to facilitate the bookmobile acquisition. The library board presents its asking budget to the county delegation. At present, the state's contribution consists of providing a rotating supply of books, but the state makes no direct financial contribution.

Women's Homemaking Class -- Mrs. Taylor. A principal activity consists of instruction -- making dresses, aprons, hats, washable window shades, etc., with certain items, such as dolls, for sale at prices up to $3.00 per piece.

A fashion show was held in November 1957, with another scheduled for March 28, 1958; this activity has been so successful that the group plans hereafter to hold two shows yearly.

Another major interest is in a house and yard clean-up program. Mrs. Sanders urged that the scope of this program be enlarged so as to encourage persons to desist from using community roadways for dumping purposes, noting that such dumping has greatly increased recently and that it is both unsightly and unhealthful. Miss House suggested that volunteer collectors be enlisted from each plantation. The Board concurred with a suggestion by Mr. Evans that Penn provide a community dump. Dr. Aull suggested that the Islanders compete for state awards now being given to groups achieving significant community improvement. These proposals were referred to the Director in consultation with Mrs. Taylor's group.

Sales House -- Miss Watson. Greater participation in the program was urged, noting that even old neckties are useful, serving as material for rug-making. During 1957 the sale of contributed items produced $346.25, with expenses of $194.98, leaving a balance of $151.27 for use in supporting such community activities as oyster roasts and teas, together with the objective of contributing $15.00 per month toward the Nursery. Mr. Evans urged that precise shipping instructions be made generally available as one method of stimulating contributions. Miss Watson indicated that the Sales House is willing to pay the mailing or shipping cost in sending donated material to Frogmore. (The mailing address is: c/o Siceloff, Frogmore, S.C. Endorse: For Sales House. The Rail address is: c/o Siceloff, via Beaufort, S.C. Endorse: For Sales House.)

Nursery -- Mrs. Browne. The Nursery exists primarily for children age 2-5; $2.00 per child per week is charged; these proceeds are supplemented by the grant from Penn. This year the group started with thirty-five enrollees, but unemployment and bad weather have reduced the usual enrollment to twenty-three with an average daily attendance of eighteen. This year for the first time the group has been included in the State Whole Milk program, while Director Siceloff has been successful in securing surplus food for the children.

Present needs include additional play equipment, particularly building blocks and tricycles.

In connection with the Penn maintenance program, Dr. Aull urged that, when this facility is repainted, consideration be given to an imaginative painting which would appeal to the youngsters, for example, by depicting Mother Goose characters on the walls.

Maintenance -- Leroy Browne. Attention was called to the regularizing of maintenance through the development of a scheduled five-year maintenance cycle for all maintenance, including the termite program. Further details are provided in the written report of Director Siceloff, and in the report of the Property Committee.

PROPERTY COMMITTEE

Dr. Aull commended Mr. Browne for his excellent work as maintenance Superintendent. Commendation for the landscaping plan was also expressed. The Directors heartily concurred.

Looking to the future, Dr. Aull noted that these four principal maintenance projects have been budgeted to be performed during fiscal year 1959:

Cope Building -- Sundry improvements inside and outside; roof, some tiles replaced, some valleys repaired; exterior doors replaced; and adjoining frame shed dismantled.

Nursery -- sills need replacing; repaint; termite-proof.

Lathers Hall -- porch and cornices to be repaired.

Butler -- cornices and outside stairway to be repaired.

PENN WOODLANDS

Under date of 10 March 1958 Director Siceloff mailed to the Trustees a proposal regarding the development of Penn's 600 woodland acres. (A copy is appended to the official Minute Book.) By the expenditure of about 50¢ per acre per year, Penn should be able to receive about $10 an acre from timber sales after the first decade, with $25 an acre in each succeeding five-year period; by comparison, proceeds from timber sales since 1950 have returned to Penn approximately 72¢ an acre annually.

Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Trustees authorized appropriating up to $1200, to be spent over the next four years (at an approximate annual rate of $300, but with the precise annual amount and application to be determined by the chairman of the Property Committee); in addition, the motion authorized reinvestment in this program of such proceeds as may be received from timber sales during this period; and the further application to this program of such governmental grants as may accrue from the program.

It was noted that the appropriated $1200 is available from the timber sold during the fiscal year 1958.

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

In the absence of chairman Bell of this committee, Director Siceloff presented the publicity program. Drafts of the 1958 brochure and appeals letter were posted for Trustees' comments. Each new conferee is added to the general mailing list. The original mailing list is supplemented by a follow-up communication from Assistant Treasurer Curtis.

Upon the recommendation of Mr. Evans, it was agreed that a financial summary should be placed on the reverse side of the appeals letter.

Certain textual changes were made in the draft brochure.

A MOTION expressing thanks to Garry Fullerton of Nashville was adopted, indicating the Trustees' appreciation of his part in preparing the 1958 mailing format.

LUNCHEON AND RECESS

Luncheon was served in the cafeteria at 12:30. A tour of the forestry area which was to have followed the luncheon was cancelled because of inclement conditions; a tour of the campus properties was substituted.

Members of the Nominating Committee were convened during this period.

The afternoon session of the Trustees was called to order at 2:30 P.M.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE, TRUSTEES AND OFFICERS

Advisory Board (For term expiring Annual Meeting 1959)

Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Board ratified the following nominations of Chairman Wright to the Advisory Board:

O.R. Reuben, President
Morris College
Sumter, South Carolina

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Executive Director
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Carey E. Haigler
Regional Director AFL-CIO
1106 Independence Building
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Ruby P. Cornwell
95 Congress Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Upon recommendation of Chairman Wright, the Board appointed retiring Trustee Mays to the Advisory Board.

The Board received with regret the resignations of Messrs. J. Nelson Frierson and Paul U. Kellogg, owing to ill health.

In addition, the Trustees invited certain other individuals to serve on the Advisory Board. Trustees will be notified of these appointments after the acceptances have been received.

The Board reaffirmed the suitability of the procedure whereby potential members of the Advisory Board may be contacted by the Chairman in consultation with Director Siceloff, subject to subsequent Board ratification.

Trustees (For term expiring Annual Meeting 1961)

As Chairman of the Nominating Committee, Secretary Wood called attention to certain aspects of the By-Laws which, in his opinion, merit clarification regarding the function of the Nomination Committee and so as to provide reasonable flexibility in the permissible number of Trustees to be elected at any given meeting considering the related problem of Board vacancies. Since advance notice of proposals to amend By-Laws is required, no specific amendments were presented at this time.

***

Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the following new Trustees were elected for the three-year term expiring in 1961:

The Reverend John W. Hardy, Rector
St. Helena's Parish
1109 Craven Street
Beaufort, South Carolina

*** INSERT above:
Upon MOTION duly seconded and carried, retiring Trustees Curtis, Dabbs, and Spearman were re-elected for the three-year term expiring at the annual meeting in 1961.

Edward N. Jenks
International Circulation Manager
The New York Times
(Penn mail to: Hampton House
Apt. 8-T, 123-35, 82nd Road
Kew Gardens 15, New York)

Mrs. James L. McConaughy, widow former Governor of
Connecticut and president of Wesleyan University
(Penn mail to:
46 Woodland Park
Hartford 5, Connecticut)

Robert K. Mooney, Executive Vice President
Hartford Dispatch & Warehouse Company
(Penn mail to:
73 Orchard Road
West Hartford, Connecticut)

In addition, the Trustees extended an invitation to another person. Trustees will be notified when the acceptance has been received.

Officers (For term expiring Annual Meeting 1959)

The Board noted the receipt of a telegram from Treasurer Reid advising of his inability to attend today's meeting and recommending the election, for the ensuing term of a replacement in the position of Treasurer. In discussing this, the Board determined that Dr. Reid should be asked to continue as interim Treasurer until a suitable replacement can be identified.

Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Board elected as interim treasurer Dr. Ira Reid; and authorized the Executive Committee to act, pursuant to the By-Laws, in appointing a replacement.

In electing a replacement, the Executive Committee was asked to evaluate the possibility of identifying an individual who is sufficiently close geographically to the Penn property as to facilitate conferring with the Director and the auditor.

The Nominating Committee then recommended the following slate of other officers and Finance Committee; each to serve for one year or until their successors are duly elected and shall have qualified: Chairman Marion A. Wright; Vice Chairman, William E. Cadbury; Asst. to the Treasurer, Miss Isabella Curtis; Secretary, Cornelius A. Wood, Jr. Finance Committee: Paul W. Brown, Jr., William E. Cadbury, Harold Evans; and ex-officio, the Board Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary.

No further nominations being received, nominations were closed and, upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Secretary was instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for the above officerships and Finance Committee members.

FINANCES

Treasurer's Report. In the absence of the Treasurer, no report was received.

Finance Committee Report. Finance Chairman Brown presented a four-page report which is appended to the Minute Book copy of these minutes; copies were distributed to Trustees attending; three pages, dated 27 February 1958, list the securities held by the corporation; the final page, dated 14 March 1958, presents portfolio changes to date during the fiscal year ending 30 April 1958.

In summarizing the report, Chairman Brown stated that the securities administered by the Finance Committee had a market value of approximately $268,905 on a consolidated basis as of the end of February 1958. (This includes the consolidation of three major funds.) The carrying value of these securities is in the vicinity of $197,000. Annual income is currently estimated at $10,659, with an approximate yield at market of 3.96%.

During the fiscal year to date, portfolio transactions consisted primarily of the exercise or sale of rights and the purchase of $5000 Potomac Edison Company 1st Mortgage and Collateral Trust, 4 5/8%, Bonds due 5/87 at net purchase cost of $4,920.27.

Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Trustees ratified the actions of the Finance Committee described in its report as appended to the Minute Book.

Budget. The budget proposals were then distributed. Attention was called to the difficulties attending the preparation of this report, with note of the Executive Committee recommendations described earlier.

Discussion of the magnitude of the projected fiscal 1959 deficit ensued, with reiteration of the desirability that contributions be increased. Mr. Brown noted that only about $13,000 of unrestricted capital remains for absorbing such deficits.

Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the budget was adopted in the form recommended by the Executive Committee — see Executive Committee report above -- including provision for subsequent adjustment by the Executive Committee. (A copy of the budget as adopted is attached to these minutes.)

OTHER BUSINESS

The Board then turned to the other items presented in the Executive Committee report which had not yet been acted upon.

Library. Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Chairman was instructed, in consultation with Director Siceloff, to attempt to secure full financial support for library operations from county and state governmental authorities.

James Foundation. Miss House indicated her belief that Arthur Curtiss James had been a trustee about the years 1900-01. Attention was called to the gaps in Penn's records described in the minutes of 29 October 1957. The Director was requested to assemble all feasible records and, at this time, to report factually to

Secretary Wood on all entries pertaining to Arthur Curtiss James. The Director was also instructed to secure a copy of the Arthur Curtiss James Will. Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Board accepted the recommendation of the Executive Committee regarding this matter.

Highlander Folk School. Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Board instructed the Director to reply to this inquiry along the lines recommended in the Executive Committee report.

Pensions. Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Director was instructed to refer to the Executive Committee report on this matter and to forward a finding of facts to the Secretary, for such further action by the Executive Committee as it may deem desirable.

Non-negotiable Instruments. Upon MOTION duly made, seconded and carried, the Trustees authorized Paul W. Brown, Jr., to transfer from Philadelphia to Director Siceloff, for safe-keeping in the Peoples Bank, Beaufort, South Carolina deeds, titles, and other non-negotiable instruments relating to this corporation.

Adult Education Institutes. Dr. Aull suggested the desirability of planning short courses to be held at Penn for adults, such as a course on family budgeting. He believes that staff and funds could be solicited from interested institutions. The proposal was referred to Director Siceloff, with the suggestion that counsel of the Advisory Board be secured.

Schwartzhaupt Fund. A pending proposal was noted, with the recommendation that it be brought up to date for presentation to the next meeting of the Executive Committee or Board, presumably late Spring or early Fall.

NEXT MEETING. The Directors having not set a date, the next meeting, pursuant to the By-Laws, will be convened upon call of the Chairman. Mr. Brown offered Philadelphia facilities. Mr. Wood noted the importance that a budget meeting be held at the earliest feasible date after a new Treasurer can be identified and has had opportunity to review the budget, including the depreciation policy recommendations.

ADJOURNMENT. There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 5:45 P.M., with particular commendation for services performed expressed to the Chairman, the Director, and the Secretary.

Respectfully submitted,

Cornelius A. Wood, Jr., Secretary
1018 DuPont Circle Building
Washington, D.C.

Attachment: Fiscal year 1959 Budget as adopted 15 March 1958.

Appendices (Minute Book only):

Agenda
Pre-approval budget proposal
Director's Report
Woodland's development proposal
Finance Committee report

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

BUDGET 1 April '58-30 March '59

Adopted by Trustees 15 March, 1958
Subject to Executive Committee Adjustment --See minutes

INCOME:

	Proposed 1958-59
Contributions	$ 5,000.
Invested Funds	10,500.
Conferences and Institutes	5,500.
Rent	2,600
Special Funds	
Rossa Cooley Clinic	300.
Frissell Memorial	1,220.
Scholarship	800.
Darrah	150.
New York Community Trust	500.
Sale of Timber	500.
TOTAL INCOME	$27,070.

EXPENSES:	Proposed 1958-59
Program:	
Salaries:	
Director	$ 4,800.
Maintenance Superintendent	3,300.
Asst. to Superintendent	500.
Clerical Help	500.
Library [1]	220.
Adult Education [2]	50.
Nursery School [2]	750.
Teen Canteen [3]	500.
Conferences & Institutes	5,000.
Travel - Island	600.
Off Island	700.
Entertainment	150.
Reforestation	800.
Rossa Cooley Health Center [4]	300.
Recording Project	50.
Contingencies	50.
TOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSE	$18,270.
ADMINISTRATION AND TRUSTEE EXPENSE:	
Office Expense	$ 450.
Publicity	550.
Bookkeeping Expense	
Salary	600.
Postage	25.
Other Expense	25.
Auditor	225.
Insurance	450.
Social Security	250.
Trustee Expense	
Travel	800.
Meetings	500.
TOTAL ADMINISTRATION AND TRUSTEE EXPENSE	$3,875.

	Proposed 1958-59
MAINTENANCE AND PERMANENT EQUIPMENT:	
General Maintenance	$ 1,400.
Rental Maintenance	600.
Frissell Maintenance [1]	300.
Darrah Hall Maintenance [5]	150.
Roads and Grounds	500.
Frissell Furnishings (Lounge and Fans) [1]	700.
Fire Fighting Equipment	100.
TOTAL MAINTENANCE COST	$ 3,750.
TOTAL OPERATING COST	25,895.
NON-OPERATING EXPENSE	
Pensions	5,350.
TOTAL EXPENSES	$ 31,245.
Deficit	$ 4,175.

Foot-Notes

1. Special Funds (Frissell)
2. " " (Scholarship)
3. " " (N.Y. Community Trust)
4. " " (Rossa Cooley Memorial Fund)
5. " " (Darrah Fund)

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Frogmore, S.C.

DIRECTORY OF TRUSTEES

and

ADVISORY BOARD

as of 15 March 1958

A. TRUSTEES

1. Officers, Board Committees, Staff
2. Board of Trustees, Addresses
3. Board of Trustees, by Term Expiration Date

B. ADVISORY BOARD (term expiring Spring, 1959), Addresses

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Frogmore, South Carolina

OFFICERS, BOARD COMMITTEES, STAFF

as of 15 March 1958

NOTE: New Trustees' appointments deferred, to be effectuated later by the Chairman of the Board.

CHAIRMAN

The Hon. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina
Phone: (Through Spruce Pine, N.C.) - Poplar 5-2522

VICE CHAIRMAN

William E. Cadbury
Eastman Dillon-Union Securities
Philadelphia National Bank Building
Broad & Chestnut Streets
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

SECRETARY

The Rev. Cornelius A. Wood, Jr.
1018 Dupont Circle Building
Washington 6, D.C.
Phone: HUdson 3-8672

TREASURER

Dr. Ira De A. Reid (pro tem)
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

ASSISTANT TREASURER

Miss Isabella Curtis
Winter Address: 28 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts
Summer Address: Manchester, Massachusetts

FINANCIAL SECRETARY

Miss Annie E. McGleughlin
202 Bridge Street
Drexel Hill, Pennsylvania

AUDITOR

Emeric Fischer
Certified Public Accountant
607 Carteret Street
P.O. Box 870
Beaufort, South Carolina

STAFF DIRECTOR

Courtney Siceloff
Frogmore, South Carolina

(Members of the staff, such as maintenance superintendent, etc., should be addressed through the Director)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Marion A. Wright, Chairman

Cornelius A. Wood, Jr., Secretary Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Treasurer

Paul W. Brown, Jr., Chairman Finance Committee

Dr. George H. Aull, Chairman Property Committee

B. Tartt Bell, Chairman Publicity Committee

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Paul W. Brown, Jr., Chairman

William E. Cadbury Harold Evans

Ex Officio: Board Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Cornelius A. Wood, Jr., Chairman

W.E. Solomon Mrs. Eugene Spearman

PROPERTY COMMITTEE

Dr. George H. Aull, Chairman

Mrs. Edward G. Sanders Joseph Wright

Ex Officio: Board Chairman, Treasurer

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

B. Tartt Bell, Chairman

Miss Isabella Curtis James M. Dabbs

Miss Grace B. House Mrs. Eugene Spearman

Ex Officio: Board Chairman, Treasurer

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Frogmore, South Carolina

BOARD OF TRUSTEES, ADDRESSES

as of 15 March 1958

NOTE: Date in parenthesis indicates term expiration.

AULL, Dr. George H. (1960)
Clemson College
Clemson, South Carolina
Phone: Office - 2421, extension 338
Home - 2332

BELL, B. Tartt (1959)
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina
Home Address: Guilford, North Carolina

BROWN, Paul W., Jr. (1960)
Philadelphia National Bank
Broad & Chestnut Streets
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Home Address: Dowingtown, Pennsylvania

CADBURY, William E. (1959)
Eastman Dillon-Union Securities
Philadelphia National Bank Building
Broad & Chestnut Streets
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

CURTIS, Miss Isabella (1961)
Winter Address: 28 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts
Summer Address: Manchester, Massachusetts

DABBS, James M. (1961)
Maysville, South Carolina

EVANS, Harold (1960)
1000 Provident Building
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania
Home Address: Awbury
Germantown,
Philadelphia 38, Pennsylvania

HARDY, The Rev. John (1961)
1109 Craven Street
Beaufort, South Carolina
Phone: 355

HOUSE, Miss Grace B. (1959)
Orient,
Long Island, New York

JENKS, Edward N. (1961)
International Circulation Manager
New York Times
229 West Forty-Third Street
New York 36, New York
Home Address: Apt. 8-T
123-35 Eighty-Second Road
Kew Gardens 15, New York

JENKS, Mrs. Horace H. (1960)
Shadow Lane
Wilton, Connecticut

McCONAUGHY, Mrs. James L. (1961)
46 Woodland Park
Hartford 5, Connecticut

MOONEY, Robert K. (1961)
73 Orchard Road
West Hartford, Connecticut

REID, Dr. Ira De A. (1959)
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

SANDERS, Mrs. Edward G. (1960)
Frogmore, South Carolina
Phone: Beaufort 760-3

SECREST, A.M. (1959)
Box 191
Cheraw, South Carolina

SILVER, John A. (1960)
Pipersville, Pennsylvania

SOLOMON, W.E. (1959)
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

SPEARMAN, Mrs. Eugene (1961)
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1745 Sumter Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Phone: Sunset 7-4276

WOOD, The Rev. Cornelius A., Jr. (1960)
1018 Dupont Circle Building
Washington 6, D.C.
Phone: HUdson 3-8672

WRIGHT, Joseph (1960)
1015 Prince Street
Beaufort, South Carolina
Phone: 664

WRIGHT, The Hon. Marion A. (1960)
Linville Falls, North Carolina
Phone: (Through Spruce Pine, N.C.) Poplar 5-2522

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Frogmore, South Carolina

TRUSTEES, by Term Expiration Date

as of 15 March 1958

By-Laws permit: 15 minimum, 24 maximum.
Annually elected: 5 minimum, 8 maximum.
Term: 3 years.
Vacancies: 2 (for term expiring 1962).

Name	Term Expires 1959	1960	1961	1962
Dr. George H. Aull		X		
B. Tartt Bell	X			
Paul W. Brown, Jr.		X		
William E. Cadbury	X			
Miss Isabella Curtis			X	
James McBride Dabbs			X	
Harold Evans		X		
The Rev. John W. Hardy			X	
Miss Grace B. House	X			
Edward N. Jenks			X	
Mrs. Horace H. Jenks		X		
Mrs. James L. McConaughy			X	
Robert K. Mooney			X	
Dr. Ira De A. Reid	X			
Mrs. Edward G. Sanders		X		
A.M. Secrest	X			
John A. Silver		X		
W.E. Solomon	X			
Mrs. Eugene Spearman			X	
The Rev. Cornelius A. Wood, Jr.		X		
Joseph Wright		X		
Hon. Marion A. Wright		X		

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Frogmore, South Carolina

ADVISORY BOARD (term expiring Spring, 1959)

as of 15 March 1958

NOTE: Elected by Trustees, one year term, maximum number: 15.

BAILEY, Mrs. Y.W.
Frogmore, South Carolina
Phone: Beaufort - 5204

BUCHANAN, George A., Jr.
2220 Lee Street
Columbia, South Carolina

COPE, Francis R., Jr.
Dimock, Pennsylvania

CORNWELL, Mrs. Ruby P.
95 Congress Street
Charleston, South Carolina

GREY, Miss Wil Lou
1851 Devine Street
Columbia, South Carolina

HAIGLER, Carey E.
Regional Director AFL-CIO
1106 Independence Building
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

HAMILTON, Mrs. Grace T.
Executive Director
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JOHNSON, Miss Leila
Murrells Inlet, South Carolina
(Alternate: Miss Mary Phelps Wheeler
Murrells Inlet, South Carolina)

MAYS, Dr. Benjamin E.
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

REUBEN, Dr. O.R.
Morris College
Sumter, South Carolina

ROUTH, Frederick B.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

SMITH, Mrs. William W., II
Box 286
Poughkeepsie, New York

(WHEELER: See Johnson)

April 25, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thanks for sending me the latest bouquet from Marse Waring's Plantation News. This is the best promotion we have had from him yet.

We have noted that spring has sprung and would like to pay a visit to St. Helena's before summer has summed.

The best to all - and I do mean all - of you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island ~~Before 10~~ - Frogmore, South Carolina
~~after 12~~

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Dear Harold —

I thought you would be interested in what your devoted admirer — Waring — has to say about SRC.

Spring has finally sprung here so how about a visit?

Paul

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

May 5, 1958

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Hon. Marion A. Wright
Chairman
Linville Falls, N. C.

William E. Cadbury
Vice-Chairman
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. Cornelius A. Wood, Jr.
Secretary
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
Treasurer
Haverford College
Haverford, Pa.

Dr. George H. Aull
Clemson, S. C.

B. Tartt Bell
Greensboro, N. C.

Paul W. Brown, Jr.
Philadelphia 1, Pa.

Leroy E. Browne
St. Helena Island, S. C.

Miss Isabella Curtis
Manchester, Mass.

James McBride Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dr. J. Curtis Dixon
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold Evans
Philadelphia, Pa.

Miss Grace B. House
Orient, Long Island, N. Y.

Mrs. Horace H. Jenks
Wilton, Conn.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Atlanta, Georgia

Robert Ogden Purves
New Haven, Conn.

Mrs. Edward G. Sanders
St. Helena Island, S. C.

A. M. Secrest
Cheraw, S. C.

John A. Silver
Pipersville, Pa.

W. E. Solomon
Columbia, S. C.

Mrs. Eugene Spearman
Columbia, S. C.

Joseph Wright
Beaufort, S. C.

ADVISORY BOARD

Mrs. Y. W. Bailey
St. Helena Island, S. C

Francis R. Cope, Jr.
Dimock, Pa.

J. Nelson Frierson
Charleston, S. C.

Paul Kellogg
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. William W. Smith, II
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your note. We do hope very much that you and family, as many as you care to bring, would pay us a visit at your convenience.

Since within a month's time we will have both the Midwives and the Morticians of South Carolina, I think we should be able to take care of any need that may arise.

We had a well attended meeting of the South Carolina Council. Marion Wright was at his best form, but thought he would pass out with the heat before the day was ended. His talk was quite well received. I think several mentioned they would like to see it printed. When he mentioned a figure in the neighborhood of $900 the interest lagged somewhat.

With best wishes,

Courtney Siceloff

cs:rfp

June 17, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Court:

Thanks for all the data on the up-coming meeting of the Advisory Board. I certainly plan to be there, since I am chairing the meeting. I do not know yet, however, my mode of transportation, but I shall be there.

All good regards to you and Lib.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure: application blank

June 18, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Service, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Court:

I arrive in Savannah on Thursday, July 10, at 7:03 P. M. I am coming by Delta air lines, flight 385. I would appreciate it if I could be met, but would understand if it is impossible. I would then get a U-Drive-It and proceed to Penn.

Unfortunately, this is the only flight convenient for me for I return to Atlanta only that morning.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

June 19, 1958

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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Miss Grace B. House
Orient, Long Island, N. Y.

Mrs. Horace H. Jenks
Wilton, Conn.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Atlanta, Georgia

Robert Ogden Purves
New Haven, Conn.

Mrs. Edward G. Sanders
St. Helena Island, S. C.

A. M. Secrest
Cheraw, S. C.

John A. Silver
Pipersville, Pa.

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Mrs. Eugene Spearman
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Beaufort, S. C.

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Francis R. Cope, Jr.
Dimock, Pa.

J. Nelson Frierson
Charleston, S. C.

Paul Kellogg
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. William W. Smith, II
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

Recently you accepted our invitation to join the Advisory Committee of Penn Community Services. The purpose of the Committee, as mentioned in the letter of invitation, is to help formulate a program for Penn. The first meeting of this group is being called for July 11, 1958. At that time we would very much like to have your advice and suggestions for developing a program on Adult Education.

The enclosed tentative agenda is proposed for your guidance. I've taken the liberty of asking Fred Routh, Assistant Director of Southern Regional Council, to be chairman for this meeting. The meeting of the committee will be held during the Midwives Institute, sponsored annually by the South Carolina State Board of Health. It will provide an opportunity for seeing how the conference facilities are utilized.

Facilities are available here at Penn to spend Friday night, and even the week-end if you so desire. I will be glad to make reservations for those wishing to stay in Beaufort. Perhaps also, you may wish to bring your family and take advantage of the beach at the state park on the ocean. Please return the enclosed form, stating whether you will be able to attend this meeting.

Penn is prepared to reimburse traveling expenses for those attending, and a form is enclosed which can be turned in to me. Other enclosures are, two bulletins concerning Penn, one of which contains a map indicating how to arrive here, and a financial statement giving the resources of Penn on the back of an appeal letter.

Persons coming by plane should go to the Savannah airport, and it is hoped that if several from one town choose the airplane facilities, they will coordinate their flight.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff

Members of the Advisory Committee:

Mrs. Y.W. Bailey, St. Helena Island, South Carolina
George A. Buchanan, Jr., 2220 Lee Street, Columbia, S.C.
Francis R. Cope, Jr., Dimock, Pennsylvania
Mrs. Ruby P. Cornwell, 95 Congress Street, Charleston, S.C
Miss Wil Lou Gray, 1851 Devine Street, Columbia, S.C.
Mr. Carey E. Haigler, 1106 Independence Bldg., Charlotte 2 N.C.
Miss Lelia Johnson, Murrells Inlet, S.C.
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, 239 Auburn Ave. N.E., Atlanta 3, G
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
O. Reuben, Morris College, Sumter, S.C.
Frederick Routh, 63 Auburn Ave., Atlanta, Ga.
Mrs. William W. Smith, II, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

June 23, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

This is to acknowledge your letter of June 20. Mr. Routh is out of town and will not be back in his office until July 14. However, we shall notify him that you plan to meet him in Savannah.

At your request we have contacted both Dr. Mays and Mrs. Hamilton. Dr. Mays has been out of town, and has received no information concerning the Advisory Committee meeting. Mrs. Hamilton could not say definitely that she would be able to attend, but asks that we assure you that she will make every effort to be there. If she is able to come, she will notify you of her expected time of arrival.

Sincerely,

Luleen Sandefur
Secretary to Mr. Routh

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

Please return for files

June 20, 1958

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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Paul Kellogg
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. William W. Smith, II
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

9 & 10

I am very glad that you can come in Thursday evening for the Advisory Committee meeting. I will certainly plan to meet you in Savannah on flight 385. Perhaps others from Atlanta who may be coming, might be on that same flight. I would appreciate your getting in touch with them,-that is, Mrs. Hamilton and Dr. Mays.

JA 1-2355 MU 8-4223

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

cs:rfp

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

PROGRAM OF ADVISORY BOARD MEETING

JULY 11, 1958

1. 12:30 P.M. -- Leave from Hampton House for inspection of campus and facilities. Statement of Penn's present activities — Director Courtney Siceloff

1:30 - - - - Lunch

2. 2:30 - - - - Assemble at Hampton House with Fred M. Routh as Chairman.

Discussion of program of adult education, including:

A. What types of education might properly be provided, considering

1. Needs of area to be served, and

2. Penn's facilities

Note: Under "Area to be served", it is contemplated that one type of adult education may be provided for the people of St. Helena and adjacent islands, and a somewhat different type for that part of the southern region from which participants may be drawn. Views of the Board as to both types are sought.

3. Areas of interest in which adult education by institutes or otherwise, is practical at Penn.

A. Specific groups and their special needs or problems

B. Subjects of institutes making appeals across group lines e.g. Citizenship

C. Academic subjects

D. Other

4. In view of conclusions reached under 2 and 3, how may recommendations be implemented?

1. Personnel of staff and faculty

2. Securing attendance

3. Financing

a. Possible aid from other sources, including state agencies such as Extension Services, religious or other organizations, foundations, fees charged participants, etc.

5. 5:30 --- - Recess for Dinner

6. 7:30 - - - Evaluation of present program and recommendations of new functions and activities

7. Summary by chairman Routh

8. Adjournment

September 10, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Marion Wright's call for the names of institutions or persons engaged in police training and the possibility of their serving as consultants to Penn has aroused our interest.

Several questions come to mind: 1) What type of training do you intend to offer? 2) What law enforcement agencies would likely send participants? 3) How would you go about recruiting them? 4) How would you finance the project?

If you will spell out in some detail what you have in mind we will be glad to advise on whom to contact, etc.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
c.c. Marion Wright

Sent to each member of Penn Community
Service Board - as suggested by MAW

September 15, 1958

Dr. George H. Aull
Clemson College
Clemson, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Aull:

The enclosed copy of the July-August issue of New South contains an article on Mr. James M. Dabbs, written by Mr. Marion A. Wright.

In the light of your association with both of these gentlemen on the Board of Penn Community Services, we thought you would be interested.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

9/8/58

HCF:

We have ample copies of July-August New South to send copies to Penn Community people. Think it would be nice gesture.

Copies sent to each Mf.

JC - Please advise HE

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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New Haven, Conn.

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Columbia, S. C.

Mrs. Eugene Spearman
Columbia, S. C.

Joseph Wright
Beaufort, S. C.

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Dimock, Pa.

J. Nelson Frierson
Charleston, S. C.

Paul Kellogg
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. William W. Smith, II
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

9-1-58

Dear Harold:

Would your supply of U.S. stand a complimentary copy of the July-Aug. '58 issue for each of the members of Penn's Board and Advisory Board as shown on sheets 4-8, inclusive, of attached list? Dabbs is on the board, as you know. This may encourage purchases of his book and will not hurt. S.R.C. Evans and Tartt Bell have ~~all~~ already been helpful; others may be in the future.

A covering letter from you would be a nice touch.

If this is an imposition on you, don't hesitate to say so.

Please return list.

Hope to write you fully on Wednesday when I dictate.

Sincerely

MAW

Return to M.A.W.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Frogmore, S. C.

DIRECTORY OF TRUSTEES

and

ADVISORY BOARD

as of 15 March 1958

A. TRUSTEES

1. Officers, Board Committees, Staff
2. Board of Trustees, Addresses
3. Board of Trustees, by Term Expiration Date

B. ADVISORY BOARD (term expiring Spring, 1959), Addresses

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, Inc.

Frogmore, South Carolina

OFFICERS, BOARD COMMITTEES, STAFF

as of 15 March 1958

NOTE: New Trustees' appointments deferred, to be effectuated later by the Chairman of the Board.

CHAIRMAN

The Hon. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina
Phone: (Through Spruce Pine, N. C.) - Poplar 5-2522

VICE CHAIRMAN

William E. Cadbury
Eastman Dillon-Union Securities
Philadelphia National Bank Building
Broad & Chestnut Streets
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

SECRETARY

The Rev. Cornelius A. Wood, Jr.
1018 Dupont Circle Building
Washington 6, D. C.
Phone: HUdson 3-8672

TREASURER

Dr. Ira De A. Reid (pro tem)
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

ASSISTANT TREASURER

Miss Isabella Curtis
Winter Address: 28 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts
Summer Address: Manchester, Massachusetts

FINANCIAL SECRETARY

Miss Annie E. McGleughlin
202 Bridge Street
Drexel Hill, Pennsylvania

AUDITOR

Emeric Fischer
Certified Public Accountant
204 West Street
P. O. Box 870
Beaufort, South Carolina

STAFF DIRECTOR

Courtney Siceloff
Frogmore, South Carolina

(Members of the staff, such as maintenance superintendent, etc., should be addressed through the Director.)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Marion A. Wright, Chairman

Cornelius A. Wood, Jr., Secretary Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Treasurer

Paul W. Brown, Jr., Chairman Finance Committee

Dr. George H. Aull, Chairman Property Committee

B. Tartt Bell, Chairman Publicity Committee

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William E. Cadbury Harold Evans

Ex Officio: Board Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer

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W. E. Solomon Mrs. Eugene Spearman

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Dr. George H. Aull, Chairman

Mrs. Edward G. Sanders Joseph Wright

Ex Officio: Board Chairman, Treasurer

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

B. Tartt Bell, Chairman

Miss Isabella Curtis James M. Dabbs

Miss Grace B. House Mrs. Eugene Spearman

Ex Officio: Board Chairman, Treasurer

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Frogmore, South Carolina

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as of 15 March 1958

NOTE: Date in parenthesis indicates term expiration.

AULL, Dr. George H. (1960)
Clemson College
Clemson, South Carolina
Phone: Office - 2421, extension 338
Home - 2332

BELL, B. Tartt (1959)
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina
Home Address: Guilford, North Carolina

BROWN, Paul W., Jr. (1960)
Philadelphia National Bank
Broad & Chestnut Streets
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Home Address: Downingtown, Pennsylvania

CADBURY, William E. (1959)
Eastman Dillon-Union Securities
Philadelphia National Bank Building
Broad & Chestnut Streets
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

CURTIS, Miss Isabella (1961)
Winter Address: 28 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts
Summer Address: Manchester, Massachusetts

DABBS, James M. (1961)
Maysville, South Carolina

EVANS, Harold (1960)
1000 Provident Building
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania
Home Address: Awbury
Germantown,
Philadelphia 38, Pennsylvania

HARDY, The Rev. John (1961)
1109 Craven Street
Beaufort, South Carolina
Phone: 355

HOUSE, Miss Grace B. (1959)
Orient,
Long Island, New York

JENKS, Edward N. (1961)
International Circulation Manager
New York Times 229 West Forty-Third Street
New York, New York
Home Address: Apt. 8-T
123-35 Eighty-Second Road
Kew Gardens 15, New York

JENKS, Mrs. Horace (1960)
Shadow Lane
Wilton, Connecticut

McCONAUGHY, Mrs. James L. (1961)
46 Woodland Park
Hartford 5, Connecticut

MOONEY, Robert K. (1961)
73 Orchard Road
West Hartford, Connecticut

REID, Dr. Ira De A. (1959)
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

SANDERS, Mrs. Edward G. (1960)
Frogmore, South Carolina
Phone: Beaufort 760-3

SECREST, A. M. (1959)
Box 191
Cheraw, South Carolina

SILVER, John (1960)
Pipersville, Pennsylvania

SOLOMON, W. E. (1959)
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

SPEARMAN, Mrs. Eugene (1961)
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1745 Sumter Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Phone: Sunset 7-4276

WOOD, The Rev. Cornelius A., Jr. (1960)
1018 Dupont Circle Building
Washington 6, D. C.
Phone: HUdson 3-8672

WRIGHT, Joseph (1960)
1015 Prince Street
Beaufort, South Carolina
Phone: 664

WRIGHT, The Hon. Marion A. (1960)
Linville Falls, North Carolina
Phone: (Through Spruce Pine, N. C.) Poplar 5-2522

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, Inc.

Frogmore, South Carolina

ADVISORY BOARD (term expiring Spring, 1959)

as of 15 March 1958

NOTE: Elected by Trustees, one year term, maximum number: 15.

BAILEY, Mrs. Y. M.
Frogmore, South Carolina
Phone: Beaufort - 5204

BUCHANAN, George A., Jr.
2220 Lee Street
Columbia, South Carolina

COPE, Francis R., Jr.
Dimock, Pennsylvania

CORNWELL, Mrs. Ruby P.
95 Congress Street
Charleston, South Carolina

GREY, Miss Wil Lou
1851 Devine Street
Columbia, South Carolina

HAIGLER, Carey E.
Regional Director AFL-CIO
1106 Independence Building
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

HAMILTON, Mrs. Grace T.
Executive Director
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JOHNSON, Miss Leila
Murrells Inlet, South Carolina
(Alternate: Miss Mary Phelps Wheeler
Murrells Inlet, South Carolina)

MAYS, Dr. Benjamin E.
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

? McARTHUR, Dr. Curry Beaufort, S.C.
[Has he accepted? If so, supply middle initial and address; if not, delete name.]

? PARRISH, Bruce
[See comments under McArthur.]

REUBEN, Dr. O. R.
Morris College
Sumter, South Carolina

omit ROUTH, Frederick B.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

SMITH, Mrs. William W., II
Box 286
Poughkeepsie, New York

(WHEELER: See Johnson)

omit ? YOUNG, Mrs. Morris
[See comments under McArthur.]
Care Sivelsff

September 16, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thanks for your letter of September 13, spelling out your plans for law enforcement officer-training in intergroup relations. It is an ambitious and worthwhile project.

I would suggest that you write the following two men, both knowledgeable about such things:

Col. David McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. Louis Radelet, Director
Commission on Community Organizations
National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

Explain to them in some detail what you have in mind and they can both advise you and steer you to other sources.

Hope this helps. Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
c.c. Marion A. Wright

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

September 13, 1958

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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ORIENT
LONG ISLAND, N. Y.

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

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WILTON, CONN.

MRS. JAMES L. MCCONAUGHY
HARTFORD, CONN.

ROBERT K. MOONEY
WEST HARTFORD, CONN.

IRA DE A. REID
HAVERFORD, PA.

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ATLANTA, GA.

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MURRELL'S INLET, S. C.

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS
ATLANTA, GA.

DR. O. R. REUBEN
SUMTER, S. C.

FREDERICK B. ROUTH
ATLANTA, GA.

MRS. WILLIAM W. SMITH
POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

I am not sure whether Marion Wright will be responding to your letter earlier than I, but on the basis of our conversation together, this is what we had in mind: We are approaching a Foundation for a grant to put on several conferences where we could take care both of the expense of bringing in consultants, as well as furnishing the board and room while the participants engage in the conferences. One such conference would concern law enforcement agencies primarily, who would have responsibility in the event of racial disorders.—Whether desegregation of schools or other forms of public service. Also involved in the conferences probably, would be a discussion of the Civil Rights legislation and how the officer would be affected by its regulations.

It was our decision to postpone making contacts with the law enforcement agencies, until we were assured of finaicial support for this project. Our thought was to approach the officer, of the peace officers organization, and have them send out the invitations and officially sponsor the conference. Of course, this is speculation on our part that we would receive such cooperation.

Once we are assured of the finances for putting on this conference, then we would want to move rather quickly in getting it set up. In our talks with the law enforcement agencies, our position would be certainly, strengthened if we could assure them of consultants who are in good standing, preferably, in the southern community, and see the need of such training.

We understand that there is a school in Kentucky which has been carrying on this work for some time. However, we thought in your survey of southern cities employing Negro policemen, you may have come across other individuals whom it might be well to call on.

It is of course, too early to have heard from other members of the Advisory Committee about the meeting the end of October, but certainly hope that this can be worked out at that time. I look forward to seeing you then, if not before.

Best regards,

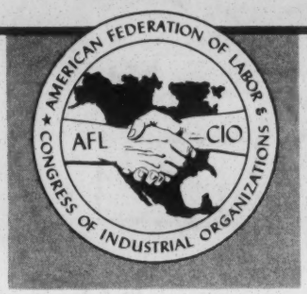
Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

Fl. Penn. Com. Center

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER



REGION NO. 5, CAREY E. HAIGLER, DIRECTOR
1106-10 INDEPENDENCE BLDG.
CHARLOTTE 2, NORTH CAROLINA
EDISON 3-9627

17 17

September 16, 1958.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. #432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for your letter of September 15th, 1958, and the enclosed copy of the July-August issue of the New South containing an article on James M. Dabbs, written by Marion A. Wright.

Unfortunately, I have not been privileged to attend the Advisory Board meetings of the Penn Community Services and have not had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Wright personally. I hope to do this the next board meeting, which is tentatively set for October 31, 1958.

Many thanks for your interest and the copy of the New South.

Sincerely yours,

Carey E. Haigler

Carey E. Haigler
Director

CEH:ash
OEIU 2 afl-cio

Bd
Fleming
Common. Cntr

ORGANIZED 1803

THE PHILADELPHIA NATIONAL BANK

PAUL W. BROWN, JR.
VICE PRESIDENT

PHILADELPHIA-1, PA.

September 19, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks ever so much for your letter enclosing a copy of the July - August issue of "New South". Thanks to Mr. Wright I had already seen the article which he wrote about Mr. Dabbs. I have great admiration for both men and consider it a privilege to be associated with them. My entire family enjoyed Mr. Dabbs' recent television interview.

Sincerely yours,

Paul W. Brown, Jr.

Paul W. Brown, Jr.

PWBjr:alg

B.d.
Penn Center

September 22, 1958

Miss Grace B. House
Village Lane
Orient, Long Island
New York, New York

Dear Miss House:

Thanks so much for your kind acknowledgement of my recent letter transmitting the July-August New South. We are delighted to have you as a subscriber.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MISS GRACE B. HOUSE
VILLAGE LANE
ORIENT, LONG ISLAND
NEW YORK

September 19, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

It was most kind of you to send me the July-August copy of "New South" with Mr. Coughlin's article on Mr. James M. Dabbs. I was particularly interested in that article, as well as in the whole magazine.

I am enclosing my check for $2.00 for a year's subscription to "New South" with warm thanks to you for giving me the opportunity to see this copy.

Sincerely - Grace B. House

9/22/58

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

RHA:

Please initial the attached letter and see that Miss House is put on New South mailing list for $2.00 worth.

Thanks.

Bd. Comm.
Pam. Center

Palmetto Education Association, Inc.

Office of the Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Telephone: ALpine 2-9383

Allen Williams, President
Woodruff, South Carolina

September 22, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for the July-August issue of New South.

I have read the article by Marion Wright about Mr. Dabbs and passed it on to a few of Mr. Dabbs' friends.

Yours truly,

W. E. Solomon

W. E. Solomon,
Executive Secretary

WES/bfb

September 30, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Many thanks for keeping me up-to-date on our running battle in the columns of the News and Courier. Otherwise, I would not see what becomes of our forlorn efforts to defend our sacred honor. I am rather pleased that old Waring has evidently decided that it is the better part of discretion to publish our answers in full - even if he does get them rebutted almost before the ink is dry. I have no allusion that we can win this running battle, but I think it's well to let them know that we are not without some defense.

Hope y'all didn't get blown around too much by Helene.

All the best to you and Lib and off-spring, present and prospective.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Penn Center

EDWARD N. JENKS
HAMPTON HOUSE APT. 8T
123-35 82ND ROAD
KEW GARDENS 15, N. Y.

LIGGETT 4-6959

October 14 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was most thoughtful of you to send me a copy of the July-August issue of New South containing Mr. Wright's article on Mr. Dabbs. As the newest member of the Board of Trustees of Penn Community Services, I particularly appreciate having this opportunity to get acquainted with two gentlemen whose wisdom and energy have been given so generously in the service of the Southern community.

I was also much interested in the perceptive article, "The Southern Temper" by Merriman Cuninggim in the same issue.

Please accept my apology for not acknowledging your September 15th letter sooner, but I returned to New York only last week after a four-month absence in Europe.

Sincerely,

Edward N Jenks

Edward N. Jenks

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

October 27, 1958

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

This is a reminder that we will be expecting you next Friday at the meeting of the Advisory Board of Penn Community Center. You probably recall that the meeting begins at 12:00 noon.

Looking forward to seeing you soon, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

November 3, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Court:

It was good to be with you and Lib while attending the Advisory Committee meeting of Penn Community Services. I found the group both interesting and stimulating.

As I explained to you, several organizations were helping on the costs of my trip. Penn's share is $25.00.

Best regards all around and please remember me to Mrs. Major and Mr. and Mrs. Brown.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBRels

November 7, 1958

Mrs. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Lib:

Thanks for yours of recent date. No special hurry on travel expense check.

Glad to read that you and M.A.W. noticed the same error and sin of omission in the Advisory Committee's report.

I have appropriately greeted all the little brothers and sisters in the faith for you - and didn't confuse them once.

The stay at Penn was delightful indeed and the highlight was the pleasant time spent with the Siceloff's.

Regards to Court, love to the kids.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:LS

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island

Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

November 3, 1958

Dear Fred,

Your letter arrived today, and I thought I'd better reassure you about the travel expense check, which will be delayed because of Courtney's absence. I can't write checks on the Penn account - a good thing, for I can really play havoc with a checking account. (That's why I married a pacifist!)

Marion Wright and I were reading over the Advisory Board report Saturday night, and noticed the errors which you mentioned. Marion promised to call them to Courtney's attention. (He had already left for the North.)

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island

Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

It was such fun to see you, and when things get grim around here, I remember how cheerful you were at breakfast, and everything's beautiful again. Please come, whenever you can.

Greet all the little brothers and sisters in the faith for me, appropriately.

Lil

P.S. Tell Harold I just noticed the muted grey letters on your (SRC) letterhead - a vast improvement.

I'll shut up now!

Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Fall Meeting 7 November 1958

MINUTES

Pursuant to notice of meeting mailed 22 September, the Board of Trustees, Penn Community Services, Inc., was convened in the Philadelphia National Bank Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at 10 o'clock in the morning, 7 November 1958.

Trustees present were: Chairman Wright; Secretary Wood; Mesdames Jenks and Spearman; Messrs. Brown, Cadbury, Dabbs, Evans, Jenks, and Silver. Also present: Director Siceloff, and Mrs. Edith W. Rice, recorder on behalf of the Secretary.

Regrets were received from: the Misses Curtis and House; Mrs. McConaughy; Messrs. Aull, Bell, Hardy, Mooney, Secrest, and Solomon.

The meeting began with a brief period of silence, following which the Board went into executive session.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

General satisfaction was expressed with the way in which the Director is fulfilling his responsibilities.

MINUTES

The Minutes of the 15 March 1958 meeting were accepted in the form previously mailed.

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

The Chairman summarized long-term developments. These appear to him on the whole to be favorable. He mentioned: the increasing participation in Penn affairs of responsible Southern leaders, notably through the revamped program advisory group; a slow but consistent improvement in the maintenance of Penn lands and buildings; and the development of a program geared to the real needs of the time. Looking ahead, the Chairman envisaged that the field of adult education would be a major useful program area.

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Director Siceloff summarized the written report dated 7 November 1958 which he had previously mailed to the Trustees. A copy of this report is appended to these Minutes in the official Minute Book.

Program Staff. In his summary, the Director spoke of the need for additional staff, and a number of names were discussed. The Director asked for authorization to proceed in identifying possible staff, noting that employment

would not take effect until the next fiscal year and that, if recruitment of a conscientious objector or CO couple were successful, the financial appropriation would require only the meeting of maintenance (board and lodging). The discussion brought out the fact that a primary concern of additional staff on the program side would be to assist with the conference program, possibly by assuming many of the housekeeping functions now borne by the Siceloffs during conferences, so that the Director would have more time to promote the idea of holding conferences at Penn; it was also noted that supplementary program staff should help as seemed best to the Director, and not be limited solely to the conference function. Two houses are presently available on the property which could be used in boarding supplemental staff. It is hoped that a person would agree to stay for two years, after which time the position should be evaluated in terms of whether the function should be continued.

Upon MOTION duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the Director was authorized to negotiate for supplemental staff assistance on program.

Maintenance Staff. Another problem mentioned by the Director is that it is difficult to maintain the properties adequately with but a single full-time maintenance employee; Siceloff stated that we should be thinking in terms of an additional employee.

Conferences. See also "Grants" and "Advisory Board". The conference program has gone better than anticipated: there have been more conferences than envisaged; however, the spread between income and expense will remain in the budgeted area, about $500 more income than expense. Mr. Silver urged that records be maintained setting forth the results of conferences and conference costs in terms of "man-hours".

Forestry. In reviewing the forestry program, Siceloff stated that it is progressing encouragingly and with little cost to Penn. The Chairman suggested that, as a part of our adult education activities, a one-day institute on forest management might be offered.

Grants. The Director noted the receipt, on 23 September 1958, of a $1,000 unrestricted gift from the Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia and, in August, receipt of $2,000 from the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation, Inc., for the holding of four leadership conferences.

In supplement to the letters of acknowledgment sent in each case upon receipt of these contributions, the Secretary was asked at this time to express the gratitude of the Board of Trustees by appropriate communication.

Siceloff asked Mrs. Spearman to describe the conference activities made possible by the Schwarzhaupt grant. Mrs. Spearman stated that the first conference was held in October; about 50-60 South Carolina Negro leaders were present and she believes that a conference of this kind is particularly significant at this time. Now planned is a conference for mid-November of white and Negro clergy; as of this moment, about 30 regrets and 5 white acceptances have been received. Another future conference may be for social science teachers, and there may also be one for young people. The principal interest of the Schwarzhaupt Foundation is in the broad field of citizenship education.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Secretary was asked to summarize the actions of the Executive Committee, which are principally those taken at a joint meeting with the Finance Committee on 6 November at the Philadelphia National Bank in Philadelphia, together with certain routine financial administrative actions which have occurred from time to time since the Board of Trustees met in Frogmore on 15 March 1958.

Pension Program. As noted in the Minutes of 15 March 1958, the Board instructed the Executive Committee to re-study the existing pension program in the light of changes in OASI (Federal Social Security) and in State Teachers' Retirement pension provisions which have taken place subsequent to adoption of the Penn pension program. Stating that the Executive Committee had considered for several hours a draft pension proposal and had wished to assure itself fully that any revision in the program would be equitable as to persons, the Secretary read the following recommendation which the Executive Committee had adopted:

> It is the recommendation of the Executive Committee to the Board of Trustees that pensioners whose pensions were established on March 31, 1948 be informed that the Board is required by circumstances to reconsider its pension program with the probable result of gradual decrease and ultimate termination of the present pension plan. In that connection, however, the Committee believes that any action taken now might conceivably result in hardship for certain pensioners and that all should be given an opportunity to present pertinent information showing their financial situation and the financial situation of members of the family, where such is relevant, before final decision is reached.
>
> Hence it is recommended that the Director, in conjunction with the auditor, prepare a form designed to elicit full information of a financial nature.
>
> With such information in hand, supplemented by a procedure for personal interviews with pensioners to be determined by the Chairman and the Director, final decision would be reached at the next Annual Meeting of the Board.

Upon MOTION duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the Board of Trustees adopted the recommendation of the Executive and Finance Committees regarding proposed pension revision.

Financial. At the request of Finance Chairman Brown, Mr. Wood then summarized the financial matters processed through yesterday's joint meeting of the Executive and Finance Committees.

Investments. As of this time, the total portfolio in terms of market prices shows an increase to about $300,000 from the $268,905 reported to the Annual Meeting as of 27 February 1958, after allowing for the sale in June 1958 from the general investment fund of 100 shares Northern States Power Company and the sale of rights offered in two public utility companies. Aside from the above, there have been no other investment changes since the Annual Meeting. (Prior to the Northern States Power sale, 1,050 shares in this corporation were held in the Sustaining Fund and the General Fund.) Common stocks now constitute 70% of the total portfolio; bonds and preferreds represent 30%.

On 14 April $770 was transferred from principal cash at the Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank to Penn's Regular Deposit Account.

Noting the specifications in the By-Laws, a full report from the Finance Committee will be made at the Annual Meeting.

Auditor's Report. The joint committee reviewed the auditor's report for the fiscal year ended 30 April 1958 and considered the suggestions made in the auditor's letter of transmittal dated 27 June 1958. The Committees recommend writing off the electrical system heretofore shown as an asset. The Executive and Finance Committees do not find it practicable, desirable, or necessary to adopt the balance of the suggestions contained in the auditor's letter: revaluations of realty from cost necessitate continual readjustments hereafter; the insurance valuations have been made quite recently; Chairman Brown stated, however, that it would be feasible to furnish the auditor with an annual valuation of the securities administered by the Finance Committee, as suggested by the auditor. Questions were raised as to the treatment of maintenance, with the recurrence of a suggestion that depreciation should be considered in our accounting when and if it becomes practical to do so.

Treasurer. In the absence of the pro tem treasurer from the meetings on 6 and 7 November, no report was received. The Executive Committee and Board noted that the 1958 Annual Meeting authorized the Executive Committee to act, pursuant to the By-Laws, in appointing a replacement; the Board preferred that the Treasurer be a Trustee if possible and that, owing to the legal formalities required in empowering a Treasurer, it might be well to defer final action until the 1959 Annual Meeting.

State of New York. Mr. Brown is working on the material requested by the State of New York of charitable corporations seeking contributions within its jurisdiction.

Mr. King. Attention of the joint committee was drawn to a request that Mr. King be relieved of paying rent ($35 a month) for the property rented on the school grounds; the Committee believed that this matter should be considered in conjunction with the pension situation, with action deferred until revision proposals can be adopted.

The Board received the above report of the actions of the Executive and Finance Committees.

OTHER COMMITTEE REPORTS

Public Relations. Although no formal report was received in the absence of Committee Chairman Bell, the Board's program was given considerable discussion, particularly because of the work that has been done by an ad hoc committee pursuant to the 15 March 1958 Minutes relating to the Arthur Curtiss James Foundation. The comments of Trustee Edward N. Jenks, of the New York Times, were especially helpful.

It was agreed that material for a new type of visual-impact display or brochure should be prepared and collated -- Mr. Jenks volunteered to coordinate this project; the Board concurred in the thought that the wise expenditure of money for the preparation of a really first-rate result would be well worth while.

The preparation of a Christmas 1958 appeals letter was delegated to Trustee Dabbs.

General assent was given to the proposition that our public relations need thoughtful review and redesign. Attention was drawn to the difficulties resulting from the considerable geographic dispersion of members of this Committee; it is hoped that in the future it will be possible for the Committee as a whole to assemble from time to time in order to develop a well-coordinated and effective total public relations program. Commendation was expressed to the present Committee Chairman for his creative helpfulness in the face of other significant demands on his time and in the light of the geographical difficulties just mentioned.

Attention was called to the declining trend of individual financial contributions to Penn as a part of the problem to be faced in redesigning our public relations approach.

James Foundation. Mr. Wood identified the members of the ad hoc committee and stated that this body had consolidated the numerous activities performed since last March by individual members in a deliberation of the full group during the afternoon of 6 November in Philadelphia.

The Committee believes that additional activities will be necessary before an effective appeal can be made to this Foundation, and that a good deal of the work done in preparing such an appeal will also be helpful in carrying forward a more general public information program, so that the work of the ad hoc committee will necessarily be related to that of the Public Relations Committee.

The Chairman and others joined in expressing appreciation to the James ad hoc body, Chairman Wright noting that this committee will continue in effect.

Nominating Committee. In lieu of a formal report, Chairman Wood gave a few personal impressions, stating that action of the Nominating Committee, under the By-Laws as now in effect, was necessarily deferred until the Annual Meeting.

At present there are only two vacancies on the Board. It is noteworthy that all the newly elected Trustees have shown interest and willingness to work, and that most of them had originally planned to attend this meeting, with absences resulting either from last-minute illnesses or because of our having changed the date from thesone preliminarily announced.

With the exception of our continuing inability to identify a new young Trustee from the Metropolitan Boston area, the Board now has well-diversified geographic and professional representation.

Mr. Wood suggested that the Board may wish, at a suitable time, to establish an honorary category, "Trustee Emeritus", for the recognition of those who have served long years with especial distinction but, because of age or disability, are more or less inactive.

Certain possible candidates for Trustee were suggested and are to be reviewed by the Nominating Committee; additional suggestions are invited; these should be transmitted to the Secretary at an early time if they are to be processed for action in the Spring.

ADVISORY BOARD.

Director Siceloff noted with regret the death of former member Paul Underwood Kellogg; the Trustees requested the Secretary to convey its sorrow to Mrs. Kellog.

Chairman Wright distributed a report adopted at the 31 October 1958 Frogmore meeting of the Advisory Board. A copy of this report is appended to these Minutes in the official Minute Book. The group was reported to be enthusiastic and helpful. It hopes for a continuing series of conferences on a variety of subjects. In addition, it recommends the desirability of a "community self-survey". In view of the economic and sociological situation.

the Penn area is believed to be representative of Southern problems generally, with the result that such a survey would have wider than local implications. Among the queries raised on 31 October is whether a local doctor can be identified to provide, on a voluntary basis, diagnostic service.

Appreciation to the Advisory Board was expressed by the Trustees.

BY-LAWS AMENDED

The Secretary summarized portions of the mimeographed memorandum dated 15 September 1958 which had been mailed to all Trustees detailing proposed By-Laws revision. As therein stated, the primary objectives of the proposed changes are: 1) to enable the Board to fill vacancies at any meeting; 2) to provide formally for the long extant Nominating Committee; and 3) to re-name, without changing the substance of, the Advisory Board, so as to remove the confusion of having two "Boards", by calling the Advisory Board the "Program Advisory Committee".

Upon MOTION duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the Board of Trustees adopted the revisions in the form proposed in the memorandum to Trustees dated 15 September 1958.

A copy of the 15 September memorandum is appended to these Minutes in the official Minute Book. Separately, the official records of Penn Community Services, Inc. retain the original of the newly revised By-Laws, duly certified by the Secretary. Copies of the revision are being mimeographed for distribution to each Trustee, to the Program Advisory Committee and, upon request, to others interested.

NOTICE OF 1959 ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees will be held in Frogmore, South Carolina, on Saturday, 7 March 1959, beginning at 10:00 a.m.

By invitation of the Board of Trustees at its 7 November meeting, members of the Program Advisory Committee are welcomed to attend the Trustees' 1959 Annual Meeting, without vote, in accordance with Article X of the By-Laws.

A meeting of the Executive Committee will be held at Frogmore on 6 March. At least one committee may meet during the evening of 5 March, with others to be convened on 6 March and on 8 March. Trustees should reserve the period beginning Thursday evening 5 March through Sunday 8 March.

A detailed schedule, agendae, and transportation information will be mailed late in January or by early February.

ADJOURNMENT

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned upon the conclusion of luncheon at 1:40 o'clock in the afternoon.

Respectfully submitted,

Cornelius A. Wood, Jr.
Secretary

Appendices: (Minute Book only)

Notice of Meeting
Agenda
Director's Report 7 November 1958
Advisory Board Report 31 October 1958
15 September 1958 Memorandum re By-Laws Revision

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

BY-LAWS

Adopted 7 November 1958
by the Board of Trustees
to supersede the By-Laws as amended to 29 October 1957

I

TRUSTEES.

There shall not be less than fifteen nor more than twenty-four Trustees who shall serve for terms of three years each. At each Annual Meeting not less than five nor more than eight shall be elected; the Board may, however, at any meeting duly called and with a quorum present, elect Trustees to fill vacancies; such elections shall not be considered as falling within the numerical limitations governing elections during the Annual Meeting. Six members shall constitute a quorum.

II

OFFICERS.

The Officers of the Board of Trustees shall consist of a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall be elected at each Annual Meeting. These Officers shall hold office until their successors shall have been elected, unless previously removed in accordance with law. They shall perform the duties indicated by the title of their respective offices.

The Board of Trustees may, in its discretion, choose honorary officers and prescribe their functions.

III

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE BOARD.

There shall be an Executive Committee and a Finance Committee composed of members of the Board of Trustees.

With the exception of the Executive Committee, the Finance Committee, and the Nominating Committee, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees may appoint, from the membership of the Board, members to such Standing Committees as the Board may from time to time authorize.

(Note: On 7 November 1958, the Standing Committees of the Board, in addition to the Executive Committee and the Finance Committee are: The Property Committee; the Public Relations Committee; and the Nominating Committee.)

IV

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the Chairman of the Board, the Chairman of the Finance, Property, Public Relations Committees, the Treasurer, and the Secretary. The Executive Committee shall supervise the business of the Corporation and the care of its property, and shall superintend the execution of the plans and resolutions of the Trustees. It may make temporary appointments in its membership and fill vacancies in the case of Officers. It shall make an annual report of its proceedings with suggestions for the work of the coming year. It shall hold its records subject to the examination of the Board. The Committee shall have power to authorize necessary expenditures to carry on the work of the Corporation. Three members shall constitute a quorum.

The Executive Committee may incur on behalf of the Corporation an indebtedness not exceeding two thousand dollars ($2,000), which amount it is authorized to borrow in the name of the Corporation. The said Committee is also authorized to pledge with the lenders from time to time as collateral security for such loans, such bonds, stock or other securities belonging to the Corporation as it may deem wise and to execute on behalf of the Corporation such assignments, agreements or other instruments as may be necessary or desirable.

V

INVESTMENTS AND FINANCES.

The Trustees shall elect at each Annual Meeting two of their members who, with the Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary of the Board of Trustees, shall constitute the Finance Committee. The Committee shall have the power to elect its own Chairman and to fill any vacancies which may occur in its membership or in its officers between the annual meetings of the Board of Trustees.

It shall be the duty of the Finance Committee, pursuant to the general directions of the Board of Trustees, to appoint a Fiscal Agent to perform such duties under the general direction of the Treasurer as may be delegated to him or it by the Finance Committee to invest the funds of the Corporation; to care for the securities representing the investments; to supervise the work and accounts of the Treasurer and of the Fiscal Agent; and to have charge of the general finances of the Corporation.

The Finance Committee shall have full power (a) to designate the Bank or Trust Company or Companies with whom the funds of the Corporation shall be deposited and in whose vaults the securities of the Corporation shall be placed, provided, however, that the securities and funds shall always be kept in some well-known and responsible Bank or Trust Company; (b) to have access by any two of its members to the vault in which the securities of the Corporation have been

placed; (c) to invest, reinvest and from time to time change the investments of the Corporation; (d) to sell, pledge, and transfer any securities of the Corporation; (e) to execute by any two of its members in the name and as the act of the Corporation any assignments for the conveyance or transfer of any cash or securities belonging to the Corporation; (f) to execute by any two of its members in the name and as the act of the Corporation any Power of Attorney, assignments, proxies or other instruments which may be necessary in order to exercise any right of ownership over the securities of the Corporation or which may be necessary in order to enable the Fiscal Agent of the Corporation to perform any duties delegated to it; (g) to execute by any two of its members in the name and as the act of the Corporation any receipts for gifts or bequests and any releases or any other instruments connected therewith; and (h) to register securities in the name of the nominee of the Custodian.

The Finance Committee shall make a full and complete report at the Annual Meeting of the Board, showing in detail sales and investments made during the preceding year, and the present holdings and investments of the Corporation.

VI

NOMINATING COMMITTEE.

The Nominating Committee shall make recommendations to the Board concerning candidates for Trustees, Executive Committee, Finance Committee, Officers, Program Advisory Committee; and may make recommendation to the Executive Committee concerning the Director. The Nominating Committee shall consist of not less than three nor more than five members, elected by the Board from its own membership; the Nominating Committee shall select its own Chairman; the Nominating Committee may, at the Annual Meeting of the Board, recommend persons for consideration in the balloting for membership of the Nominating Committee. Recommendations from the Nominating Committee for all positions shall, nevertheless, be subject to additional nomination from the floor, duly seconded.

VII

MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees shall be held between January 1 and June 1 of each year and another meeting of said Board may be held in the Fall. Dates of meetings shall be fixed by the Chairman unless designated by the Board. Additional meetings may be held at any time at the call of the Chairman, with the right given to the Executive Committee also to call meetings whenever it shall deem it expedient. Adequate notice of all meetings shall be given by the Secretary to each Trustee and, as to the Annual Meeting, two weeks'

advance notice shall be given. The principal object of any special meeting must be stated in the notice. The Secretary, when sending out notices of the Annual Meeting, shall inform the members of the Board of the names of those Trustees whose terms of office expire at such meeting. The Secretary shall also advise of any proposed amendments to the By-Laws of which he may have received notice.

VIII

SALARIES AND EXPENDITURES.

The Trustees shall, on the recommendation of the Executive Committee, appoint and fix all salaries and duties of Officers or employees of the Corporation. The procedure to be followed is that the Director shall submit a proposed budget to the Executive Committee which, in turn, shall present the same, with such amendments or modifications as it may deem proper, to the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees. Upon the failure of either the Director or Executive Committee to act, the Board shall have authority to fix a budget at its discretion.

IX

DIRECTOR.

The Board of Trustees, acting upon the recommendations of the Executive Committee, shall have authority to employ a Director from year to year. In the event of the failure of the Executive Committee to act, the Board may make such employment within its discretion. Compensation and perquisites of the Director shall be fixed by the Board. The duties of the Director shall be: to administer and execute the policies and decisions of the Board of Trustees; to conserve and maintain the physical property of the Corporation; to employ and supervise other staff personnel subject to general direction by the Board; to keep records and accounts showing receipts and expenditures where accepted or disbursed by him; to propose a budget for each Annual Meeting; to advise the Secretary of changes in personnel of the Board of Trustees, the Program Advisory Committee and any or all committees; to submit at each Annual Meeting a report in writing covering his activities during the preceding year and his recommendations as to program and policy to be followed during the ensuing year; and to discharge such responsibilities as the Board may delegate to him.

X

PROGRAM ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

The Trustees may, at each Annual Meeting, elect a Program Advisory Committee composed of not more than fifteen members, each of whom shall serve for a period of one year or until his successor has been elected. Members of the Program Advisory Committee may, upon invitation, have the right to attend meetings of the Board and participate in the discussion, but they shall not have the right to vote or to exercise any other powers over the business and

property of the Corporation. Members of the Program Advisory Committee present at any meeting of the Board of Trustees shall not be considered in determining a quorum. The duties of the Program Advisory Committee shall be, individually or as a group, to give to the Board of Trustees their counsel, advice and aid in determining policies to be followed, as well as ways and means of executing such policies.

The Executive Committee shall determine whether or not presence of members of the Program Advisory Committee shall be requested at Annual or other meetings.

XI

AMENDMENTS, ETC., TO BY-LAWS.

Any By-Law may be repealed, suspended or amended by a vote of two-thirds of the members present at any meeting of the Board of Trustees duly called, provided reasonable notice shall have been given in advance of the proposed repeal, suspension or amendment.

Report of Director
to
Board of Trustees
Penn Community Services, Inc.

November 7, 1958

The current fiscal year is at the halfway mark, and such a time provides a good opportunity to consider the operation. The financial situation will be outlined in detail by the treasurer and chairman of the finance committee. I will emphasize primarily the program operation. Obviously, however, these cannot be completely separated.

It would be fine if every year the report could tell of ever increasing successes and expansion. However, too often, the progress is similiar to the increasing per capita income in the United States - that progress is more apparent than real. The director's report tends to emphasize those aspects of the program that are positive and neglect the negative. An analysis of the program, prepared primarily for the subcommittee on Foundations, outlines the various activities undertaken at present.

This analysis indicates somewhat the scope of the program. What it fails to do is to show what few inovations have been incorporated into the program over the past several years. It is a tremendous tribute to our local leaders of the Community activities who have been able to carry on with such limited resources. Because of the increasing demands of the conference program, and other administrative duties, the director has participated only infrequently - and that primarily as an observer - in the various programs.

The situation concerning the maintenance of property differs very little from the above situation. It is not difficult to

outline in reports the projects that have been completed; it would be discouraging to some to indicate what really needed to be done. A list of such repairs to the property was prepared for the subcommittee on Foundations, and totals $15,000. This list certainly was not exhaustive, for many repairs were of a minor nature that would make the list too detailed. Our current staff of one with some part-time help is provided an almost impossible task of taking care of some 20 buildings on the campus. Preparing and painting alone of the frame structures on a five-year rotating schedule requires one-third of a year to complete. Penn is indeed fortunate to have such an able artisan as Leroy Browne for maintenance superintendent but much of his time is taken with routine repairs that a less experienced man could handle.

All are aware of the fine assets that we have at Penn - location, natural beauty, spirit of cooperation within the community, able and devoted trustees, a fair endowment, and a number of concerned contributors. Our program - both for the community and state at large - could be much more creative and effective by emphasizing personnel in an expansion. One person added to the program and another added to the maintenance staff would enable Penn to become a dynamic center within the state, and therefore serve as a demonstration to the entire region.

These suggestions come at mid-year because various committees are evaluating the program now. The advisory committee ~~will have~~ its first meeting a few days prior to this Board meeting. The Foundation subcommittee meets the day prior to the Board meeting.

In a less pessimistic vein, let us look briefly at the program to date. The conference program has taken the longest stride. Last year the income from conferences was $4,032, while for the first six months this year, the income has been $6,059; this latter figure does not include an additional grant of $2,000 for conducting four conferences. However, most of the conferences have been held for this year so that it is not likely the income from this source will exceed $6,500. Groups having met here for the first time in this period were the Morticians, physical education teachers, Congress of Racial Equality; "repeaters" were the midwives (2 sessions), Quakers (2 retreats) and teacher leadership conference. Mrs. Spearman, who has organized the conferences, will tell of the one already held and others projected with the support of the Schwanzbaupt Foundation.

The acquisition of a bookmobile and inauguration of service marks a milestone in our library. The ten-year-old truck was in good condition and acquired primarily through a gift from a Negro sorority. The bookmobile serves now the same outposts as before, but we hope that this can be expanded soon.

The forestry program is due to get under way the middle of November with the clearing of 50 acres for planting of some 40,000 seedlings the first of the year. Already five lanes are being plowed throughout the forest area.

The clinic and sales house are in their new quarters in Cope Building. The State Department of Health has agreed to install heaters in the clinic, in view of the effort and expense that Penn expended in this direction. The sales house has committed itself to paying $100 into the Rossa Cooley clinic memorial to help take

care of the deficit.

The Nursery is sporting a bright red coat of paint with white trim so as to be more in keeping with the nature of its use. We are waiting for an artist to volunteer to paint nursery book figures, as suggested at the last board meeting. The attendance - around 15 - is lower than last year.

Other major maintenance projects include installation of exhaust fans and louvres in two dormitories and in Frissell and Butler Buildings; installation of new sewer lines in Frissell septic tank; and taking down old sales house building. We have worked out an arrangement with the St. Helena High School whereby a student will work as an apprentice to Mr. Leroy Browne 20 hours weekly.

During the summer, grass was set out in a number of places; the cuttings from ornamental shrubs have rooted well and will be moved from the cutting bed shortly. Our landscaping project can be compared to that of school integration in the south - "proceeding with deliberate speed".

Courtney Sicéloff,
Director

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
Frogmore, South Carolina

November 14, 1958

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Program Advisory Committee
From: Courtney Siceloff
Re: Report of Committee and Action of Trustee Board

The Program Advisory Committee met on October 31, 1958, at Penn Community Center. You have already received a report of that Committee; however, certain corrections should be made in the report. The chairman, Fred Routh, was not listed as being present, or as the writer of the report. Also, it was reported that a Miss Jane McAllister was present, when in reality it was a Mr. McAllister, a student at Morris College.

At the Board of Trustees' meeting held in Philadelphia on November 7, certain changes were made in the By-Laws of Penn. One change was to alter the name of the committee on which you serve, from Advisory Board, to Program Advisory Committee. This action was taken primarily, so as to more easily differentiate between the Trustee Board and the Advisory Committee.

The Board was quite interested in the report of the Advisory Committee. Partly on the basis of this report, authorization was given by the Board to look for additional personnel to add to the staff of Penn, which might enable Penn to carry out some of these recommendations.

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POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

Christmas, 1958

Dear Friend:

We remind ourselves again that the Prince of Peace has come, and admit, sadly, that he has found few ready to receive him.

Yet there are places--perhaps more than we think--where he is welcome; and we, the friends of Penn Community Services, find joy in our confidence that there is such a place.

Nearly a century ago now it first arose, like an island of peace amid war, of freedom amid slavery.

It still stands, the quiet sunlight sifting through the live-oaks, along the Spanish moss, a living symbol of peace to those who live there, and especially to that increasing number who come there from South Carolina, and from the South, to face together their problems. For they come from an area where men's hearts are at war because of race, and even their own hearts are filled with doubt, and they find there a place and a people who speak peace and pursue it.

In these conferences whites and Negroes meet as they've never met before--man to man. They are aided in this by the occasional presence among them of the Negroes of St. Helena, who, partly because of the influence of Penn School, carry themselves with an assurance and dignity almost unknown elsewhere in the South.

One of the large family of Penn supporters has just written to Courtney Siceloff: "Last night I said to myself--why waste time wishing you could do something about the bad conditions! You can help a bit where you know the colored people are being given a chance. The result of that soliloquy I enclose...with my best wishes for your continued success at Penn."

Perhaps you too would like to mark this anniversary of the coming of the Prince of Peace by a gift to Penn. If you could visit Penn, and if you should happen to awake before daylight, you would hear the cocks crowing on the nearby farms. They are crowing up the dawn. The light will spread, even across the South, by God's grace and with your help.

Sincerely yours,

James McBride Dabbs

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PENN
ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

February 13, 1959

LWD ✓
JC ✓
MM ✓
MF (file)

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I have received a note from Mrs. Childs of Charleston, indicating that the writer of the letter had been in Charleston for about twenty-five years, having come from Atlanta originally, she thought. He is now an elder in the First Prebysterian Church and a respected member of the community.

The institutions that he mentioned, apparently were the Farm Bureau and the College of Charleston. Mrs. Childs got this information from his wife and assured her that there would be no publicity concerning it. I don't expect you to give publicity to it, but I do think that anything printed should be cleared with Mrs. Childs first.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

February 6, 1959

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Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a letter which appeared in the Letter to the Editor column on February 4. I think it is most interesting that they should have printed such a long letter under the notice that letter's could only be 200 words long. I think you should re-submit your letter that was so severely edited earlier.

I thought you would be interested, not particularly in the plan that was proposed, but the fact that this person is heading a Management Research Institute which has made reports to two South Carolina institutions on the maintenance of separate schools. Since I am not well acquainted with the world of business, I was a bit surprised to learn this; but perhaps consulting engineers are called upon for all sorts of recommendations. I have written Mrs. Childs, as per enclosed letter, to see if she has any information on this and will forward it to you in case she does. However, in case she does not have any information and in the event that you would like to have more information on this particular group, I will try to do some more sleuthing.

We have been terribly impressed with your ability to latch on to money, and that a good part of it could come to the state organizations. I must say that extra grant was a boost that was really needed both for morale and for effectiveness of the organization. I do think that our state program has stepped up considerably since our first two interracial conferences sponsored by the Schwarzhaupt Foundation in the Fall, with follow-up conferences being planned already.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

P.S. Thanks very much for your selected film bibliography. I wonder if you would mind sending another one as well. We have been scraping the bottom of the barrel for a number of months for our local Council, and these films are to put a little meat on the bones.

February 6, 1959

Mrs. Marguerita Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

I noticed in the News and Courier of February 4, in the letter to the editor, one from Mr. Frederick MacDonald, writing on the proposal for a private school plan. He signed it as president of Management Research Institute, Peoples Building, Charleston.

It seemed to me a very well-thought-out program to evade the Supreme Court's rulings concerning desegregation of schools. What particularly interested me was the fact that he indicated in the third paragraph that this group had made reports to two South Carolina institutions on the maintenance of separate schools. I have no idea whether you know Mr. MacDonald, but apparently he has received good training and the proposal he makes is by no means similar to the emotional appeals usually coming from some of the politicians.

I think it would be very helpful to know what the Management Research Institute really is, whether dealing with the matter of segregation is just very much of a side line, or whether it is one of their principal activities. Obviously, it will also be interesting to know the names of those two South Carolinian institutions that he referred to, to which his company made recommendations.

If this information would be somewhat difficult to obtain, I certainly do not want to burden you with it, but thought perhaps you might already know him and know of this Institute.

I was very glad to have seen you recently on Johns Island as well as in Columbia. I hope we did not scare your nephew off by imposing so many duties on him at the time of our Board Meeting there.

Best regards,

CS

Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

Letters To The Editor

Private School Plan

The News and Courier welcomes letters to the editor when they are concise (no longer than 200 words) and bear the writer's signature in longhand. They also must carry the sender's address and be plainly written, preferably typed. All letters are subject to rejection or editing. None will be returned.

To The News and Courier:

Your editorial of Jan. 30 on the Virginia crisis in school integration declared, "We refuse to yield to panic."

This is a heartening challenge to reappraise the approaches that Virginia and Arkansas have made to the maintenance of racially separate schools. For the only hope we see is in a totally new system of school organization and management.

Since the 1954 edict of the Supreme Court, we have made reports to two South Carolina institutions on the maintenance of separate schools. Our recommendations, like your own conclusions, were based on the truth that the answer must drive from personal and private, not public action.

The exception is that constitutional and legislative conditions must in no way be restrictive, but fully permissive. To clear the decks for this may take several years in some states.

We are advised by legal counsel that South Carolina probably is in the least vulnerable and the most ready position of any state. This is due to the foresight and strategy of Governors Byrnes and Timmerman, the Gressette Legislative Committee, the General Assembly, and attorneys Figg, of Charleston, and Robinson, of Columbia.

While a final answer should lie in private schools, it will take more than makeshift units born of panic action.

A state should need only to lay the groundwork, but it must be a thoroughly laid potential, for a statewide system of uniformly operated private schools, under a central management that can maintain accreditation.

Nothing else will serve to replace our established public assumption of universal education below and for college entrance.

One can get a clear picture of the needed type of remedy from the story of a Canadian who helped to pioneer commercial fruit orchards in the South, but found one day that many of his 30,000 apple trees were infected with an incurable blight. This realist did not fool himself into trying to save what he had. He cut down and burned every apple tree.

Then he took a period of preparation for a new orchard. He planted cover crops, turned them under, reworked and enriched the soil for 30,000 peach trees. He did the best he could with the kind of fruit his soil and climate would nourish, at a given time. It took him seven years to get back into full and profitable operation on one of today's fine fruit orchards in North Georgia.

If our people can see a system of public schools as one of the ways to universal education, and a system of private schools as another way, it should not be difficult to see that we might escape the blight of the first by starting from the ground itself with planned strategy and lawful tactics to build a new and perhaps a better potential in private education.

The resources of the people are identical in every state to maintain a public system or to establish a private potential and develop it as necessary.

We use the term potential deliberately. For just as token integration seems to be a temporary judicial face-saver, we are convinced that a token or pilot demonstration of an adequate potential in private education beam be a permanent segregation saver.

It is our conclusion that successful solutions may require the establishment of but one judicially acceptable system of separate schools in one school district in each state.

If it becomes obvious that the people can duplicate or expand such a system widely in any state, no other tests will be necessary for that state.

But each state must prove its own and separate capacity to do this. And no such test operation should be risked in a public parade of intent or claims where the basic moves can be thwarted before a complete and sustaining whole can be effected.

This calls for the most patient, thorough and quiet achievement of a fait accompli.

If any state proves its capacity to expand a sound pilot system of private education, neither the NAACP nor local zealots can gain integration by costly court action against public schools that can be moved into private operation. It seems likely that, in the main, the present public systems of separate schools may be accepted as evidence of voluntary segregation and allowed to continue where desired.

There is a way to regain our civil rights in education.

It will work if we take the long view, absorb interim defeats, and build solidly — unless with all of our sound and fury, we fizzle out at the shadow of freedom's only killer: "It's too much damn trouble to do it that way!

FREDERICK H. McDONALD
(Member, American Institute of Consulting Engineers;
President, Management Research Institute.)
Peoples Bldg., Charleston.

Matter Of Taste

To The News and Courier:

I read with interest your editorial "Respect For A Flag." I agree with you. But I would rather have read "Respect For A President."

Apparently, from the treatment given by your paper, you consider it amusing for some people to vent spleen by pasting the Lincoln stamp upside down. Childish, yes, but hardly in good taste.

LOUISE L. VICKERS
Beaufort.

News + Courier 2/4/59

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

April 2, 1959

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POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your letter concerning Rachael DuBois.

I can certainly understand about your reaction to this method for use by the Southern Regional Council. It is obvious that this method is not one that will work well in seeking institutional change; however, it would seem to me to be of great value to the directors of the state council, who I think are working also on an individual approach. I do not know whether this state is typical in regard to the work of the director, but it would seem to me that group conversation would be a great asset to directors as they are meeting for the first time with a bi-racial group. Such a technique does not need follow-up, but is used primarily, as I understand it, on a single evening basis.

I am in the position now, of not being able to do anything else concerning the organizing of a work shop for learning this method; however, I hope that we will have a new staff member to join us in July, and at that time perhaps, may begin to make some contacts to see if there are sufficient individuals who would be willing to come and pay a fee, and thus not necessitate a grant from a foundation.

I see that you are to be at the conference in Charlotte next week-end, so will possibly see you there.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

March 26, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Your letter concerning Rachel DuBois was welcomed, though I'm afraid my reply must be negative.

I remember the demonstration of Miss DuBois's method very well. It is true that it ~~would~~ did not make any great hit, but I would be the last one to say that it does not have merit as a technique for furthering intergroup understanding. I am sure that under the right circumstances it can be very effective.

I must admit, however, that I do not feel the technique is very well adapted to use by SRC and its state councils. As I understand it, it is best suited to use with an intimate situation in which it is possible to make intensive efforts to improve personal attitudes. Our movements, it seems to me, can hardly afford to go very far in this direction. Considering our limited resources and the size of the problems with which we are concerned, my feeling is that we must put our emphasis on those techniques which might contribute most to institutional rather than individual change.

I am not suggesting that the approach is not valid and important for other groups with different purposes and structures. I am merely suggesting that such a "retaining"

method must have a very low priority among the many conflicting claims on SRC's resources and staff time and effort.

I am sorry we cannot help on this one and hope you will understand our reasons for feeling we cannot.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/s mf

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

HCF

I really dont feel that this type of training technique is of much use to our staffers from the state organizations.

And, furthermore a 3 day conference is over-ambitious - we could better use the time for our own staff meeting.

FBR

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 18, 1959

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MRS. GRACE T. HAMILTON
ATLANTA, GA.

MISS LEILA JOHNSON
MURRELL'S INLET, S. C.

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS
ATLANTA, GA.

DR. O. R. REUBEN
SUMTER, S. C.

FREDERICK B. ROUTH
ATLANTA, GA.

MRS. WILLIAM W. SMITH
POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

FBR — Your reaction please. HCF

Harold Fleming,
S. R. C.
63 Auburn Ave
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold,

Rachel DuBois, of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy, is here for a few days, and leaves tomorrow for Atlanta. She demonstrated last night her Group Conversation to our local Council of Human Relations, and we're bringing another bi-racial group together tonight for the same purpose. I have also had the opportunity to see her in action at two previous meetings of the Friends Conference on Race Relations. I have been greatly impressed with the possibilities of this technique, particularly for bi-racial groups.

Miss DuBois and I have been talking about a training session over a three day period where participants would learn the technique so as to apply it when they return home with groups they work with. It would be an intensive time, with ten 2-hour sessions. Ideally, this would begin with an evening session, followed by two full days of sessions (8), and terminating with the morning session of the fourth day.

The training session should be limited to a maximum of 25. I should think that there are quite a number of persons who would benefit and be interested in this. Some of those that come tomind are:

Directors state Human Relations Councils
SRC staff personnel charged with conducting biracial meetings
Church groups or agencies working in interracial field, such as leaders in Fellowship of the Concerned, denominational women's groups, ministers on local and state levels, youth directors
Young peoples workers, such as YM-YW
School administrators in newly integrated, or in transition to integrated, school districts.

It would seem to me that this first training session should be regionally representative, or to be plainer--from adjoining states. While we would be very glad to have the group have the session at Penn, another location more central might be better. (Incidentally, in the training session, some 50 additional people from the community have to be drawn in on two sessions for demonstration and practice; we could

bring together such a group, as I am sure many others places could do likewise.)

I have sketched roughly what the costs would be:

Leadership		
Fees for 2 people	300.	
Transportation New York, return	200.	500.
Entertainment at Penn		
25 @ $13.		350.
Transportation for persons attending		
25 @ $60.		1500.
		$2350.

However, I would suggest the following: that SRC pay the leadership fees of $500; Miss DuBois believes she can get the $350 for entertainment from a New York foundation. I would suggest that the agencies from where the attenders would be coming should pay the transportation, or the participants themselves. It would seem to me, that should SRC be interested in this, that you get the group together--because of your contacts, personnel, (money), etc. However, we, or rather I, would undertake it, if SRC or another agency didn't want that job.

I gathered from Alice Spearman, that Miss DuBois demonstrated this method at a staff meeting of SRC several years ago, and that she was not impressed; I asked Miss DuBois about this, and she indicated that George Mitchell had invited her down to demonstrate the method, but that the session didn't seem to click, and that SRC decided not to use it. So perhaps, you have already had contact with it.

At present, Rachel DuBois is visiting Friends Meetings in the South, and using a different technique, Group Dialogue. She will be doing this with the Friends of Atlanta. From there, she will go to Daytona Beach on Monday. If you are at all interested in this, you might want to see her while she is in Atlanta; she will be staying with Phern Stanley (Mrs. John, I think) 525 Avery St., Decatur; however, do not feel that you need contact her, of course.

Group Conversation — not Friends!

I am enclosing some propaganda put out by Miss DuBois outfit, but the fact that you have already seen it in operation means much more.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

There is probably no doubt in your mind as to who typed this!

SOCIAL EDUCATION THROUGH HAPPY MEMORIES

How people with different social backgrounds learn to find a common meeting ground

By BRUNO LASKER

NOT long ago I was invited to watch a demonstration of "group conversation" as a means of fostering a spirit of cooperation in a culturally heterogeneous community.

To be precise, the date was Lincoln's Birthday and the community was Yonkers, N.Y. The "conversation" was to be conducted by Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois, Director of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy, of New York City, author of *Neighbors in Action.*

I had worked with Doctor DuBois many years ago and admired her ingenuity in inventing new devices for bringing people with different social backgrounds into mutually enlightening exchanges of ideas. These had usually resulted in greater mutual respect between members of different classes and ethnic groups, and a heightened sense of mutual responsibility.

I also had admired the persistence with which she and those working with her had responded to criticisms of their methodology by further refining it and by branching out into new techniques to fit diverse circumstances. So I was glad to go and see what had become of one of her favorite specializations in social education.

The meeting was one of about 100 women, most of them middle-aged, who with few exceptions, were officers of small, local organizations. The leader arranged them in a circle of seats, with space enough in the middle for an occasional demonstration of a game or a dance, and a piano at one side.

The chosen theme of the conversation was "Spring is in the Air." Some pots of spring flowers had been distributed around the room, but they were hardly needed to create an atmosphere.

For, what I had not realized was the artistry of Doctor DuBois in creating an illusion: in this case, her setting was arranged to suggest that "we are twelve years old, in the home of our childhood; it is the first day of spring," and in drawing from it a mounting sense of participation in a universal drama.

In one of her articles, Doctor DuBois gives the rationale for the choice of such a theme: "We know from experience that early impressions, unlike later ones, are undimmed as we grow older. That is why the leader's first 'pump-priming' questions center around the senses—'the smell of freshly baked bread,' or 'the color of trees in the spring.' Then, too, adults can talk about their childhood experiences freely, for we do not feel responsible for what happened then. . . ."

I discovered afterwards that one member of the group had been "planted," in case the members should be too slow at the start to speak up. She was the assistant director of the workshop, born in Hawaii of Chinese parents. But although she and the pianist, a Negro song leader from the South, made interesting short contributions, they were not really needed.

From the very start women who, to judge from the way in which they first exchanged whispered remarks with their neighbors, and then spoke in a very low voice, were unaccustomed to speak in a gathering of this size, smilingly recalled childhood scenes.

They spoke of the smell of the soil on the first warm day of the year; the first flowers in the grass; the foods and cakes prepared and eaten on spring holidays; the *Fasching* which, though it also has another significance, was a boisterous welcoming of spring. They spoke of the new clothes; the outdoor games played at this time of year; the cozy fire enjoyed while the nights were yet cold; the family seated near the iron stove, the tiled oven, or the open hearth; the children's Saturday night's bath in

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BRUNO LASKER, author of Race Attitudes in Children, was for many years an associate editor of Survey magazine. As an author, translator, and participant in adult education ventures, Mr. Lasker writes, "It has been my experience that the problems of international understanding and those of understanding between different culture groups in the United States, are closely related. Solutions possible at the academic level proved ineffective when experimentally applied at the level of everyday personal relations between persons of widely different cultural background. While searching for suitable methods applicable among people with relatively little educational equipment, I became aware of Dr. Rachel Du Bois' imaginative experiments in this field of endeavor. Some of them she has herself described in her books. This article is my impression of one of the more recent ones."

front of the fire; the stories told by a grandmother; the reading aloud, and the family prayers.

Every once in a while such reminiscences were punctuated with a song or a dance game, and usually they were known by enough of the members who joined in, even though they had learned it in this country from a Russian-born mother or a Danish grandfather.

As soon as the proceedings started, I noticed that eyes lighted up and that what was said called up pleasant associations in every mind. People who an hour earlier might have said, "I dislike Negroes," or "I'm not in the least interested in Estonia," listened because what was said reminded them of their own childhood.

Persons who usually sit at a large gathering like carved Egyptian queens were eager to get up and sing a little tune that had just come back to them or join in the roundelay they remembered so well.

As in any conversation, it took some a little longer than others to catch on, or to make up their minds to take part. When the talk had already turned to Easter cookies, one member was still struggling with the words in which to describe the *Kachel-Ofen* of her childhood home.

There was no hurrying from point to point, and no attempts to force upon the group anything that was not ready to spring from the memory of a member. Everything was—or at least seemed—spontaneous.

The proceedings were kept under control, yet the speed was noticeably growing; little points cumulatively led to larger and more significant points. And the conversation, in spite of its intimate and personal character, led to a climax: on this occasion a unanimous joining in the singing of a Negro spiritual begun by a member of the group and, following it, of "America."

In short, under skillful conductorship, the "conversation" became a sort of symphony. There was a definite beginning and a definite end; a major theme ran through it, varied and accompanied by minor themes. Each "section," here not strings and brass and concussion instruments, but the native American elements—composed of many different races and cultures—made a harmonious pattern. In this heterogeneous group, evolved out of the diverse strands, the experience will linger long in the mind after the meeting is over. After such an experience, need people wonder just what it is that makes a united America?

What Doctor DuBois appears to have achieved through many years of experimenting is not just a closer application of psychotherapy to group relations, a richer technique for the removal of blind spots in mutual acceptance, or a firmer knowledge of what is involved in social interaction under the specific conditions of American life. There is also a deeper penetration of the meaning to be found in many of the simple facts of that life: its intricate folklore, its twists of historically distorted human relations, its ever-fresh assimilation between old and new, its progress toward an ideal first enunciated in general terms in the eighteenth century.

Over the years, this ideal always has been in danger of corruption through the misunderstanding of such basic concepts as "equality," "loyalty," and "democracy," or through the pressure of an over-anxious demand for conformity with a common standard.

In the performance which I watched, Doctor DuBois' experience and artistry contributed toward a quasi-religious purpose: diversity, even controversy, lost its menace to unity. (Incidentally, she has been equally successful in applying her methods under the totally different circumstances of post-war bitterness and mutual suspicion in Germany.)

From such simple, unsophisticated beginnings any heterogeneous assembly might safely proceed to more exacting exercises, more properly called "group discussions," and often needing the services of subject experts, in coming to grips with the facts and problems of life.

Reprinted from **adult leadership** **march, 1958**

Free Trade in Ideas

THE GROUP CONVERSATION METHOD OF RACHEL DAVIS DUBOIS

Ira Eisenstein
Rabbi, Anshe Emet Synagogue, Chicago

Reprinted from

ADULT JEWISH LEADERSHIP

October 1956, Volume 4, Number 1

A PUBLICATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION OF THE JEWISH EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF N.

THE GROUP CONVERSATION METHOD OF RACHEL DAVIS DUBOIS

Ira Eisenstein
Rabbi, Anshe Emet Synagogue, Chicago

Nothing is more vital to America's welfare than unity, but the task of uniting a vast population of a large variety of religious faiths and racial and national origins, is a formidable one. Ancient rivalries, inherited prejudices, widespread ignorance all combine to render the attainment of intergroup amity extremely difficult. Anyone, therefore, who contributes to the achievement of unity must be regarded as an invaluable asset in the spiritual economy of the nation. Such a person is Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois.

Dr. DuBois was founder of the Service Bureau for Inter-cultural Education and the Inter-cultural Education Workshop. She is the author of *Get Together Americans*[1], *Build Together Americans*[2], and *Neighbors in Action*[3], and is director of the "Workshop for Cultural Democracy," an educational service organization to increase the understanding and enjoyment of America's rich cultural diversity, and thus foster a more harmonious community life. For twenty years she has labored in this field. Her theories, therefore, while grounded in social psychology and enriched by her own Quaker background, have nevertheless grown out of practical and continuous experience with school and community groups.

Creative Use of the Need to Belong

Her first presupposition is that all *Americans are conscious of belonging to some culture or group, and yet of being real Americans.* The sub-group need not be of the conventional religious-national-racial type. It may be a regional group, or labor group, or even a minor sect with specific political or economic theories and goals. Dr. DuBois frankly recognizes the widespread character of this awareness of belonging to some sub-group, because she is well acquainted with the human need for recognition, for being affiliated with a group that reflects one's self most accurately, and for having that group possess status and prestige. This awareness on the past of Americans has impelled her to reckon with the situation less as a "problem" -- for no one wants to be considered a problem -- and more potentially creative circumstance. The stress is not on what to do about the Jewish, the "immigrant," the Catholic, or the Negro *problem*, but on how to create out of this happy richness and variety a more satisfying American culture. Recognition of group awareness, plus the emphasis upon its creative possibilities, stem from her conviction that one of the vital needs of people is recognition and status.

Primacy of Emotions

A second working hypothesis of Dr. DuBois', *There is no use in first giving facts about various groups to prejudiced people,* because "we do not act according to what we know but according to how we feel about what we know." This hypothesis reveals her understanding of the phenomenon of evasion. She knows how easily people take to rationalizing when it suits their emotional needs. The intellectual side of our nature serves our whole nature; and when there are demanding and insistent needs, our minds bend to their service. One of the major tasks of education is to create the *desire* to know the truth. Without the will to do, knowledge is helpless.

To carry out what is implied in this hypothesis, Dr. DuBois has resorted to three approaches: "the emotional, or the conscious appeal to the emotions of the students; the situational, or the arranging of situations in which the student would have an opportunity

to practice new attitudes; and the intellectual, or the giving of facts to support new attitudes." The primacy given to the emotional approach is deliberate, and leads to *the third hypothesis* which relates to the first and the second! Emotions are involved to a great extent with *"group-egos."* A person becomes emotionally disturbed when his group does not receive the recognition he believes it should have. He may become egocentric, proud, and bombastic, and further alienate those he tries to win over; or he may become ashamed of his group, and turn against it, dropping its special values and customs, and striving vainly to imitate some mythical American who, he believes, would not be subjected to the same ordeal as the members of his group. In both instances, the person suffers from the same deficiency; inadequate status for the group of which he feels himself a part, and with whose status he is concerned because it involves his own ego status.

Group Recognition

The *fourth hypothesis* touches upon the converse of the third: *Good can come out of the proper recognition given to groups and their creative possibilities.* Dr. DuBois contends that if school and community programs accord social recognition to each cultural group in American life, and give special attention to those in the immediate community, a spirit of creativity will be released which will not only help citizens work together more harmoniously in solving their common problems of living together, but will inspire them to a conscious sharing of their cultural experiences. This means that they will recognize in one another the analogue of each, and since the cultural experience of their neighbors will be seen as fulfilling needs which *they* feel, it will be possible for them to borrow some of the content and the form of their neighbors' cultural patterns.

Thus occurs the process of "cultural cross-fertilization." If the "pollen" of socially valuable customs is present, creativity can result, especially when it is blown by the "wind" of friendly social interaction. To be able to participate in such creativity is a boon to the ego of any group. Actually to bring about some new synthesis is a source of enrichment of American culture. But most significant of all, the individuals who witness and are part of the process satisfy a profound human need in themselves.

It is important to contrast this with individual recognition, independent of the group, which is sometimes suggested as an antidote to prejudice. When the individual is separated from his group, and recognized for the "personality" that he is, the tendency is to identify him with an exception to the general rule. Social interaction on an individual basis merely invites the prejudiced person to say, "Well, but *you* are different. You are not like other Jews (or Negroes, or Puerto Ricans, etc.)." The recognition is a "token," the hate for the group continues, the individual who is granted the recognition is exposed to a conflict. He can either reject the recognition in defense of his group, or reject the group for the sake of the recognition. Either course demands a sacrifice, and denies him the satisfaction he needs.

The tendency to accord recognition to the individual and not to the group is, therefore, one of much significance to Dr. DuBois in her work, and constitutes the theme of her fifth hypothesis: *We tend to hold on to old attitudes as long as they satisfy any of our desires.* A change of attitude toward a Jew (or Negro, etc.) may result from one interesting experience with him, but the value "Jew" is not necessarily affected so long as this value serves a personality need. The major objective, then, must be to change the value.

Common Ground

One way, while helping the individual to become emotionally more mature, is to discourage the use of a particular group as an outlet for hostility. Dr. DuBois' sixth hypothesis: *The prejudiced person will tend to change his attitude if he meets a sufficient number of the group he opposes, in face-to-face contact under conditions of mutual group recognition.* Dr. DuBois' seventh and final hypothesis, is the culmination of all the

others and the crucial point of her theory. *To feel emotionally and socially accepted and secure in the midst of differences, it is necessary to realize that underlying all cultural differences there is the basic unity of mankind.* Religionists, she says, speak of our being brothers "in Something." This is echoed by the sociologists ("The sympathy between two groups is directly proportional to their consciousness of resemblance.") and the psychologists ("A collective unconscious binds us all together.") To achieve this consciousness of kind--of *human* kind--is the goal of all her efforts: the sense of sharing in the same nature with all humans, of experiencing the same needs, and deriving the same kind of satisfaction from their fulfillment.

The Balanced Personality

Her list of needs follows the schematic arrangement of W.I. Thomas. She gives "social recognition" primacy, followed by "response," "new experience," and "security." The need for social recognition already discussed, is closely allied with the need for security, for this involves a desire to "belong" in addition to the wish for physical security, employment, freedom from illness and danger.

The wish for new experience reflects the need of people to satisfy their curiosity about their environment, and to participate in various forms of recreation. The wish for response implies a desire for love or fellowship. It involves, of course, friendly relationships with people, but includes also response for animals, places, and such symbols as "God," "country," "humanity." The wish to be part of a cause larger than one's self, which others list as a separate need, Thomas and Dr. DuBois include as part of the desire for response.

"The balanced personality" she says, "is one which is in the dynamic, ever-changing process of having all of these needs of their derivatives satisfied in some way and to some extent. When wishes are unsatisfied, tensions develop, which, if they are too strong, or have to be endured too long, tend finally to develop maladjusted personalities. While in the midst of this frustration, the person will retaliate directly, if possible, against the object o fperson obstructing his wish, or who he thinks is obstructing his wish. If that is not possible, he will find a substitute for his retaliation; this process is sometimes called "scape-goating" and is the cause of much of our racial and religious prejudice. While all of us may have our private likes and dislikes, some psychologists believe that most individuals who show prejudice against whole groups of people are likely to be those who have been greatly frustrated at some time in their lives, perhaps by a parent-child struggle for dominance in early youth. Insofar as this is true, then the fight against such intolerance is more a matter of mental hygiene and healing maladjustments then it is of broadcasting facts about oppressed groups."[5]

Group Conversation

To implement this general approach, Dr. DuBois has created a number of devices used in schools with children and with parents, and at home with both parents and children participating. One of these is the spontaneour group conversation.* Men and women of various backgrounds are brought together and are encouraged to talk freely about their childhood. Specific memories evoked generally relate to experiences common to all peoples; memories, for example, of customs connected with the advent of the seasons, of the smell and taste of special foods connected with the seasons.[6] A typical group conversation, for instance, is based on memories of the coming of autumn. Jews speak of Sukkot; old stock Americans recall Thanksgiving Day many years ago; the Dutch Americans tell of the battle of Leyden and the miracle of the pot of stew; the Czecho-Americans tell of their memories of a joyous

*The earlier description of this group process, "Neighborhood Festival," has now been dropped because the term Festival though technically correct implied to most people a pageant and the wearing of nationality costumes, whereas a group conversation suggests an informal and usually small group of people.

ceremony of drying mushrooms called "Jesus bread." Out of this conversation there develops a sense of kinship, a feeling of the common experience, a realization of the basic sameness that underlies the variations. It provides group recognition. It involves face to face contact. It meets, in fact, many of the requirements set up in the hypotheses.

The Parranda

Another type of group conversation is the Parranda. As developed by Dr. DuBois and her co-workers, this is a series of visits to the homes of the various members of any mixed group, for the purpose of "living," for the moment, in the homes of neighbors who may be culturally different. From two to four homes are selected for an afternoon or evening. In the homes the characteristic creations of the folk are presented and the conversation revolves about the four basic human interests: work, play, love, worship. In Irish-American home, for example, the grandfather may be encouraged to recite a poem in Gaelic, Irish music may be played on the gramaphone, Irish fairy tales may be told, some typical Irish dish may be served. Then the talk runs on to the broader topics. Frequently, at the end of the day, the consensus is: "American families do the same things, but they may do them differently."[7]

Using this home visitation method, a three year Parranda program developed in one of New York City's tension areas under the joint auspices of the school, the Parents Association, and the Workshop for Cultural Democracy.* Each week during that time small groups of seventh grade pupils from social studies classes took turns visiting homes in the community. After partaking of the particular foods and conversing about customs in two homes of differing cultural backgrounds, the students reported their experiences in their school classes. It was out of these experiences that much of the social studies curriculum developed. Sociometric testing showed that prevailing prejudices as revealed in choices of friends had been reduced. A few verbal reactions of the children are significant:

"All schools should have Parrandas. A lot of people in New York City are lonesome. They want to make friends and the Parrandas help people to get along with each other."... "They (the Parrandas) get people together so they feel like relatives."... "People feel they belong to one another and all together."... "We not only see what other people do but we learn to understand them better."

Leadership Training

More recently, to spread the use of group conversation, Dr. DuBois and her assistant, Mew-soong Li, an Hawaiian born American teacher, have been focusing on the training of leaders. In three-day workshops, members of the national staffs of group-work agencies, churches, and other groups, have learned the method, and are using it in the work of their particular organization.

Group Approach to Self-Acceptance

Needless to say, during these more than twenty years of being a practitioner in intergroup relations, Dr. DuBois has kept pace with the findings of research in this psychological age. The theory upon which group conversation has been evolved by her and her co-workers during the last twelve years, reflects not only the sociological concepts of W.I. Thomas and others upon which her original work was based, but upon the more recent findings of the psychotherapists.

One of these is the concept that a healthy self-acceptance precedes the healthy acceptance of others. Thus, group conversation is structured to produce an atmosphere of complete acceptance. It can then increase the communication between persons whose blind spots to individuals from other groups often have roots in childhood experiences. Remembering can actually change a negative factor of the past into a positive factor in the present. The participants come away with new insights on personal motivations and reactions, and with greater tolerance and acceptance of self. This is an important step

*For a detailed report of this project, see Neighbors in Action.

in the acceptance of variety and difference in others.

When this kind of self-knowledge is the goal, then instead of recalling seasonal events, the topics will bring out memories of such experiences, the ways in which the participants felt inferior when they were growing up, and the first event which gave them a sense of importance. The response of others reveals the similarity of all in key situations, and helps us see ourselves in perspective. When self-knowledge is the goal, the group can be culturally diverse or homogeneous. It is in this area of helping people, especially teachers and leaders, to acquire through this group approach insights into their own behavior, and thus to become more sensitive in their work with others, that the present exploration of Dr. DuBois and the Workshop is now focussed.

The method, of course, like any method, has its limitations. It is not group therapy, though it has similar characteristics in its atmosphere of acceptance and permissiveness. It does not take the place of, but needs to be related to group discussion, group decision, and group action.

A Unitive Force

Group conversation, centered on the elemental experiences of life, forcefully drives home the commonalty of all groups, and at the same time, establishes a "free trade in ideas" which makes for cross-fertilization and mutual influence. In the Parrandas, by discussing work, play, love and worship, Dr. DuBois makes people aware of the importance of every dimension of living, so that the cultural approach is not limited to arts and leisure time activities. She recognizes religion as an integral part of culture. In doing so, she properly refutes the notion that religion is a private matter, or one concerned solely with beliefs or concepts. In fact, beliefs are not discussed at group conversations. It is on the sectarian level that religion is divisive. On the functional level, by showing how we satisfy our basic needs, (the different ways of saying grace, for instance,) religion can be unitive. Finding our "commonalities" and recognizing but not discussing our differing beliefs points the way to a solution of the problem of religion in our public schools. Group conversation can decrease our interdultural illiteracy and increase intergroup confidence to such an extent that our "cold war" can be won on the domestic front.

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1. Harper & Bros., New York, 1943 2. Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, Inc., New York, 1945

3. Harper & Bros., New York, 1950 4. Build Together, p. 55 5. Get Together, pp. 105 ff. See also Neighbors in Action 233 ff. 6. Ibid., Ch. 2 7. See Neighbors in Action, Chs. 3 & 4

May 12, 1959

Mr. & Mrs. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney & Elizabeth:

Many thanks for all your courtesies during my brief visit. I was tremendously impressed by Penn Community Center - the plant, spirit, and excellent work being done there.

If and when the least excuse presents itself, I shall be back.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

September 18, 1959

Mrs. Norman Richards
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Elsie:

Thank you for your letter of September 14, concerning our recent publication. We are mailing you the requested copies under separate cover.

Bill and I remember pleasantly our stay with you and Norman this summer and hope to see you again sometime this fall.

I am also mailing a copy of the voting study to Bob Filene.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
Director

September 14, 1959

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John,

Could we receive 5 copies of the recent report on Negro voting? One of our work-campers as well would like one. He is

Bob Filene
330 E. 43 St.
New York, N.Y.

Sincerely,

Elsie Richardo

September 22, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Executive Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

It is good to have this excuse to renew contact with you. I hope that we can confer together fairly soon in person about South Carolina and ways in which our operation could be of greater service.

During a recent interagency meeting here in Atlanta, Mrs. Spearman brought up some very challenging ideas calling for a major project in the field of adult education and citizenship which would be aimed primarily at indigenous Negro leadership in world, neglected areas of such deep South states as South Carolina. We have been searching here for effective approaches to this aspect of the Southern scene and feel that Alice's ideas have real possibilities.

The plan would call for an approach to a foundation for a rather considerable sum to staff and finance some such effort. The ideas were obviously drawn from the experience of conferences held during the past year at the Penn Center and also from work done out of Highlander Folk School on some of the off-coast islands. In order to get the effort underway, I would suggest as a first step that you and Mrs. Spearman confer, drawing on this experience, and prepare a sort of first

draft of such a program; spelling out the type of educational activities that might be feasible, the kind of staff person or persons that would be required, the areas in which such activities could be carried on, etc. The whole thing needs to be boiled down and made concrete. If you feel this type of procedure useful, after you and Alice have done the first spadework perhaps the two of you could come to Atlanta and meet with some of us on the SRC staff to further refine the approach, consider foundation strategy, etc.

If such an idea is at all practical, some agency would have to serve as the administering agency and make the foundation approach, etc. It is possible that some agency like the Penn Center would be best suited to this kind of effort.

At any rate, let me know your thinking and let's see if we can get something moving in this direction.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/mf

September 29, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Executive Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

The Southern Interagency Conference discussed, as planned, the idea of holding a future meeting at Penn. All agreed it would be desirable to do so, and in light of your letter it was decided to plan on having the spring meeting there.

This meeting will be held in April and the group is hopeful that it will be satisfactory with you if definite dates can be set at the winter meeting which will be held during January.

There are usually twenty to twenty-five persons at the meetings, though the inducements of Frogmore in the spring may raise this number somewhat. Normally, we meet from 2:00 p.m. on one day until noon of the next. For this meeting however, it is likely that the group will give serious consideration to holding a longer meeting.

If all of this is satisfactory with you, I will get further information from you before the

January meeting; including any dates which are not acceptable to Penn.

I think the meeting at Penn is going to have a good effect on the interagency effort and am pleased that they have shown the wisdom to follow our advice!

Best to you and the family.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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MRS. WILLIAM W. SMITH
POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

October 20, 1959

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul,

We are quite delighted that the interagency conference will be meeting here in April. I am glad that we will have several months to clear up some of the debris lying around from the hurricane before the conference.

There will probably be a team from American Friends Service Committee staying at Penn and helping Islanders repair their homes. Thus we expect to stay rather busy the next several months, working with them and repairing our own damage.

Best regards,

Courtney

Courtney Siceloff

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

Frogmore, St. Helena Island,

South Carolina

October 26, 1959

Dear friends,

Now that the rush of emergency has been replaced by the big and tedious job of cleaning up in the wake of Hurricane Gracie, we can take time out to send this newsletter to those of you who may be wondering about our welfare.

On Tuesday, September 29, the hurricane came in from the ocean and centered through St. Helena Island, leaving this the most heavily damaged area in its path. That morning before the storm reached its height, the Richards' left their waterfront home and went to the Siceloffs at Hampton House, a sturdier and higher shelter. Shortly afterward the electricity went out and the first tree came down across the highway. The next three hours were an unimaginable holocaust as trees cracked and fell all around us, shutters banged and broke, and pieces of debris blew by.

Later in the afternoon when the wind slowed down, Courtney Siceloff and Norman Richards set out into the jungle of fallen branches to see about the welfare of our neighbors, then walked to the St. Helena School where 300 - 400 evacuees were sheltered. We were comforted to learn that there were remarkably few casualties (one man killed when struck by flying debris), although no home on the island was left undamaged. All communication was cut off beyond places we could reach by walking. Darkness came early and brought with it a great sense of our powerlessness to aid the crowded and wet people in the school and in isolated homes. We could not even offer drinking water, since a tree uprooting had broken a pipe and emptied Penn's 50,000 gallon storage water supply.

The next few days dawned clear and uncomfortably hot for the hard cleanup job ahead. On Wednesday Norman, with the help of neighbors, succeeded in cutting a single car lane out to the main highway, and on Thursday the other lane was cleared by the National Guard. About Friday the first electric crew appeared on the island. During the next week a tremendous amount of rehabilitation was accomplished, getting electricity to Penn ten days after the storm.

Most of Penn's buildings came through the storm well by comparison with other island dwellings. Roof damage was extensive, leading to interior water damage. (The damages to buildings are partially covered by insurance). Our neighboring Brick Church lost its entire roof. The beautiful old trees, for which Penn was noted, were badly wrecked. The Army, Marines and County Highway Department gave considerable aid with their large trucks and cranes so that we could soon drive about the campus, and this week a lumber buyer's crew removed additional damaged trees. The money from the sale of lumber will pay for much of the cleaning up of the campus if Penn staff does the labor-- meaning that the normal maintenance of Penn would be neglected for awhile.

Red Cross temporary headquarters for the island have been set up in our Frissell Community Building. The Red Cross workers immediately distributed food, mattresses and bedding to replace the water-soaked ones. After a person applies and his immediate needs are investigated, purchase orders are given to him which he can redeem at local stores for new clothing, food, and building materials.

More people than usual come to buy low-priced used clothing at our Sales House. Men's and children's articles are in very short supply there now. In most instances where aid is granted, the Red Cross supplies building materials to restore pre-storm living conditions; the owner is expected to make his own repairs. However, in a few situations where there is no male relative, labor is contracted for.

It is to help with the labor needs that a small work team, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, will be coming down to St. Helena at the end of this month to stay until (or through) Thanksgiving. These men of both races will be based at Penn and will try to give as much encouragement as they can, though the labor they give will be small compared to the need. We are now writing to ten Southern colleges to ask if some students will work for a weekend along with the Quaker group. In this situation of sudden need, the presence of these volunteers may help people to forget their superficial differences - may help them to know one another as they really are.

Our conference program will go on as before with a state-wide meeting on Merit Employment scheduled for October 31. The letter we mailed to 1000 South Carolinians asked "How many Negroes in your community, aside from teachers and ministers, are holding skilled jobs? Why do over 50% of Negro college graduates, including teachers, leave South Carolina for work in other states?" The conference will be a "do-it-yourself" program to plan action in local communities - working out methods for approaching employers, locating and encouraging Negro young people to apply and train for jobs not usually open to Negroes, and learning what support is available from the Federal Government.

For many of us,"Gracie" pulled us up short from our thoughtless busyness of everyday, and once more challenged us with the perennial question of what is of value in life. The day before, we were preoccupied with things that were largely to be undone by the storm; on the day after, we chatted casually with a good friend and leading citizen of St. Helena, M. T. Wildy, who was killed the next day in an auto accident. "Seek ye first..." was the answer so persistently whispered to us throughout these experiences.

Sincerely,

Staff of Penn Community Services

December 16, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

You will see from the enclosed minutes of the action of the Southern Interagency Conference concerning the spring meeting at Penn. The specific date for the meeting will be set at the January meeting. Perhaps for this reason as well as the general meeting you might want to be present. We would enjoy having you. Therefore, hope you can be here on January 19 - 20. If you cannot come, would you send me any dates on which Penn could not have the group.

Wright Baker of the American Council on Education tells me that Penn has agreed to have Mr. Taffete during the holidays. Hope this is not an imposition. Certainly the Committee on Leaders and Specialists and the State Department should know of Penn for the foreign visitor circuit.

Best wishes of the season to you and the family.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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SUMTER, S. C.

FREDERICK B. ROUTH
ATLANTA, GA.

MRS. WILLIAM W. SMITH
POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

December 30, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Can you give me the full name and address of Mr. Sifton, the labor man, whose office, I believe, is in Washington?

I am thinking of putting before him Penn's proposal in the drafting of which you recently had a hand.

If you have any suggestions as to a diplomatic approach to Mr. Sifton, I should be very glad to receive them.

Thanks and best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW:jc

cc Courtney Siceloff

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

January 26, 1960

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a copy of an outline of the proposed study of rural areas which I discussed at the Inter-agency meeting in Atlanta on January 20. You will recall that it was suggested that a written summary be sent around to members for further scrutiny. I believe it was felt that those representatives who thought that their agencies might be interested in this project might wish to refer it to the appropriate department of their agency for consideration.

We will be glad to have your comments or suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff

Enclosure

cs/es

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

PROPOSAL FOR STUDY OF SMALL-TOWN AND RURAL AREAS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Penn Community Services, Inc., offers the following proposal to enable it to perform a unique service in the field of human relations in the South. Penn seeks to secure a definitive study of the inequalities of opportunity between races and the causes of resistance to change in the rural areas of the South. It would search out also the tactics to be employed in overcoming such resistance, and the most effective roles of existing agencies and groups throughout the region.

Since the Supreme Court decision in 1954 set the stage for a "break-through" in the field of human relations, the efforts of most agencies in the South have been largely in the area of implementing this and subsequent decisions relating to schools and public facilities. Desegregation in the South has taken place largely in border states and in urban areas.

The rural and small-town areas of the deep South have been necessarily neglected. Here there exist the greatest gaps between Negro and white citizens in the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship. Perhaps more crucial now than school desegragation in these communities is the obtaining of basic civil rights. It is entirely possible that southern opposition might not be so unyielding in some such areas as medical and hospital services; private and public employment; libraries, transportation, voter registration, judicial procedures, public and private housing. It is possible, also, that successes in such areas would favorably affect the effort to secure acceptance of the school decrees.

Method

To secure the best possible advice and direction on the points of immediate and long-range goals in the field of racial discrimination, Penn proposes to bring together at its campus specialists in the field of human relations who combine professional skills with practical experience in the rural South. The group would list the areas most and least likely to yield results and propose priorities of effort. It would also suggest methods and techniques to be employed, and define the role of such agencies as human relations organizations, extension services, the church and the press.

The geographical area involved in the study would be the state of South Carolina, which is typical of the "hard-core" states. These states are still largely rural and small-town areas with a relatively large Negro population. The economic and cultural status of such states bears striking similarity to each other. They face common problems which might have common solutions. Obviously, such a study of one state would be more thorough and definitive than a

more generalized study of all the "hard-core" states.

In undertaking this work the group of specialists would gather once, and perhaps twice, at Penn Center. Together with the Southern Regional Council, the Penn staff would provide documents and materials in preparation for the study.

Penn Center is peculiarly suited for this role. For almost a century, it has been active in the field of community-centered education for Negroes on the South Carolina coast. In recent years it has provided conference facilities for varied groups of both races, and it has initiated an educational program concerned with human relations and civil rights in South Carolina. The secluded campus permits concentration with little outside interference.

The findings of this working party could have far-reaching results. The conclusions arrived at would be printed in pamphlet form and given appropriate distribution. Interested local organizations and communities could use this guide; agencies working in the area of human relations would be enabled to evaluate their own programs and plan future action; foundations and individuals might use this study as reference for securing the wisest possible use of their resources.

Penn Community Services itself is one agency that would be prepared to implement at once the findings of this survey. Penn could initiate conferences of groups whose roles are forecast in the study, so that specific recommendations could be considered and acted upon.

Courtney Siceloff, Director

P. R.
fyi please return mf.

January 28, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Your memorandum to the interagency list was not only prompt but very well done -- a marked improvement over the original request, if I may say so.

I suppose it is unnecessary for me to assure y ou that, if the conference is not subsidized, you may count on SRC's participation and cooperation under its own steam.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

January 26, 1960

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Courtney Siceloff, Director

Frogmore SC
February 15,
1960

Dear Harold -

I felt you shouldn't miss the enclosed. Maybe your office specs have seen it already.

What attractive people you have there - and so young looking. A stint there should age them in no time.

Will be visiting Jamie soon re beach. Meanwhile I am

yours

Elizabeth; that is -
Libby

...ould slaug...
...hedy as it slaughtered Smith...
not because of his religion. He is
identified with Yankee "integra-

...
third time.

Letters To The Editor

Poetry Readings

(By Telegraph)

To The News and Courier:

Please tell your readers, especially poetry enthusiasts, to come to the Hudson Theater immediately to see and hear the diaries and poems of Edna St. Vincent Millay read aloud and acted with restrained emotion by Dorothy Stickney. It is uniquely moving and beautiful.

HELEN M. RAINSFORD
177 Hale Ave.,
White Plains, N.Y.

N. & Charleston 2/13/60

Cry For Help

To The News and Courier:

If, perchance, I were a Confederate soldier, recently resurrected, I would look around me and stare in wide-eyed astonishment at my beloved South. "My! How she has changed!" I would say.

Suddenly I would spy a copy of The Atlanta Constitution, turn eagerly to the editorial page. And then I would cry : "Oh, Lord! What has happened to my South?" I would moan, brushing away the tears that I might search with unblurred vision some familiar sight, some sign to tell me: "Yes, Johnny you are still in the South."

Suddenly, my heart would leap. For there, there it is — a copy of The News and Courier of Charleston! "The flame of righteousness has not died, it lives!" I would say, and I would turn with trembling fingers to the editorial page, and "Yes- Yes! It's true- There is still a South" I would exclaim.

Good Lord, Mr. Editor Come thou into our sorrowing land and brng The News and Courier with you to compete with this odious integration sheet, known as The Atlanta Constitution. Our famished souls cry out for truth, hope and courage that we may sustain ourselves in these evil times.

Establishment here of the Atlanta branch of The News and Courier would do incalculable good for our cause — and yours.

ROBERT. B. THURMAN
P. O. B.21 Station E,
Atlanta.

Quizzing Candidates

To The News and Courier:

I am wondering just how many people in your state have written to these presidential hopefuls, asking them how they stand on different subjects, such as communism, discrimination, immigration (the McCarran - Walter bill), human welfare, human rights and repeal of the Connally amendment which would give all power to a U. N. World Court.

In a packet of literature from Sen. Symington, I find that he is for more aid to education, human welfare, human rights—in 1954, proposed legislation to outlaw the Communist Party; voted FOR "Civil Rights" all down the line; in 83rd Congress voted for issuance of special visas to certain refugees, escapees, expellees; was the FIRST to integrate the Armed Forces when Harry was President.

The packet from Sen. Humphrey contains about the same, only he tries to whitewash the World Court idea (S-R 94.) These so-called students of Aristotle want to transfer the exclusive right of determination to the World Court, hopefully suggesting that the court wouldn't be likely to assert jurisdiction in purely domestic matters. This is wishful thinking.

As for me, whether the chief judge of the World Court were Orval Faubus or Jim Johnston, he still would not be competent to tell the people of the rest of the world what to do.

EMMETTA GERMAINE
Oxford, Ark.

Backward Glances

...ows our grandfath... ...ead
New...

ning prayer and a short add...
at 5 o'clock.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Discussed w/ Siceloff
2/22/60

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

February 18, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have just received the scare letter you sent around to the Executive Committee of the SRC Board about the income tax people. Marion Wright has underlined quite a number of points as applying to Penn. If you have an extra copy of this memorandum, it would be helpful for us to have it, so that this could be considered at our next Board meeting. It all looks rather ominous.

See you on Monday.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney
ES

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

Courtney is at the second meeting of the S.C. Civil Rights Advisory Committee today - trying to collect some unfavorable publicity.
E.

February 25, 1960

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon Eagle:

This week Paul Rilling, Harold Fleming and I worked out the enclosed tentative agenda for the proposed study of rural South Carolina. Paul Rilling, who has had much experience, has agreed to assume leadership of the group of consultants.

We have expanded the group of consultants to include a number from South Carolina. These include: executive secretary of the State Library Board; Negro lawyer; a school superintendent; executive for the Negro teachers' association; a county agent; and James Dabbs. This group should greatly strengthen the consultant committee.

We of course will have to give a choice of dates to the consultants for their first meeting. We agreed on two alternative dates: April 22-24, and May 6-8. Since this is a very short time in relation to the busy schedules of the persons involved, it would be helpful to have confirmation of the grant of $3,000 from the New World Foundation at the earliest possible moment. Upon receipt of such confirmation, we could then proceed at once to issue invitations to the consultants.

A number of resource materials have been collected and will be made available to each consultant prior to the session at Penn. Maps and graphs will be displayed when the group assembles.

By a fortunate coincidence, Ben Segal, educational director

of the IUE, was in the office of the Southern Regional Council, and sat in on the planning sessions for agenda and personnel of this study.

Let us know if you need any further information from us.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

cc: Paul Rilling
Harold Fleming
Marion A. Wright

Thanks for all the help — of all the SRC staff. Enjoyed seeing you + family!

WORKING GROUP ON STATUS OF RURAL SOUTH CAROLINA AND SUGGESTIONS FOR REALIZING ITS POTENTIALITIES

Friday evening:

Introductions with biographical information

Brief statement on Penn

Background material and statistics on South Carolina--explanation of maps, graphs, etc.

Procedures for discussion, definition of terms, relation of study to other Southern rural areas

SATURDAY: (Sessions 9:00 - 12:00; 1:30 - 4:30; 8:00 - 10:00; Sunday 9:00 - 12:00)

I. WHAT IS THE STATUS OF RURAL LIFE IN S. C.

For Whites

For Negroes

WHAT ARE THE MAJOR MANIFESTATIONS OF IT

Legislative power

educational and cultural levels

personal freedom of thought and action

services--public and private--available or denied to Whites, to Negroes

economic opportunities and limitations

migration to city and out-of-state

WHAT ARE DETERRENTS TO CHANGE

Political and economic leadership

Lack of trained Negro leaders

Conformity to status quo

II. WHAT ACTION CAN BE UNDERTAKEN TO WORKING OUT SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS

1. How to raise economic, educational, health opportunities of Negroes

2. How stimulate leadership and participation by Negroes on community affairs

3. How involve white persons in program and meeting the emerging realities of 20th century

III. WHAT RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE TO WORKING OUT SOLUTION AND HOW UTILIZE THEM

Indigenous

Negro

White

Outside

IV. WHAT PRIORITIES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED
Differences in communities in state should be taken into account

V. SPECIFIC NEXT STEPS

Who will do what and when, in terms of priorities established

Distribution of findings

February 26, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I certainly appreciate your help in working out the plans for the study this week, and particularly your accepting leadership of the group. Incidentally, I would appreciate having a brief biographical note on you, so that when I send out invitations I can indicate your vast experience as head of discussion groups. Please don't be modest when making this out.

The term "rural" is customarily defined by the Census Bureau as villages of 2,500 or less. In driving back from Atlanta through a good part of South Carolina, particularly these small hamlets, I realized what a very limiting factor we would be getting involved in, if we planned our work with rural areas and hamlets of 2500 or less. I believe our main idea in this proposal was the thought that so much attention had been given to the urban areas, that something likewise needs to be done in non-urban areas. Therefore, I would like to get your reaction as to setting our own definition for "non-urban" (probably using this term rather than rural).

Perhaps we could use the figures of towns under 10,000. I believe it would be in these smaller towns that we could expect to see more results and, of course, be concerned as well with what is being done and needs to be done in rural areas.

I hope when you have had time to recover from your Florida trip that you will be able to consider again the agenda, and suggest any further revisions you think necessary. I hope that we can get an answer soon from the Foundations, and then send out invitations to the participants.

I learned from Alice Spearman on last Wednesday that invitations

had been sent out to a much larger group than the Board, with the expectation that you would be outlining what has been done in Virginia and the possibilities of South Carolina from your vantage point as director of field activities. While I feel it would have been better to have had the Board meeting, invitations had already gone out. We will be glad to hear from you. Perhaps Alice will be writing you concerning what she expects at that time.

Incidentally, I overheard Mr. Solomon saying that the Greenville Council would like for you to meet with it, either as a Council, or with the officers. However, Alice Spearman felt your visit to Clarendon County would be much more informative. If you are interested in getting an idea of what Council work is doing, perhaps it would be well to include the Greenville trip.

I will look forward to seeing you on March 6 in Columbia.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

cc: Harold Fleming
Marion A. Wright

March 8, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Enclosed you will see the memo sent today to the interagency group. You will note I have asked that the form be sent directly to you, with information on attendance also sent to me. Perhaps every two weeks or so we should compare notes. Enclosed are labels for all persons to whom the memo has been sent.

In a few of the letters I am inserting notes urging people to get with others to arrange the trip. Hope in this pressure will be reduced on transportation to a manageable degree.

Keep me informed and feel free to dump any problems in my lap.

On the matter of information on internal revenue regulations, our attorney has all of our information, though we have secured nothing new since you were here. If possible, I will send you copies of what we do have before April. However, the memo prepared by Harold is a good digest of all we know with some important interpretation included. The most important things for organizations with tax exemption at this time seems to be: (1) strict avoidance of any possible activity which could be deemed as political in nature; (2) an emphasis, especially in reporting, on the educational aspects

of the operation; and, (3) strict and thorough accounting of all financial matters. While I have absolutely no authority or knowledge on which to base the opinion, I would say that Penn with its community education programs, nursery, conferences, and adult education work is well in the clear.

As to information on the board, we have found that a simple mimeographed one-page form on each member is especially helpful. Form includes; name, home and business addresses with telephone for each, with the remainder of the space for biographical data. In making foundation requests we very often include a list of the board, especially to a foundation not familiar with SRC. List does not include biographical data except to indicate position or activity of each member. Thus, Dr. Clement is identified as President of Atlanta University, Hodding Carter as Editor of Delta-Democrat Times, etc. In doing this, however, it is wise to indicate in a footnote that position or place of employment is for the purpose of identification only and does not imply endorsement of Penn by other than the individual listed.

Don't worry about being sensitive about calling on SRC; if you do good we'll take all the credit, if you don't, we won't bother to mention that we tried to help!

Best to Elizabeth and the family.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

March 2, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I believe you indicated when I was in Atlanta last week that you could run off further information on internal revenue regulations concerning non-profit organizations. Harold gave me the mimeographed sheet that went out to the Executive Committee, so you don't have to include that part of it. This is a topic that is to come up at our Board meeting in April, and of course we would like to have as much information on it as possible.

Since SRC always seems to have the perfect way of meeting situations, we call on you again for a sample form sent out to Board members for securing biographical information. We do not now have this. From what I have gathered, you often send in such material on your Board members when making applications to Foundations. It would be helpful to know what sort of information you ask of them.

I think several of us are becoming very sensitive about mentioning SRC now around Penn, since our organization is becoming increasingly heavy with SRC personnel and/or Board members. Whenever any problem comes up, the first remark is, "Well, SRC does it this way." It makes many people think that we are merely an adjunct of that organization, which is not far from wrong.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

March 1, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The enclosed is information you may want to include on the notice going out to the membership of the Inter-Agency Conference. There still may be some questions; feel free to raise them in case I have not covered it. I am also including a tentative form which would give us the sort of information I think we will need. Feel free to revise it, in any way you see fit. You may want to add other blanks for information that you would need.

I believe we have indicated at the last meeting that the spouses would be invited, or at least welcome. There is a place on the blank for filling this in.

I believe also that you were going to send a list of names to whom this mailing is going, so that we can also send out brochures of Penn and attractions of the area.

I appreciate very much your handling this matter. Let me know if you need further information.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es
enclosure

P.S. On the tentative form for indicating time of arrival, etc., the "NOTE TO PARTICIPANTS" should be at the top probably, if it is included. We added this with the thought that they might not have final plans made now, but could return the form without delay anyway. Please change this in any way. CS

Dr. 3-5579

Southern Conference

INFORMATION FOR INTER-AGENCY MEETING

April 1960

Train

Atlantic Coast Line; station closest to Beaufort, Yemassee, S. C., but no direct bus service from Yemassee to Beaufort. Stops also in Charleston and Savannah, with bus service to Beaufort. (Beaufort is 7 miles from Frogmore.)

Air Lines

National, Delta, and Eastern Air Lines serve Charleston and Savannah. Savannah airport is approximately 55 miles from Penn; Charleston airport is 75 miles from Penn. Charleston has more frequent air service.

Transportation from Charleston and Savannah

Direct bus service from Charleston and Savannah to Beaufort. Leaves Charleston 9:20 A.M., 12:01 noon, 7:15 P.M. Each trip takes 1 hour and forty minutes.*

From Savannah, leaves 8:55 A.M., 12:40 Noon. Trip takes one hour.*

Taxi from Beaufort to Penn, $2 to $2.50 per trip.

Penn can arrange to meet attenders at Savannah or Charleston airports or Yemassee station (microbus can carry seven passengers): From Yemassee, $6.00; from Savannah, $10; from Charleston, $13 (per trip)

Address and Telephone

For mail: Penn Community Services
Frogmore, S.C.

Telephone: JAckson 4-4337 (Beaufort exchange)

Cost

The cost will be $10, which will include meals and overnight. lodging
(This is figured from Thursday noon through Saturday breakfast. I believe we talked about this earlier -- that we would make a flat charge, regardless of whether someone misses one meal or leaves early before the meeting is over. Since it breaks up at 5 P.M., I should imagine most people will be staying over on Friday night, though a few may leave immediately. If you care to include this information, fine; if not, okay as well.)

* NOTE: This is a current schedule marked January 5, 1960. Persons expecting to rely on buses should check schedule before leaving.

SOUTHERN INTER-AGENCY CONFERENCE

Penn Community Services
Frogmore, South Carolina

April 21-22, 1960

I expect to go to Frogmore via ( ) train

( ) plane

( ) car

I will need to be met ( ) at _____
(place)

at _____ _____.
(date) (hour)

I expect to arrive at approximately _____ (A.M. -- P.M.)
(hour)

on _____
date

I expect to leave on _____
date

at approximately _____ (A.M. -- P.M.)
(hour)

With me will be _____

_____

(signed) Name _____

Address _____

_____

Telephone _____

NOTE TO PARTICIPANTS:

At this time you are asked to fill out and promptly return this form to Courtney Siceloff — To Paul Anthony? at Frogmore. Use your present expectations as the basis, so that we may plan appropriately. If your plans change subsequently, please advise Courtney, but do not defer the sending of this form now.

Rec'd 3/14/60

March 12, 1960

Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

It is good to hear from you. It seems like a good idea to have the consultation on findings in Louisiana and Mississippi in connection with the April meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference. By now you have probably received from Paul Anthony his announcement of the meeting, with details about travel and so on.

At this point it would seem preferable to schedule this consultation before the SIC meeting, rather than afterwards. We are thinking of having a meeting of participants in the Penn study of rural South Carolina (which I reported at the last SIC meeting), immediately following the SIC meeting at Penn in April. We have been held up in inviting the consultants for this study, and scheduling the meeting, because the promised financial assistance has not come through yet. (You are familiar with these delays, I believe!) But until we do hear something, we would like to hold open the time just following the April SIC meeting, for the proposed meeting of consultants on the rural study. As in the case of the AFSC consultation, some of the people would be here anyway, and it would simplify things a lot if we can combine the trips for some persons.

As to the other questions you raised, I believe Paul Anthony's memorandum of March 8 gave full information on transportation. As his memo states, the cost for the SIC meeting, from Thursday lunch through Saturday breakfast, will be $10 per person. For the additional time, either before or after, the cost would be $5 per day, including 3 meals and overnight stay. Referring to your question about a possible Friday afternoon session: the SIC meeting will last through Friday afternoon, as I understand it, so any additional session could not begin before Friday evening. We'll let you know when we have something definite on the meeting of Penn study consultants, which should be soon. MEANWHILE -- we look forward to seeing you!

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cc: Paul Anthony
→Harold Fleming

COPY

Recd 3/15/60

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

March 14, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmire, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

I am glad to be able to tell you that The New World Foundation has approved a grant of $3,000 to enable you to commence the study of small town and rural areas in South Carolina.

I will be glad to be kept informed of the progress you are making toward the first meeting and will make payment of the grant upon advice from you.

Sincerely,

Vernon A. Eagle /s

cc:
Mr. Harold Fleming

MOUNTAIN VIEW HOTEL, Gatlinburg, Tenn., is the pioneer hotel of the Smokies. An ideal base for full year around enjoyment of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Modern swimming pool free to our guests, horseback riding, shuffleboard, square dancing, golf privileges. Each room is modern with steam heat and bath. Delicious southern meals are served in the spacious dining room. Let us help you plan your convention during our convention seasons: September; Nov. 1 to July 1. Hotel and dining room open all year. AAA approved.

Published by Stonecraft, 1510 Scenic Drive, Maryville, Tenn.

S18237L2-1

POST CARD

Address

Hi Harold —
SRC sure has flooded
Com C. Rte with literature
Excellent publicity!
Charles

Harold F Fleming
SRC
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta, Ga

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

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COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

April 6, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Recent events indicate that many Southern Negroes are no longer willing to accept inequalities in such areas as lunchroom and library facilities. The strength if the widespread demonstrations has surprised many of the "experts" on human relations. It is with this sense of the critical temper of opinion in the South that Penn asks you to be a member of a "consultation" designed to find ways to bring about better human relations and more equal opportunities. The study will be concerned with small-town and rural areas of South Carolina, but it is clear that its findings will be valuable throughout the Southern States.

We are not interested in an academic kind of seminar but one that will provide guide-posts for immediate action to those individuals and agencies active in human relations. The results of the consultation will be published and given the widest possible publicity. We feel that through this study you will be making a significant contribution to better understanding between the races in the South.

Those who participate will receive an honorarium of forty dollars plus travel expenses to and from Penn Center. You would, of course, be given hospitality at Penn during the consultation.

Within a short time of your acceptance we will send you additional information ans some pages of statistics which relate particularly to South Carolina.

We trust that you share something of our own sense of urgency in view of the gathering speed of racial change.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

P. S. Please call Penn at JAckson 4-4337 (Beaufort, S. C.) if you have any question

Hope this calls it. Good article in NY Times.

Enclosures: working agenda
information sheet
Penn folders
acceptance form
return envelope

A CONSULATION AT PENN TO STUDY WAYS TO BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS AND MORE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN SMALL-TOWN AND RURAL AREAS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Purpose: The Penn consultation is an inquiry by top specialists in the inequalities in rural areas of the South, and it is also a search for the most effective ways to use existing resources to bring about an improvement in both opportunities and understanding. It will search out the tactics to be employed in overcoming resistance to change and suggest priorities of effort. Methods and techniques will be suggested which can be used by agencies working in human relations, extension service, the church and press.

Background: There is no doubt that events are accelerating in the South since the Supreme Court decision in 1954 set the stage for a "break-through" in the field of human relations. Most of the efforts of agencies in the South have been directed largely to implementing the decision on integration in the schools and public facilities. Desegregation has taken place largely in the border states and in urban areas. Integration can proceed only so far, however, until less urban areas are affected.

The small-town (under 10,000 population) and rural areas have necessarily been neglected. Here there exist the greatest gaps between Negro and white citizens in the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship. Perhaps more crucial than school desegregation in these communities is the obtaining of basic civil rights. Possibly opposition may not be so unyielding in such areas as medical and hospital services, private and public employment, libraries and voter registration. South Carolina is typical of the "hard-core" states of the South which are still largely rural and small-town areas with a relatively high Negro population. These states face common problems which may have common solutions. A study of South Carolina will be a valuable contribution to understanding the whole region of the South.

Method to be used in the Consultation: A "working" agenda is included with this letter, subject to change at the first meeting of the participants. Penn is bringing together on its campus a small group of top specialists in the field of human relations who combine professional skill with practical experience in the rural South. The consultants will be working together in an intensive study of the problems involved in human relations in the South. Mr. Paul Rilling, Director of Field activities of the Southern Regional Council, will act as moderator for the meetings. He has served as State Coordinator of Adult Education for the Foundation for Continuing Adult Education and as a leader of Great Books discussion groups.

The consulting group will define the inequalities in various areas such as employment, registration for voting, public facilities, housing, and explore the present resources that are available to bring about a change in these inequalities. A program will be set up and tactics outlined which will establish those areas which would seem to yield the most profitable results.

Penn's Role. Penn Community Services, Inc., has been active for nearly a century in the field of Negro education. More recently it has initiated an educational program in human relations and civil rights. Its secluded campus permits concentration with little outside interference, and Penn has undertaken to collect a working library of materials for the seminar. More important, Penn itself is one agency that is prepared to hold future study sessions in connection with specific recommendations of the survey.

Publication of Results: The conclusions reached by the consultation will be published and made available to as wide an audience as possible. The study will be useful as a guide for many organizations in planning their programs in bettering human relations. Agencies active in this field will be stimulated to re-evaluate their program in the light of the findings published. New action policies will develop out of the study which can have a significant effect in these critical times. Here will be a guide also for the best possible use of the resources of individuals and foundations.

Courtney Siceloff, Director

CONSULTANTS INVITED TO THE RURAL STUDY

Rev. Will Campbell, Southern Race Relations Program, National Council of Churches
Lee Coleman, Chairman of the Sociology Department, University of Kentucky
Eugene Cox, Rural Life Specialist, National Council of Churches
James Dabbs, President, Southern Regional Council
Miss Jean Fairfax, Southern Program Representative, American Friends Service Committee
Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta
Dean C. G. Gomilion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Phil Hammer, Atlanta Economist
Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast Regional Secretary, NAACP, Atlanta
Dr. Louis Killian, Socioligest, Florida State University
Rev. Charles Jones, Minister of Community Church, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Sociologist, Haverford College, Pennsylvania (formerly of Atlanta University)
Paul Rilling, Southern Regional Council, field director
William E. Solomon, Executive Director, Palmetto Education Association (Negro Teachers of South Carolina)
Marion A. Wright, Chairman, Penn Board of Trustees

HOW CAN BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS AND MORE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL CITIZENS BE ACHIEVED IN THE RURAL AREAS OF SOUTH CAROLINA?

Work Group Discussion Outline

Friday evening:

I. Introductions with biographical information

II. Brief statement on Penn

III. Background material and statistics on South Carolina—explanation of maps, graphs, etc.

IV. Procedures for discussion, definitation of terms, relation of study to other Southern rural areas

Saturday (Sessions 9:00 - 12:00; 1:30-4:30; 8:00 - 10:00;

Sunday 9:00 - 12)

I. What is the nature of the problem?
   A. Low economic status of rural population, of rural Negro population.
   B. Outmigration to cities, other areas of the country.
   C. Low level of political participation of Negroes.
   D. Shortage of trained Negro leadership.
   E. Limited economic opportunities.
   F. Traditional Southern pattern of relations between the races.

II. How can interested groups, agencies contribute to the alleviation of these problems?
   A. Available resources within the rural area.
   B. Resources within the state, from outside South Carolina
   C. Organizations and agencies that can be involved.
   D. Program and tactics.
   E. Establishment of priorities.
   F. Indentification of more promising areas within the state.

III. What should be the specific next steps?

TO: Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island, Frogmore, South Carolina

I accept your invitation to take part in the consultation at Penn on the small-town and rural areas of South Carolina and what can be done to improve human relations and to provide more equal opportunities.

The following dates are most acceptable to me, in the order of preference. I have marked those dates on which it would be impossible to attend.

Signed _____

Tentative dates for the consultation:

May 13-14 _____ May 20-21 _____ May 27-28 _____

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA FOR USE BY PENN

Name _____

Address _____ Telephone _____

_____

Brief Biographical Notes

(Please indicate any writing or activity which relates to the Penn Study)

INVITATION
to the
ISLANDS

For Your Conference

Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

The right atmosphere, relaxed, congenial, friendly, exists for all groups at PENN . . .

The conference center is on the shaded grounds of the former PENN SCHOOL (founded 1862) with substantial buildings well-heated in winter.

Rates are set on a cost basis and vary according to services provided.

Conference facilities include separate cafeteria building, an auditorium seating 200, several smaller meeting rooms, library, recreation area, sleeping accommodations for 100, with additional quarters available in neighboring community.

For meetings of Church and School leaders, Policy makers, youth groups

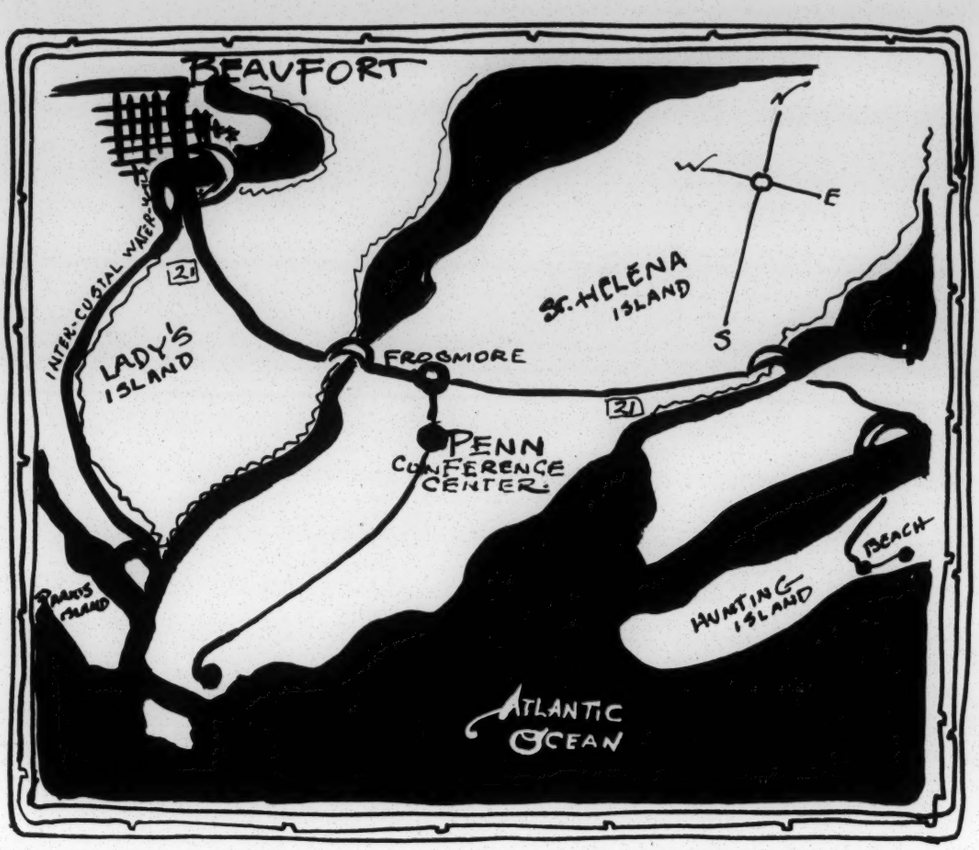
For conferences, institutes, seminars, discussion groups

COME TO PENN

Write to:

Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services
Frogmore, South Carolina
for further details

PENN is reached via Beaufort, South Carolina. If driving, continue across bridge on Route 21 from Beaufort to Lady's Island and on to Frogmore (7 miles). Turn right for ½ mile to grounds of PENN. Or take Greyhound bus to Beaufort and local bus or taxi to Penn.



The Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina offer ocean bathing, year-round fishing and many trips of historical interest.

PENN COMMUNITY CENTER
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

St. Helena Island

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Penn Community Services seeks to meet human needs in two ways. First, it maintains a community center for the people of St. Helena and its neighboring sea islands. Secondly, it offers a friendly conference center where groups from all parts of a troubled South can meet freely together.

A COMMUNITY CENTER . . .

Day Nursery—About 30 children of working parents are cared for from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. daily and provided with a hot meal. While parents bear most of the cost, the center underwrites a third of the budget.

Health Center—Prenatal and child health clinics are held regularly, in addition to regular classes and refresher courses for midwives. Personnel are provided by the Beaufort County Public Health Service, the building by Penn.

Library—Penn co-operates with the county in maintaining the island's only library, which circulates more than 1,000 books monthly. A fund has been started to purchase a bookmobile and hire a full-time librarian.

Marketing Cooperative—The island's tomato farmers meet regularly at Penn to study improved farming and marketing methods. Their packing house, set up in a former Penn School building, helps them compete with big sellers.

Homemaking Classes—Both teen-age girls and older women meet at Penn with the County Home Demonstration Agent and acquire skills in dressmaking, cooking and other types of housework.

Sales House—Clothing donated to the center is sold by Penn Community volunteers at minimum cost to low-income families. Proceeds go to help other aspects of the program.

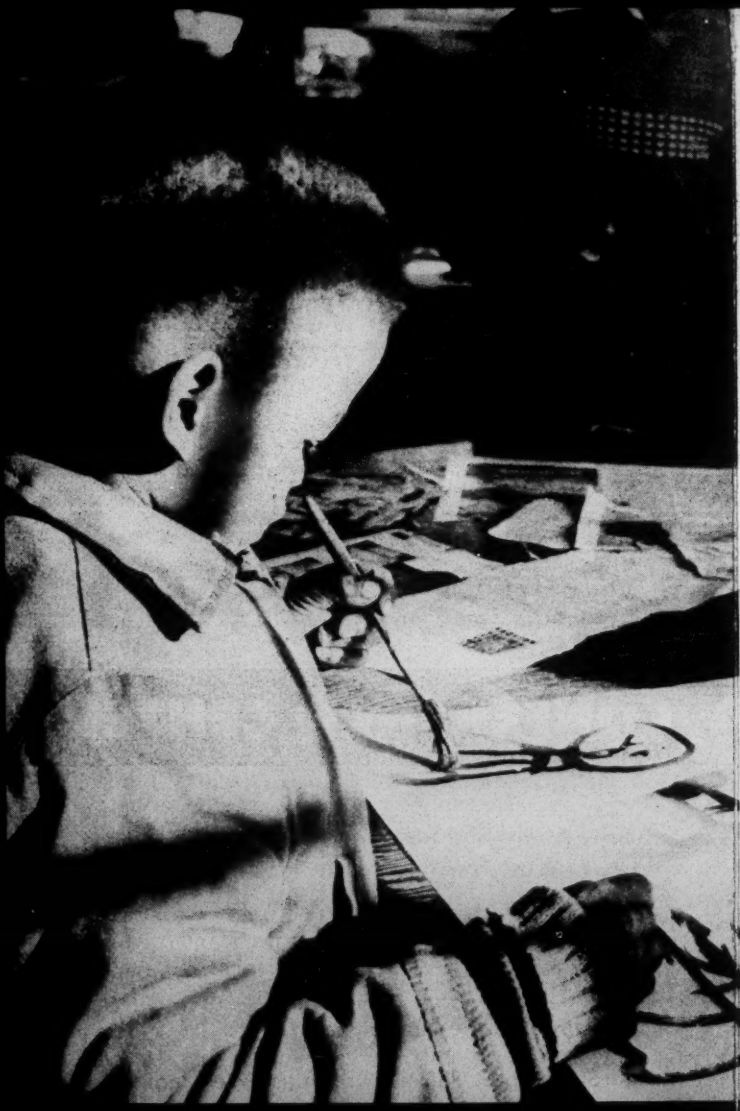
. . . A

A CONFERENCE CENTER

In the period of transition which the South is undergoing, Penn performs one of its most important services in furnishing a cheerful center for meetings of groups of both races. A few of those which have met there recently are:

- Retreat, Society of Friends
- Study Tour, University of British West Indies
- Executive Committee, Southern Regional Council
- YMCA-YWCA University Staff Regional Conference
- Atlantic Presbytery Summer Conference
- Palmetto Education Association

Students, teachers, midwives and Girl Scouts are among those which have used the center. They number more than 500, and their stays at the center have ranged from two days to two weeks. They have come from most of the Southern states, and from as far away as New England and the West Indies.



PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, Inc.

COURTNEY SICELOFF, Director

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"The work of Penn is supported by participants, a small endowment, and contributions enabling this important pilot project to continue. Gifts to Penn are tax deductible."

4/19/60

TELEGRAM

Date for consultation on rural study set for weekend May 13-15 at Penn Center, Frogmore, S.C. Glad that you can attend. Will send background material and travel information.

Courtney Siceloff

COPY

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

April 25, 1960

Dear Friend:

We are glad that you will be attending the consultation on small-town and rural South Carolina at Penn Center. We hope that you can arrive in time for dinner on Friday, May 13, at six o'clock. It is expected that the meeting will end with the noon meal on Sunday, May 15, which is set for 12:30.

Penn Center is located on St. Helena Island at Frogmore. For those coming by car, continue on route 21 through Beaufort seven miles to Frogmore, where you will turn right and proceed one-half mile to Penn Center. Reimbursement for automobile travel will be at the rate of eight cents a mile.

The city of Charleston is 70 miles north of Beaufort, and it is served by three major airlines. Savannah, Georgia, is forty miles south of Beaufort, and is also a major airport. Penn will arrange to meet you at either air terminal.

Atlantic Coast Line rail service is available to Yemassee, South Carolina, thirty miles from Frogmore. Penn will be glad to meet you at the railroad station in Yemassee.

We will appreciate your returning the enclosed form as soon as possible. You will note that a space is indicated if you wish to receive an advance payment on your fare.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

enclosure

Ruby Gomillion
Will Killigan
Auld Reid
MAW
Dabbs
C Jones
Cox
Fairfax
Solomon
Macarthur
Coleman, Lee

May 5, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Center
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Under separate cover we are sending you twelve copies of a reproduction of a section of the American Dilemma which Mr. Wright wished to have for the conference next weekend.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/sm
cc: M. A. Wright

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

May 10, 1960

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Sent 5/11/60

We finally got around to sending out a request for biographical information from our Board members, and the replies are coming in. Marion Wright's came today, with this notation: "Data may be secured from Southern Regional Council."

Sorry, pal.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

Materials sent:
Dabbs's book
The Southern Temper
L'ville Story
Action Pattern in School Desegregation

May 12, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Enclosed is a copy of an earlier bibliography which might be of some help. A new one will be listed in the May issue of NEW SOUTH.

I am sending you, under separate cover, a few things which might be of use for your library. There is no charge.

As to the map, you can get most any size here in Atlanta. Just now, we are using a 36 X 24 map of the Southeastern counties with the largest cities noted. The cost is ~~one~~ two dollars. A smaller one, 28 X 22 is fifty cents. These are just black and white maps. You may perhaps remember seeing the larger one here in the office which we used to denote the number of counties with desegregated schools. Let me know if I can be of help in sending you some of these.

Bill and I hope to come to Frogmore sometime in June. At present, hope to spend two weeks. How is Penn's schedule in June? Do you think you would have room for us?

Best wishes to Elizabeth and the Roberts.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

May 10, 1960

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Does SRC have a list of books on the Negro and race relations? We want to order some books on this subject for our library. We wrote for a list put out several years ago by the National Council of Churches, but found that it is out of print and no longer available. If you have anything of this sort, we would appreciate your sending us a copy.

And now, to make even more trouble, we would like to know if you know where we can get a good, large map of the southeastern states. We are mounting some maps for the reference of groups who come here for meetings, and think a good map of the southeast would be useful. Let us know if you have any ideas. Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

Confidential:
Not for Publication

Preliminary Report

CONSULTATION ON HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMING IN RURAL SOUTH CAROLINA

The consultation, meeting from May 13-15, 1960, was convened by Penn Community Services, Inc., at its Center on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, with the assistance of a special grant for the purpose. The total project was conceived as a series of two consultations by persons with special knowledge of South Carolina, persons with special training or experience in rural economics and sociology, and persons representing working agencies in the human relations field.

Noting that the bulk of human relations research and programing in the South has been concentrated in urban areas, it was the hope of the Penn Center that these consultations would provide guidance and program ideas for agencies and individuals interested in working in the rural South. It was felt that the needs of the rural "black belt" areas could not be overlooked. South Carolina was selected as the focus of the study because of the location of the Penn Center and the need to narrow the scope of the consideration. It was hoped, however, that any ideas that might be suggested for rural areas of South Carolina would be applicable, in time, to similar problems in the rural deep South in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

The project was not intended primarily to produce program ideas for the Penn Center but to provide a background of thinking that would be of help to all interested groups and agencies. The Penn Center acted as convener and host.

I. Scope of Discussion

The group agreed to consider the entire state of South Carolina, rather than to limit the discussion to "rural areas." It was pointed out that according to the 1950 U. S. Census there are only three ~~"urban"~~ metropolitan areas in the state, and that these barely qualify as such. It was felt that the state could be

considered as a whole as a "rural" state. Many of the problems of human relations programing are state-wide in nature. The towns and cities of small and medium size might be particularly fruitful centers of agency concentration. At any rate, the group felt that it would be arbitrary and unrealistic to attempt to limit the consultation only to areas officially rural in the state.

II. Nature of the Problem

There was discussion of the status of South Carolina and agreement that the state was one of the more discouraging areas from the standpoint of progress in human relations. This is one of four states with no public school desegregation of any kind at the elementary, secondary, or college level. (There is one integrated parochial school in Rock Hill, South Carolina.) Some of the following reasons for the "hard core" nature of South Carolina were noted and discussed.

A. Historical tradition of plantation economy, high Negro population, unequal Negro schooling and economic opportunities.

B. Monolithic state government, reflecting no divergence of views on the racial issue, providing constant emphasis on "massive resistance" viewpoint. Control of the state government is in the hands of the more conservative, rural, plantation areas. This is protected through the considerable power in the hands of the state senate.

C. Lack of trained, able, and independent Negro leadership. This tends to be perpetuated through the out-migration of the more talented and better trained Negroes, by unequal educational standards, personal and economic pressures, by the gap in material standards and economic opportunities between the races. The level of education and of civic consciousness is low; many of the ministers, natural leaders, are untrained and hold several jobs.

D. The changing economic picture. There is migration from the farms to the more urban areas, out of the state to those more populous and industrialized. The trend to farm mechanization and larger farms is creating an increasing problem of unskilled farm labor surplus with consequent subsistence living standards in many areas, particularly among Negroes.

E. Low ranking of the state as to literacy and per capita income.

F. Relatively little activity by human relations agencies in the state. This was noted primarily as a result of the above factors.

G. Several promising pressures for constructive change were noted. These included the new militancy in Negro communities sparked by the student protests, pending applications for desegregation of schools, and the increasing industrialization of the upper part of the state which can be expected, in time, to bring about a change in the political power balance.

III. Recommendations for Future Programing

A. The participants felt that there was a considerable need for research and factfinding activity. There is value in simply bringing the facts to public attention. Agency activity could be more intelligently channeled if the specific facts were known. It was agreed that there has been less research in human relations matters in South Carolina than in most Southern states. The lack of a good university research program in the state, after the model of the University of North Carolina, was noted and deplored. It was hoped that some of the private colleges could move into this type of activity. The following areas of research and fact-finding were considered:

1. The state of Negro employment throughout the state, particularly in federal, state, local public services.

2. Health and welfare services. On what basis and to what degree are they available to Negroes? What are the employment patterns of public and private agencies in these fields? What information on planned parenthood is available and how widely distributed?

3. The adequacy and availability of public parks and other recreational facilities.

4. Are library facilities provided on an equal basis? How much library desegregation has taken place, with what results?

5. What educational facilities are available for white and colored? To what extent are these equal or unequal?

B. The following program ideas were considered:

1. There was agreement that a major priority should be given to the need to increase Negro voting and political consciousness. There are fewer actual barriers to Negro registration, it was felt, than in many deep South states, yet

the Negro vote has had very little influence on the direction of government outside of one or two isolated places, such as Beaufort, where the issue of race is at least left out of political campaigns. The key need in this area is not just registration, but effective organization and use of the ballot. Concerned agencies need to work in local areas, locating and developing indigenous leadership.

The major proposal here was for a program of field work. It was agreed that the traditional pattern of pulling leadership out for periodic workshops is of limited value, that there is rarely any permanent carry-over and that the same few people tend to be called on time and again. New leadership needs to be discovered -- young, independent, willing to be expendable, and not necessarily the "recognized" leaders of the community.

It was recommended that one or two full-time workers be placed in the state. These workers would concentrate intensively on community work in three or four localities. They would live in the communities for some weeks, learn the structure of the community, locate and encourage potential leadership, help local Negro communities come to grips more effectively with whatever problems exist there.

The field work would be correlated with occasional workshops that would bring together local leadership from several communities. Such workshops would give information concerning the areas of job opportunities, education, consumer education, planned parenthood, developing leadership, developing responsible citizenship instead of just registration.

2. There was agreement that Beaufort County should be a major pilot emphasis. This is the only rural county in the state with a human relations facility such as Penn. The Penn Center has already broken ground with local adult education offerings and other community work. Possibly the field workers suggested above could be based at Penn, helping with this effort.

SICK TRANSIT

YEMASSEE BY '63

3. There should be increased emphasis on the need for more equal access to, or desegregation of, facilities in the area of Library resources, health and welfare services, and agricultural extension services. (The needs of low-income farmers are given little attention, for example.) Quite possibly, it was felt, there would be considerably less local resistance to progress in these areas than in the more emotionally-charged area of school desegregation.

4. The ~~hope~~ expectation was expressed that when school desegregation is ordered, in one of the more urban areas, ~~rather than a rural area, would be involved first. Were this to occur,~~ the action might spark one of the "Save Our Schools" type of moderate movement that was helpful in Little Rock, in Virginia, and now in Georgia and New Orleans.

5. It was felt that more use could be made of federal leverage in efforts to move ahead. The use of the President's Committee on Government Contracts was discussed, also possible federal concern in the areas where federal funds are used.

6. The fact-finding effort suggested earlier needs to be correlated with a mailing effort. Lists of concerned persons in various strategic places is needed. We need to be in better touch with potentially helpful ministers, journalists, and other key persons. There was general agreement that human relations materials are not circulating to any considerable degree in the state.

7. Helpful leverage from national organizations, particularly labor unions, needs to be explored. The White Citizens' Council was organized in a union hall in Rock Hill. Such facts need to be channeled to national labor leaders. On occasions, national company offices can be involved constructively in local situations.

8. There need to be strong efforts to obtain for Negro schools the assistance of better vocational guidance. Such guidance is made possible

through the National Defense Act, but so far these funds have been used almost exclusively in white schools in South Carolina.

9. It was agreed that emphasis should be given to working with Negro ministers, who are often the most influential persons of the Negro community, in their potential role of bringing about change. The annual week-long schools for Negro Baptist ministers sponsored by Morris and Benedict Colleges were noted as potentially useful channels for reaching and involving ministers. Those present from South Carolina agreed to consult with the planning group of the schools about the possibilities.

There seems to be little communication between white and Negro ministers in the state. Several persons involved in the consultation agreed to work together to develop South Carolina ministers' participation in the annual interracial Ecumenical Institute to be held in July by the National Council of Churches.

10. Several present felt that some of the national agencies should be urged to do more in the way of providing interracial experiences for youth. It was noted that white and Negro students from colleges in some areas do have a continuing fellowship and that bi-racial work camps are held at the Penn Center. The possibility of sending more of the South Carolina young people out of the state to natural experiences such as the Washington and U. N. seminars sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee was emphasized.

11. The role of women leaders in the Negro communities was considered. There was some suggestion that women are perhaps an untapped leadership resource. They often have more time and are allowed more leeway in their activities. In the case of South Carolina, however, it was stated that most of the women's top leadership roles are in the hands of older persons. There also seems to be a tendency for the men to show some resistance to prominent leadership by the women. It was felt, however, that such status groups as the Negro Pan-Hellenic

Council in Columbia and the state Council of Negro Women might be encouraged to devote more effort to specific projects in the human relations field.

IV. Available Resources

Human relations resources presently in the state were noted. Agencies in the field are the Penn Community Services, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, the state conference of branches of the NAACP, the state Christian Leadership Conference, and the Palmetto Education Association. The colleges and universities have been limited because of the political climate and the factor of state control of the public institutions. The Urban League is represented only through regional staff from Atlanta.

There was some discussion of the use of available resources in connection with the recommendations noted above, as follows:

A. The American Friends Service Committee might consider a merit employment project in the state if the right situation could be found. This might be carried out in connection with the Urben League.

B. The Palmetto Education Association might be interested in a study of the employment picture in the state so far as Negroes are concerned. The Palmetto Association is also interested in pressing the matter of better vocational guidance in Negro high schools.

C. The Southern Regional Council is considering a regional study in the area of health facilities. This would include specific data on the South Carolina situation.

D. The Penn Center is interested in an effort to make Beaufort County a pilot effort through the development of community political consciousness and organization. Efforts are going forward in this direction.

E. The National Board of the YWCA might be approached concerning some special activities in several South Carolina communities in the direction of community organization and, particularly, working with women leaders.

V. Next Steps in this Consultation Project.

The consensus of the group was that the consultation, although helpful, was general and preliminary. The group was conscious of the fact that a number of general suggestions were made but that few specific plans were laid. It was therefore agreed that the project should move on with a second consultation as outlined in the original project proposal. All of those invited to the first consultation, including those who were unable to attend, will be invited to the second meeting.

The following timetable was proposed:

A. A summary report of the initial consultation will be prepared and mailed to participants and a few other concerned persons and agencies sometime in June.

B. In July the Penn Center will convene a meeting of South Carolina agency personnel and other specially qualified persons in the state. This group will react to the summary report and bring their own special experience to bear on the suggestions and ideas.

C. The second general consultation, for persons invited to the first meeting, will take place at the Penn Community Center August 19-21, 1960. This consultation will reflect the reactions to the first meeting and will concentrate primarily on plans for implementation.

Paul Rilling, Chairman

Attachment: List of Consultants

Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, S. C.
June, 1960

LIST OF CONSULTANTS

Present at the May Consultation:

Lee Coleman, Chairman, Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

Eugene Cox, Rural Life Specialist, National Council of Churches 933 Chambliss Road, Memphis, Tennessee

James McBride Dabbs, farmer and author; president of the Southern Regional Council, Mayesville, South Carolina

Jean Fairfax, Director of Southern Programs, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Harold Fleming, Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

C. G. Gomillion, Professor of Social Science, Tuskegee Institute, board member of Tuskegee Civic Improvement Association, Tuskegee, Alabama

Charles Jones, Minister, Community Church, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Ira DeA. Reid, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Haverford College, Penna.

Paul Rilling, Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta

Courtney Siceloff, Director, Penn Community Services, Inc., Frogmore, St. Helena Island, South Carolina

Walker Solomon, Executive Secretary, Palmetto Education Association, 1719 Taylor Street, Columbia, South Carolina

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Director, South Carolina Council on Human Relations, 1400 Main Street - Room 605, Columbia, South Carolina

Marion A. Wright, lawyer; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Penn Community Services; Linville Falls, North Carolina

Wilmer Young, teacher of social studies, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Penna. (Former worker with tenant farmers in Abbeville, S. C.)

Leroy Browne, Maintenance Superintendent, Penn Community Center; graduate of Penn School and Hampton Institute; Frogmore, South Carolina

Unable to Attend:

Will Campbell, Southern Regional Director of Racial and Cultural Relations for the National Council of Churches, 2001 Division Street, Nashville, Tennessee

Phil Hammer, Economist, 70 Fairlie Street, NW, Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeastern Regional Director of the NAACP, Atlanta, Ga.

Lewis Killian, Professor of Sociology, Florida State University, Tallahassee

Hylan Lewis, Sociologist, 3516 - 28th Street N. E., Washington 18, D. C.

May 20, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

We are mailing you the requested copies of THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT this P.M. The map may be obtained at Miller's Book Store, 231 Peachtree, N. E., Atlanta, or if you prefer I can pick it up for you.

We are really looking forward to coming over soon and will let you know when just as soon as our plans jell a little more.

With best wishes to Elizabeth and the Richards.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

May 18, 1960

John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Thanks so much for writing in response to our many requests. We appreciate the bibliography, and we are very glad to have the books and materials you sent. We had no copy of The Southern Temper, and have needed it in connection with the rural study. The other books will be useful too.

We are glad to know about the maps. We are ordering one from National Geographic Society, and do not need the county outline map now, but may want to order it later. So we would appreciate your letting us know where to order the 36 x 24 map, in case we decide to order it later on.

Now we have one more request: we would like 25 copies of "The Negro and the Vote", with bill sent to Penn Community Services.

It is good news that you and Bill may come down in June. We have a couple of midwives' institutes in June, but that would be no problem. It is possible that one of the houses rented to teachers will be available, or a nook in one of the dormitories with rather primitive cooking facilities for your breakfast. We'll work it out according to what is available when you make your definite plans, trying to allow as much freedom and peace as is possible around here! We are all looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of Study group,
Study of Human Relations in Rural South Carolina

From: Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.

Frogmore, S. C.
May 25, 1960

Those who attended the sessions held during the weekend of May 12-15 will agree that the discussions were stimulating and promising. Fourteen of the invited consultants were present, and those who did not attend were kept away by conflicting schedules.

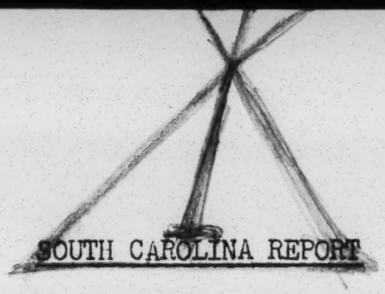
Chairman Paul Rilling is preparing a Preliminary Report which will be forwarded to you soon. The second meeting of consultants is set for the weekend of August 19-21, at Penn Center, to work on a final Report and to move toward program implementation.

Plans are under way for calling together in July a group of key South Carolinians who would most likely be involved later in implementation of the recommendations of the rural study group. These community leaders and agency representatives would be asked to study the Preliminary Report and to add their suggestions and criticisms. The results of the July meeting of South Carolinians would then be available for the August meeting of the consultants.

The August 19-21 dates were clear for those attending the first meeting, and it is hoped that those who were not present then will be free to come in August. Would you please indicate on the enclosed post card whether you can attend, and return to us now? Travel expenses and honoraria will be provided as in the first meeting.

Courtney Siceloff

Wrote
OK



SOUTH CAROLINA REPORT

CONFIDENTIAL:
Not for Publication

CONSULTATION ON HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMING IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Meeting of South Carolina Leaders
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, S. C.
July 22-23, 1960

In mid-May a group of consultants - specialists in rural economics, sociology, and human relations - met at Penn Center for the first of two sessions to discuss problems and programs relating to human relations work in the rural South. Their job was to formulate ideas for this type of programing - suggestions for South Carolina, but with the specific intent that eventually they might also be of use in other "black belt" states. At the conclusion of their meeting they expressed the desire to have a group of key South Carolina people - representatives of the group that would implement any program - review their conclusions and make any additions or corrections which they felt should be included in the final report.

On July 22 and 23, twenty-three leaders of South Carolina met at Penn Center to do this. Their discussion included problems and possible programing and implementation in the areas of registration and voting, library, welfare, and agricultural services, education (facilities and desegregation), job training and employment.

To encourage public awareness of the conditions that exist, and to lay the groundwork for later action, the primary specific recommendation of the group was the publication of a pamphlet that would show various conditions which affect the lives of Negro and white citizens in South Carolina. It was urged that this be a simple presentation of fact, without editorialization, and that it point up favorable situations as well as deficient ones. Education and

employment were specifically mentioned for treatment.

"Is there a simple piece of literature which points out the disparities? Seems to me that is a first step. It would not say anything about integration - just point out the disparities."

"Do we fully utilize the element of exposé? Sometimes we have information but we keep it under a bushel too long and in so doing we play into the hands of state leaders who want the rest of the nation to feel all is well."

"What the South needs is a picture of itself, and one less defensive."

Aside from the educating job done by this publication, it was felt that more information needed to be researched and made available before intelligent programs can be undertaken. Some of the areas where this might be done are:

1. Employment of Negroes, especially in federal jobs and other tax-supported agencies.

2. Education: a comparison of college courses offered to Negro and white students, particularly in scientific, technical, and professional fields.

3. Health: hospital facilities available to Negro and white; nursing and medical training available for Negroes; extent of representation in professional associations of doctors and nurses.

4. Libraries: where are facilities integrated; comparison of facilities where separate.

5. Recreation: a survey of facilities available to Negro and white in cities, towns, and rural areas.

"In my county, funds are available for recreation but they are not allocated on an equal basis to Negroes and whites. Where we have not asked for the money, we haven't got it. This is something we are going to have to tackle from every angle we can."

The following agencies might help in making surveys:

1. Cooperation between the social science departments of private Negro colleges.

2. Professional teachers' organization (in the field of education)

3. Fraternal societies; Congress of Parent-Teacher Associations

4. American Friends Service Committee

A specific area where inequities between the races needs attention is in the administration of affairs and in the disbursement of tax monies affecting Negroes. There is almost no Negro representation on committees and boards such as:

1. County and state agricultural committees allocating payments and subsidies

2. County welfare boards

3. Local development boards formed to attract industries

4. Local committees of the White House Conferences on children and youth, education, and the aging.

"It seems to me that the State of South Carolina has not thought in terms of the state as a whole."

Other areas which received specific attention were:

1. Education
   a. Buildings generally good, but often laboratory equipment and books for libraries totally inadequate

   b. Teachers often fear loss of job, and therefore have less freedom to teach effectively

   c. Communities should not neglect pressing for equality of facilities while they are pushing for integration

"Guidance is a greater necessity in Negro schools than in white ones...Fear and insecurity affects what is taught...It is a vicious circle. Poor teachers give poor students."

"We should continue to do all we can in our localities from the standpoint of meeting educational needs wherever they are. There are many areas where integration will not answer the needs. We should work toward integration, yes, but at the same time we should work within the framework we have."

"I think somehow or other we are going to have to get to individuals. For a long time I have felt that this is our greatest weakness. I would like to see some of us get to teachers. If you are a good teacher, people don't throw you away. How can we liberate them from fear?"

2. Registration and voting

   a. In most counties the problem is not one of overt prevention or refusal of registration privilege; however, there is widespread apathy and a certain amount of fear based on reprisals which have taken place.

   b. Use existing organizations to increase the use of the ballot, rather than setting up a new agency.

      "I think a job can be done through groups already formed. We should utilize such groups as school associations, church conferences, fraternal organizations. Lift it above the token announcement level."

      "In the last analysis, the only way you can reach the hard core of people is to go out and knock on doors. People must be constantly reminded and constantly encouraged."

3. Agriculture

   a. Problem of increasing effectiveness of extension work, particularly the circulation of information

      "Negroes lack long-range capital for farming on the scale required by the times. The young men who might "let the word become flesh" have left the farms and the state. You can't run to New York and run a farm in South Carolina."

      "What about the problems of managing a complicated paper program which farmers must handle now? Are there still problems as far as the basic tools of education are concerned?"

The following suggestions were made concerning the future of the Final Report of the consultants:

1. That two written reports be drawn up:

   a. a strategic blueprint, for distribution to agencies and individuals interested in putting the Report into action

   b. a popular version of the work of the consultants made available for popular distribution

2. Working agencies in South Carolina will be called upon to join in the task of implementing the Final Report. It is hoped that Penn Community Services can be instrumental in bringing such groups together for this job.

   "I think the recommendations in the Preliminary Report fit the shoe exactly -- especially the need for discovering new leadership."

"The white South has always tried to keep the Negro irresponsible. The Negro who permits himself to be irresponsible is playing into the hands of the conservative white South."

SOUTH CAROLINA CONSULTANTS

Clyde Barrington, Box 769, Conway, S. C.
Businessman, formerly with American Friends' Service Committee
Merit Employment Program; chapter in South Carolinians Speak

Leroy E. Browne, Penn Community Services, Inc., Frogmore
Recently elected member of Beaufort County Board of Directors

Rev. David Carter, Benedict College, Columbia
President, S. C. Student Movement Association

John S. Cole, P. O. Box 252, Cheraw -- School Principal

James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville
Farmer, writer, president of Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Ernestine Felder, 111 Alexander St., Charleston
Member of Executive Board of YWCA

Mrs. Josie Hazel, 322 Fairfield, N. E., Aiken -- YWCA Executive Director

James A. Hodge, Route 2, Box 70, Mullins -- Farmer, businessman

Dr. Frederick C. James, Mount Pisgah AME Church, Sumter
Consultant Director, Commission on Social Action, AME Church

Esau Jenkins, 244 Spring Street, Charleston -- Businessman
President, Citizens' Committee of Charleston
President, Charleston chapter, Palmetto Voters' Association

Lincoln Jenkins, 1107½ Washington St., Columbia -- Attorney, Civic Leader

Mrs. Iola Jones, 711 Oakland Ave., Florence
Case Worker, Dept. of Public Welfare, Children's Division

Rev. M. D. McCollum, 191 Boulevard N.E., Orangeburg -- Minister, Leader

Rev. Clifton Miller, P. O. Box 140, Beaufort -- Pastor, Grace AME Church

R. J. Palmer, 308 S. Main Street, Sumter Mortician
Member, National Commission on Social Concerns, Methodist Church

Miss Vernita A. Robinson, 707 Manning St., Florence - Teacher
President, Florence Council of Negro Women

Rev. Mack E. Sharpe, Tabernacle Baptist Church, Beaufort
Delegate to State Democratic Convention; Member of United Fund Board

Mrs. Alice Spearman, S. C. Council on Human Relations, Columbia

Mrs. Mary B. Thomas, 312 Oak Street, Seneca -- Grand Worthy Matron, Eastern Star

Mrs. Mabel P. Washington, Frogmore -- Home Demonstration Agent, Beaufort County

Mrs. Alethia S. Worthy, Claflin College, Orangeburg

STAFF AND OBSERVERS: Courtney Siceloff, Norman and Elsie Richards, Sally Holden; Mr. B. H. Washington, Dr. Harry E. Thomas, Dr. and Mrs. Percy Baker.

July 29, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director - Penn Community Center
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Bill and I expect to arrive sometime Friday afternoon. You may schedule the discussion either Friday or Saturday whichever suits you best.

The ADL informed me they have arranged to send you the film and I will bring some material concerning the Council and its work.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

NEWS...
from PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

Frogmore, S.C.
August 5, 1960

To: Members of Consultation on Human Relations
in South Carolina
From: Courtney Siceloff

Enclosed is a summary of the discussions of the group of South Carolina leaders who met at Penn on July 22-23, 1960. You will recall that at the May meeting it was suggested that a State group be asked to review the Preliminary Report and give their reactions. We thought you might like to look over this in preparation for your August 19-21 meeting.

The meeting will begin with the evening meal on Friday, August 19, and will close with the noon meal on Sunday, August 21. As before, there will be an honorarium of $40. Travel expenses to and from Penn Center will be paid at the rate of 8¢ per mile and, of course, hospitality will be provided at Penn Center during the meetings.

Will you please indicate your travel plans on the enclosed form, and return it as quickly as possible.

We look forward to another productive meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cc: Penn Board of Trustees
Program Advisory Committee

TRANSPORTATION REPLY FORM
August 19-21 consultation

Please return at once to:

Penn Community Services
Frogmore, S.C.

Expected time of arrival at Penn:_____

I will need to be met:

Place_____

Time_____
(Please give flight number and airline if by air)

Expected time of departure:_____

Transportation needed for departure:_____

With me will be the following persons:

I would like an advance for travel:_____

I will be unable to attend the August Meeting_____

Name:_____

Date:_____

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SOUTH CAROLINA REPORT

CONSULTATION ON HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMING IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Meeting of South Carolina Leaders
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, S. C.
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In mid-May a group of consultants - specialists in rural economics, sociology, and human relations - met at Penn Center for the first of two sessions to discuss problems and programs relating to human relations work in the rural South. Their job was to formulate ideas for this type of programing - suggestions for South Carolina, but with the specific intent that eventually they might also be of use in other "black belt" states. At the conclusion of their meeting they expressed the desire to have a group of key South Carolina people - representatives of the group that would implement any program - review their conclusions and make any additions or corrections which they felt should be included in the final report.

On July 22 and 23, twenty-three leaders of South Carolina met at Penn Center to do this. Their discussion included problems and possible programing and implementation in the areas of registration and voting, library, welfare, and agricultural services, education (facilities and desegregation), job training and employment.

To encourage public awareness of the conditions that exist, and to lay the groundwork for later action, the primary specific recommendation of the group was the publication of a pamphlet that would show various conditions which affect the lives of Negro and white citizens in South Carolina. It was urged that this be a simple presentation of fact, without editorialization, and that it point up favorable situations as well as deficient ones. Education and

employment were specifically mentioned for treatment.

"Is there a simple piece of literature which points out the disparities? Seems to me that is a first step. It would not say anything about integration - just point out the disparities."

"Do we fully utilize the element of exposé? Sometimes we have information but we keep it under a bushel too long and in so doing we play into the hands of state leaders who want the rest of the nation to feel all is well."

"What the South needs is a picture of itself, and one less defensive."

Aside from the educating job done by this publication, it was felt that more information needed to be researched and made available before intelligent programs can be undertaken. Some of the areas where this might be done are:

1. Employment of Negroes, especially in federal jobs and other tax-supported agencies.

2. Education: a comparison of college courses offered to Negro and white students, particularly in scientific, technical, and professional fields.

3. Health: hospital facilities available to Negro and white; nursing and medical training available for Negroes; extent of representation in professional associations of doctors and nurses.

4. Libraries: where are facilities integrated; comparison of facilities where separate.

5. Recreation: a survey of facilities available to Negro and white in cities, towns, and rural areas.

"In my county, funds are available for recreation but they are not allocated on an equal basis to Negroes and whites. Where we have not asked for the money, we haven't got it. This is something we are going to have to tackle from every angle we can."

The following agencies might help in making surveys:

1. Cooperation between the social science departments of private Negro colleges.

2. Professional teachers' organization (in the field of education)

3. Fraternal societies; Congress of Parent-Teacher Associations

4. American Friends Service Committee

A specific area where inequities between the races needs attention is in the administration of affairs and in the disbursement of tax monies affecting Negroes. There is almost no Negro representation on committees and boards such as:

1. County and state agricultural committees allocating payments and subsidies

2. County welfare boards

3. Local development boards formed to attract industries

4. Local committees of the White House Conferences on children and youth, education, and the aging.

"It seems to me that the State of South Carolina has not thought in terms of the state as a whole."

Other areas which received specific attention were:

1. Education
   a. Buildings generally good, but often laboratory equipment and books for libraries totally inadequate

   b. Teachers often fear loss of job, and therefore have less freedom to teach effectively

   c. Communities should not neglect pressing for equality of facilities while they are pushing for integration

"Guidance is a greater necessity in Negro schools than in white ones...Fear and insecurity affects what is taught...It is a vicious circle. Poor teachers give poor students."

"We should continue to do all we can in our localities from the standpoint of meeting educational needs wherever they are. There are many areas where integration will not answer the needs. We should work toward integration, yes, but at the same time we should work within the framework we have."

"I think somehow or other we are going to have to get to individuals. For a long time I have felt that this is our greatest weakness. I would like to see some of us get to teachers. If you are a good teacher, people don't throw you away. How can we liberate them from fear?"

2. Registration and voting

   a. In most counties the problem is not one of overt prevention or refusal of registration privilege; however, there is widespread apathy and a certain amount of fear based on reprisals which have taken place.

   b. Use existing organizations to increase the use of the ballot, rather than setting up a new agency.

      "I think a job can be done through groups already formed. We should utilize such groups as school associations, church conferences, fraternal organizations. Lift it above the token announcement level."

      "In the last analysis, the only way you can reach the hard core of people is to go out and knock on doors. People must be constantly reminded and constantly encouraged."

3. Agriculture

   a. Problem of increasing effectiveness of extension work, particularly the circulation of information

      "Negroes lack long-range capital for farming on the scale required by the times. The young men who might "let the word become flesh" have left the farms and the state. You can't run to New York and run a farm in South Carolina."

      "What about the problems of managing a complicated paper program which farmers must handle now? Are there still problems as far as the basic tools of education are concerned?"

The following suggestions were made concerning the future of the Final Report of the consultants:

1. That two written reports be drawn up:

   a. a strategic blueprint, for distribution to agencies and individuals interested in putting the Report into action

   b. a popular version of the work of the consultants made available for popular distribution

2. Working agencies in South Carolina will be called upon to join in the task of implementing the Final Report. It is hoped that Penn Community Services can be instrumental in bringing such groups together for this job.

   "I think the recommendations in the Preliminary Report fit the shoe exactly -- especially the need for discovering new leadership."

"The white South has always tried to keep the Negro irresponsible. The Negro who permits himself to be irresponsible is playing into the hands of the conservative white South."

SOUTH CAROLINA CONSULTANTS

Clyde Barrington, Box 769, Conway, S. C.
Businessman, formerly with American Friends' Service Committee
Merit Employment Program; chapter in South Carolinians Speak

Leroy E. Browne, Penn Community Services, Inc., Frogmore
Recently elected member of Beaufort County Board of Directors

Rev. David Carter, Benedict College, Columbia
President, S. C. Student Movement Association

John S. Cole, P. O. Box 252, Cheraw -- School Principal

James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville
Farmer, writer, president of Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Ernestine Felder, 111 Alexander St., Charleston
Member of Executive Board of YWCA

Mrs. Josie Hazel, 322 Fairfield, N. E., Aiken -- YWCA Executive Director

James A. Hodge, Route 2, Box 70, Mullins -- Farmer, businessman

Dr. Frederick C. James, Mount Pisgah AME Church, Sumter
Consultant Director, Commission on Social Action, AME Church

Esau Jenkins, 244 Spring Street, Charleston -- Businessman
President, Citizens' Committee of Charleston
President, Charleston chapter, Palmetto Voters' Association

Lincoln Jenkins, 1107½ Washington St., Columbia -- Attorney, Civic Leader

Mrs. Iola Jones, 711 Oakland Ave., Florence
Case Worker, Dept. of Public Welfare, Children's Division

Rev. M. D. McCollum, 191 Boulevard N.E., Orangeburg -- Minister, Leader

Rev. Clifton Miller, P. O. Box 140, Beaufort -- Pastor, Grace AME Church

R. J. Palmer, 308 S. Main Street, Sumter Mortician
Member, National Commission on Social Concerns, Methodist Church

Miss Vernita A. Robinson, 707 Manning St., Florence - Teacher
President, Florence Council of Negro Women

Rev. Mack E. Sharpe, Tabernacle Baptist Church, Beaufort
Delegate to State Democratic Convention; Member of United Fund Board

Mrs. Alice Spearman, S. C. Council on Human Relations, Columbia

Mrs. Mary B. Thomas, 312 Oak Street, Seneca -- Grand Worthy Matron, Eastern Star

Mrs. Mabel P. Washington, Frogmore -- Home Demonstration Agent, Beaufort County

Mrs. Alethia S. Worthy, Claflin College, Orangeburg

STAFF AND OBSERVERS: Courtney Siceloff, Norman and Elsie Richards, Sally Holden; Mr. B. H. Washington, Dr. Harry E. Thomas, Dr. and Mrs. Percy Baker.

File

SOUTH CAROLINA CONSULTANTS
August 19-21, 1960

PROPOSED AGENDA

Second Consultation on Human Relations Programming in South Carolina

Penn Community Center

I. Preliminary consultation reports.

A. Report of preliminary consultation, May 13-15
1. Revisions or additions.
2. Afterthoughts, revisions, additions.

B. Report of consultation of S. C. leadership, July 22-23
1. Areas of agreement, disagreement May report.
2. General evaluation

II. Recommendations for implementation.

A. Research projects. Who and how?

1. Scrope and nature of Negro employment in South Carolina. Possible help from A.F.S.C., Palmetto Education Association, Urban League.

2. Health and welfare facilities. Regional health study by S.R.C.?

3. Parks and recreational facilities.

4. Libraries.

5. Educational facilities. Palmetto Education Association?

6. Possible use of social science departments of private Negro colleges as suggested in July consultation.

B. Negro registration, voting, political activity.

1. Consideration of staffed project as suggested in May Report.

2. Possible pilot project in Beaufort County, based at Penn Center.

3. Other suggestions.

C. Emphasis on improved access to peripheral facilities.

D. Use of possible federal leverage, Civil Rights Commission, Department of Justice, President's committees.

E. Mailings of selected materials to various leadership groups.

F. Use of possible leverage through central offices of national business, labor and other groups with operations in the state.

G. Efforts to obtain stronger vocational guidance programs in Negro schools. Possible project of Palmetto Education Association.

Proposed Agenda

H. Special activities with Negro ministers. Opening of further channels of communications between white and Negro ministers. Cooperation with schools for Negro ministers sponsored by Morris and Benedict Colleges as suggested in May report.

I. Providing more inter-racial experiences for young people in and out of the state. A.F.S.C. projects. Penn workshops.

J. Emphasis on increased development and use of women leaders in the Negro community. Possible projects of Negro Pan-Hellenic Council, state Council of Negro Women, National Board of Y.W.C.A.

III. Followup activity.

A. Form of final report. Recommendation for preparation of two reports. (July consultation)

B. July consultation suggestion of a general publication emphasizing the facts concerning the present, relative situation of white and Negro citizens in South Carolina.

C. Coordination of follow-up activities by various agencies and groups.

D. Possible future meeting of South Carolina leaders.

E. Other.

RURAL CONSULTATION August 21, 1960

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS SO FAR

1. Fact-finding

It was suggested that the research recommendations of the May and July consultations be implemented through the establishment of a two-year research and fact-finding effort headed by a professional staff person. This person would coordinate fact-finding by available college teachers and interested organizations. He would also work with local groups interested in carrying on merit employment service and other local fact-finding.

It was suggested that Claflim College be approached by a committee of the Consultation about becoming the base of this project. The director of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations will take the initiative in scheduling an appointment for the committee with the President of Claflin. If this is not possible, the South Carolina Council will apply directly for the necessary funds.

2. Beaufort Pilot Project

The consultants strongly endorse the idea of a community laboratory effort in Beaufort and contiguous counties by the Penn Community Center. It was felt that such an effort would be aimed at improving the status of Negro citizens, motivating them to more enlightened political effort, and preparation of the entire community for the more rapid implementation of desegregation. The project would concentrate on problems in the field of health, economic status and education. Many of the activities discussed by this consultation could be stresssd in Beaufort as part of this effort. This could include special work with ministers, intensive voting and research efforts, etc. It was felt that Penn should be encouraged to add a permanent program specialist to its staff as part of this effort.

3. Negro Registration and Voting

It was felt that this should be encouraged. It was noted that where Negro candidates have offered for public office, there has been an up-surge of Negro participation in voting. It was emphasized that illegal interference with Negro voting and violation of civil rights in connection with voting should by all means be reported to the Civil Rights Commission and to the Department of Justice. Under the authority of recent civil rights acts, these groups seem to be geared to rapid action on such complaints.

4. Emphasis on Peripheral Facilities

It was again noted that sometimes such peripheral areas as municipal transportation, health and welfare services, etc., can be more easily desegregated than the more emotionally charged areas such as schools. It was suggested that local groups be encouraged to probe such possibilities and that ther there be more intensive efforts to encourage Negroes to take advantage of gains made in these areas. It was thought that such emphasis could be carried through family life institutes, churches, etc. It was noted that the National Council of Negro Women in this region is interested in this aspect of the problem.

5. Increased Use of Federal Leverage

It was felt that we have not yet made maximum use of potential assistance from such federal agencies as the Civil Rights Commission and its State Advisory groups, the Department of Justice, and the President's Committee on Employment Policy and Government Contracts. These groups are intensifying their activity in this election year; they may be of even broader value after the election, if there is a change of tone in the executive branch. It was agreed that research findings should be channeled to such groups, that direct contact be established with these groups by South Carolina organizations, and that complaints be referred to the appropriate federal agancies with dispatch. The value of direct contact between human relations groups in the South and griendly members of the national Congress was also emphasized.

6. Mailings of human relations materials.

It was agreed that distribution of strategic materials through such agencies as SCCHR and the Palmetto Education Association be conducted and

explored. It was suggested that religious groups be approached as to the possibility of their preparing and distributing materials or human relations tracts. The need was emphasized for insuring that the right materials reach the decision-makers in South Carolina. It was suggested that a list of sources of human relations materials be included in our final report for the use of interested individuals and groups.

7. Vocational Guidance

The inadequacy of vocational guidance programs was noted, both from the standpoint of need and the disparity of white and Negro programs. The Palmetto Education Association was urged to tontinue its efforts to strengthen and expand these programs. It was hoped that vocational guidance could be a part of the Penn Center pilot effort in Beaufort County. It was suggested that several publications pointing out the scope of available employment and emphasizing the success of some Negroes might be helpful to high school students. It was agreed that Mr. Solomon would approach Ebony Magazine for a possible publication by them. As an incentive to encourage application for public employment, it was suggested that Negro Civil Service employees be invited to high school career days and otherwise put in tontact with high school students.

8. School Desegregation

The consultation agreed that the time has come for South Carolina to provide some compliance with the 1954 decision. It was noted in this connection that the state equalization program has not been successful, and that gross inequalities still exist between white and Negro schools. It was agreed that these inequalities need to be brought to the attention of white people throughout the state. It was felt that there are in South Carolina several areas of less resistance to implementation of school desegregation. It was noted that there is a strong need for desegregation of institutions of higher learning if Negro students at higher levels are to receive education within the state. It was noted that many of the activities being considered at the Consultation will indirectly help prepare local communities for desegregation. It was suggested that the High Point office of the American Friends Serviced Committee be approached concerning possible extension of school desegregation activities into South Carolina. It was felt that latent support for public schools be located and utilized in case of a threat of school closure.

9. Special Activities with Ministers

The SCCHR agreed to contact the appropriate bodies of national denominations concerning national workshops in the area of social concerns so that greater numbers of South Carolina ministers could attend such meetings. Arrangements have been made to stress the role of Negro ministers in human relations programs in the future workshops for Negro ministers at Morris and Benedict Colleges. It was felt that efforts to broaden interracial contacts between white and Negro ministers should be continued and explored, but it was noted that formal desegregation of such ministers' groups as those that functioned in Beaufort, Columbia, and Rock Hill did not have constructive results. It was, therefore, felt that more informal interracial groups among those sincerely interested would be of greater value.

10. Youth Work

It was again agreed that opportunities for interracial experiences need to be broadened by white and Negro young people of South Carolina. The SCCHR will continue to work to encourage more young people to attend conferences outside of the state, including such as the Encampment for Citizenship, the annual Fisk conference, religious meetings and AFSC projects. It was suggested that the AFSC consider the possiblity of sponsoring a seminar within the state. It was urged that where possible, interracial college and/or other groups be organized within the state, as has been done by SCCHR in Columbia.

SP 1.2305

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ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

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COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

September 7, 1960

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

This letterhead is a good example to prove your point about using the names of Trustees. It is out of date, but we have a big supply, and are trying to use them up.

In the meeting of rural consultants we talked a lot about using the booklet "A Second Look at Atlanta" as a model for some sort of self-survey in South Carolina. We would appreciate your having someone send us ten copies of this publication, with bill, when the trauma of moving the office is over.

We camped at the beach weekend and it was beautiful. The "spring tide" nearly came into our tent.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

(10) order submitted 9-13-60

MF -

Please copy the Winfield Scott ltr and return orig. to Sicelloff with attached note. Circulate the copy to PR, LWD, PA.

9/29/60

H.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

9/26/60

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

September 23, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I thought that you would be interested in seeing the enclosed letter. Besides its having some bearing on SRC's tabulation of recreational facilities, I thought that Negroes in the Atlanta area might be interested in the availability of these facilities. Lake Winfield Scott is in north Georgia, probably within a hundred miles of Atlanta.

We would appreciate having this letter returned.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es
enclosure

P.S. I imagine that the rain which falls so abundantly at Lake W. Scott would fall with equal, non-discriminatory wetness on Negro and white. (Eliz.)

NEWS...
from PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1960

Frogmore, South Carolina
September 30, 1960

To: Participants in Consultations
Study on Human Relations Programming in S. C.

From: Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.

Re: Final Report

Enclosed is the final report of the study on human relations programming in South Carolina.

As directed at the August 19-21 consultation, Paul Rilling prepared a preliminary draft and circulated it among seven other consultants. On the basis of their comments and suggestions, the final report was drawn up.

The Board of Trustees of Penn Community Services has been called to special meetings on October 7 and 8, to review this report and consider plans for implementation.

I would like to express my appreciation, and that of the Penn Board, for your participation in this project. We will keep you informed about future developments. In the meantime, please write us if you have other program suggestions (or other after-thoughts), and do not fail to visit us when you are nearby.

Special thanks are due Paul Rilling for his able chairing of the meetings and for a discerning report.

Dear Harold: We thought it wouldn't be necessary to send you a copy of this report! Thanks for all of the help from SRC. We did want you to have this propaganda which went out to all the consultants. We appreciate all the help you have given us.

Sincerely,

Courtney

Courtney Siceloff

HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMMING IN SOUTH CAROLINA

A report of three consultations
on human relations concerns in South
Carolina held at the Penn Community
Center, May - August, 1960.

Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina
October 1, 1960

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The state of South Carolina graphically illustrates the dilemma of the human relations agency in the Deep South today. Since 1954 there has been little change in the status of race relations in the state, yet national and international pressures for change mount inexorably. The people of South Carolina are unprepared for the hard choices and basic changes that lie ahead. In the face of this situation the leading regional and national human relations agencies are carrying forward a relatively slight effort within the state. Only three state-wide agencies maintain staffed operations in South Carolina; Penn Community Services, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, and the state Conference of Branches of the N.A.A.C.P. Several other organizations are concerned with human relations as a partial program emphasis.

The major effort to encourage and implement progress in human relations in the South has been concentrated in the border states and the upper South. The theory has generally prevailed that changes in the patterns of segregation must be first accepted in these more receptive areas, moving gradually South "from the mountains to the sea." It has been hoped that as these areas found it possible to change their practices without major upheaval, a more receptive and realistic attitude would gradually develop in the Deep South states. This hope has not been realized. As the slow pace of change has moved South since 1954, in fact, there has been a stiffening of determination to resist in the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Time is running out for South Carolina. Two separate suits for school desegregation are pending in Clarendon County. The sit-ins of 1960 involved a number of communities within the state. There seems to be little realization that critical decisions lie just ahead.

This consultation project was developed by Penn Community Services in response to this situation. Foundation assistance was secured for the purpose of convening several consultations on human relations tactics and programming in rural South Carolina. This emphasis was based on the belief that the rural areas of the Deep South are the strongholds of resistance to change and that perhaps these areas require special efforts. It was hoped that any ideas that might be useful in rural South Carolina would be applicable as well to rural areas in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

These consultations were not intended primarily to produce program ideas for Penn Community Services. It was thought that they might provide a number of suggestions which could be circulated to concerned persons and organizations. Penn Services acted in the role of convener and host.

The procedure developed took the form of a series of three meetings. In May, fifteen consultants, specialists in economics, sociology and human relations from across the nation, met at Penn Center in Frogmore, South Carolina for three days of discussion. In July, a group of 22 South Carolina leaders of both races held a two-day session at Penn Center to consider the preliminary report of the May meeting and to make other suggestions. In August the national consultants again convened to reconsider their own ideas and to examine those proposed by the South Carolina leaders. This third meeting adopted this report which will be circulated as an idea paper to interested agencies and institutions.

Although the project was conceived as a rural planning effort, the consultants decided to consider the entire state rather than to limit the scope of consideration to rural areas. There are only three metropolitan

areas in the state and these barely qualify as such. The group felt that the whole of South Carolina might legitimately be considered as a "rural" area. It was emphasized that many problems of human relations programming are state-wide in nature.

I. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

South Carolina is one of the Deep Southern states most firmly resisting the changes in human relations that are moving forward in the South and in the nation. This is one of four states with no desegregation of public educational facilities at the elementary, secondary, or college level. The channels of political expression are firmly under the control of bitter-end segregationists. The laws erected to preserve segregation are as strict and extreme as any in the South. If any state abandons its entire system of public education to evade compliance with the onstitution of the United States, that state may be South Carolina.

The factors behind the state's "massive resistance" posture are many: historical, political, economic, educational, cultural. South Carolina was one of the major slave-owning, plantation areas of the South prior to the Civil War. Until recent years the state has continued to be a largely agricultural, one-crop area, depending on a large percentage of cheap farm labor, primarily Negro. Since 1865 South Carolina has never been a prosperous state,although since World War II the state has responded increasingly to the nationwide trends toward urbanization and industrialization.

By national or even Southern standards, South Carolina has been and is a state of high Negro population, low living standards, low levels of educational achievement. As of 1957, Negroes were 39.6% of the total population, an increase from 38.9% in 1950.

In 1958,the per capita income in South Carolina stood at $1,218, 48th among the states.[1] In 1950, the median white income was $1,684, the median Negro income only $525, or less than a third as high.[2]

1. "Rankings of States," National Education Association, 1960.
2. U. S. Census of Population, 1950, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952.

South Carolina ranked lowest in the nation in 1950 in terms of educational attainment. The average South Carolinian has achieved 7.6 years of formal education as compared with a national average of 9.3 years. Again the racial disparity is marked. The Negro median was 4.8 years.[1] One need not look further to understand the relative lack of trained Negro leadership in the state. These factors interact. Many of the state's Negro clergy, natural community leadership, are largely untrained. Economic pressures force a large number of these ministers to hold several jobs.

The economic picture in the state is changing. Between 1840 and 1950 the percentage of whites living in urban situations increased from 27.3% to 41.9%. The urban Negro population grew from 20.9% to 28.6% of the total Negro population of the state.[2] In the rural areas there is a trend to farm mechanization which has led to a surplus of unskilled farm labor.

South Carolina is sharing in the gradual loss of population through outmigration from a number of southeastern states. From 1950 to 1957, those who left the state exceeded the persons moving in by 5.2%.[3] The total population of the state, however, increased 11.4% from 1950 to 1960.[4] Too often those leaving the state are the more talented, the better educated persons in the productive age groups. This is true of both racial groups, but particularly of Negroes. South Carolina raises and partially trains a large number of talented Negro leaders who contribute their skills to other communities in states North and West.

---

1. "Rankings of States," op. cit.
2. U. S. Census, op. cit.
3. "Rankings of States," op. cit.
4. U. S. Census, op. cit.

The political system of the state is so organized that disproportionate control rests in the more conservative, rural plantation areas. This control is protected by outmoded legislative apportionment formulas and by the considerable power in the hands of the State Senate which is less representative of population distribution than is the lower house of the legislature.

The Negro has little voice in political decisions, although this voice is growing in several cities. Only 14.8% of Negroes over 21 are registered to vote in South Carolina as compared to 63.2% of white citizens over 21. [1.] Of course the Negro is an ever-present issue in state politics.

These conditions support and perpetuate each other. Economically depressed Negro citizens have little educational incentive. Persons with below-average education are less likely to register and vote. Without an adequate political voice,Negroes continue to be grossly underrepresented at all levels of public life.

The human relations picture in South Carolina remains one of almost complete segregation of public facilities, of very little communication between the races above the kitchen level, of sharply unequal educational and economic opportunities for Negro citizens.

There can be little progress in human relations in South Carolina without significant improvement in the educational and economic status of all of its citizens, white and Negro alike. Improvement in these areas will inevitably encourage changes in the patterns of race relations.

---

1. Report off U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

II. PROJECT RECOMMENDATIONS

The consultants urged the implementation of two major project efforts as soon as feasible: a state-wide, staffed, research and publications project; an intensive, staffed, pilot project in human relations programming in Beaufort County, South Carolina.

A. Research and Publication Project. There has been less research into human relations problems in South Carolina than in most of the Southern states. None of the state's public or private colleges and universities have initiated this type of research. There is a need to learn the present facts concerning conditions in South Carolina. There is an even greater need to disseminate these facts in such a way that they begin to have some impact on political and civic leadership and on public opinion in general.

Fact-finding and research could be carried forward at the same time by a variety of groups and individuals. Certain groups in South Carolina might be in a position to initiate fact-finding efforts. Some of the regional and national agencies might be willing to help with phases of this program. Some of the private colleges might be interested in cooperating through the involvement of faculty and graduate students. Self-survey efforts can be implemented by groups of persons in a given local community.

An intensive and fairly thorough research and publication effort concerning various phases of the current situation would require professional coordination. The consultants therefore recommend that support be solicited for a two-year project which would involve a full-time professional coordinator and secretarial assistance. Such a coordinator would determine what research and fact-finding facilities were available,

would arrange for various aspects of the effort to be handled by groups and individuals, and would himself participate in some phases of the effort as well as coordinate the total project. There would be, from time to time, public reports or publications concerning the status of major problems and, perhaps, ultimately an over-all "look at South Carolina," along the lines of the recent Second Look at Atlanta.

The project should preferably be located at a private college which would make application for the necessary supporting funds. The project staff would be under the direction of the college but would be assisted by an advisory committee made up of persons experienced in research and in human relations problems. If it does not prove feasible to base such a project on a college campus,the staff professionals in South Carolina will explore alternative administrative arrangements. Tuskegee Institute is sponsoring a somewhat similar effort in Alabama and the two projects might be mutually helpful through the interchange of techniques and sources of information.

There are many areas of concern where fact-finding and research would be helpful. Some of these critical areas are:

(1) Educational Facilities. What is the present status of public educational facilities? To what extent and in what ways are they equal or unequal? What opportunities exist in the state for white and Negro teachers to meet and work together on educational concerns? How adequate is vocational guidance? This is particularly important if Negro young people are to be prepared for expanding opportunities. What areas of the state would be relatively more receptive to changes in the pattern of school segregation?

(2) Negro Employment. Are Negroes employed in public jobs at the federal, state and local government levels? In what categories of

public employment? Where such employment is slight, is this the result of discrimination in hiring or the lack of qualified Negro applicants? What is the pattern of Negro employment in private industry? Does the pattern differ from community to community and from industry to industry? Are apprenticeship and training programs open to all qualified applicants? Is there underemployment of educated Negroes? Do employment and promotion policies differ in locally owned facilities and those of Northern or national interests? What is the relationship between prevailing employment practices and the out-migration of Negroes?

(3) Health and Welfare Services. Are equal facilities provided where segregated? Are some facilities open on a non-segregated basis? Are there adequate provisions for the training of Negro nurses and doctors within the state? Can they practice their professions without special restrictions? Are they permitted to join local and state professional associations? What are the employment policies of public and private welfare agencies?

(4) Library Facilities. To what extent are library facilities available to all citizens? Where segregated, are libraries provided in relatively equal numbers and quality?

(5) Public Recreational Facilities. Are any open to all? Are adequate recreational facilities provided in Negro neighborhoods? Have any parks or other facilities been closed to avoid desegregation?

(6) Federal Aid. Federal assistance to state and local public projects sometimes provides leverage for federal help in improving existing practices. How much federal aid has been accepted in South Carolina? Through what public programs? Have federal authorities set any standards concerning the use and availability of such programs

or facilities? If so, are these standards applied?

(7) Official Negro Representation. To what extent are Negroes represented on such governmental bodies as city councils, city and county boards of education, city housing administrations, police and fire departments, etc.

Such an over-all fact-finding effort would provide the kind of total picture of the state that is not now available. Concerned organizations could easily find the program aspects of greatest need. With adequate publicity and circulation these findings could have an ultimate influence on federal assistance, the policies of public departments in the state, the thinking of influential leadership, and the state's self-image.

B. Beaufort Pilot Project. Beaufort County, South Carolina, would be a logical place to base an intensive human relations effort. Penn Community Services is located in Beaufort County. In one form or another, Penn Center has been located on St. Helena Island for nearly 100 years. It was originally established as a private school for the freedmen of the area. Since 1948, when formal education was turned over to the state, it has operated as a community and conference center. It is one of the few places in the entire state where interracial meetings are held. The staff of the Center are established and well known in the area. Penn has been carrying on various types of adult and community education activities for some years.

The history and tradition of the county are somewhat unique in South Carolina. A Deep South county with a 60% Negro population, the county has nonetheless enjoyed a degree of interracial cooperation and respect unusual in most parts of the state. A Negro recently was nominated in the Democratic primary as a candidate for the county board of supervisors, the first such election victory for a Negro in South Carolina since

Reconstruction days. The Democratic nomination is tantamount to election in South Carolina. Of four Negroes elected as delegates to the state Democratic convention in 1960, two were from Beaufort County.

The county United Fund is desegregated in its leadership. Registration for voting is unrestricted and Negro political support is openly solicited. No lynchings mar the record of the county in the memory of any living resident,and police brutality is rare.

The consultants recommend that Penn Community Services consider the employment of an additional, full-time, permanent staff member. This would strengthen the Penn staff and make possible the implementation of such a pilot effort. Priority would be given to these suggested fields: health, employment, problems of the small, part-time farmer, education and the vocational guidance of young people, low-cost rural housing, basic citizenship education with an effort to relate voting and registration to other community problems and their solutions, and the rebuilding of communication between the races. Out of these efforts might come an improvement in the status of Negro citizens, motivation of the Negro community to more enlightened political effort, and preparation of the entire community for the changes that are to come.

If this pilot project is successful, adjacent counties could be involved and the techniques developed might be useful in future activities in South Carolina and elsewhere.

III. SUGGESTED AREAS OF CONCENTRATION

In addition to the above project proposals, the consultants recommend that the resources of interested groups and agencies be concentrated in the following problem areas. These are areas of obvious priority, where expanded efforts are needed to improve inequities and change existing practices.

A. Voting and Citizenship. Although the Negro population is 39.5% of the total as of 1957, only 14.9% of Negroes of voting age are registered to vote. [1] There are fewer actual barriers to Negro registration than in other deep South states, yet the Negro vote is light, generally unorganized, and exerts very little influence on the direction of government in the state with the exception of a few places such as Beaufort County. The key need is not simply more registration but intelligent organization and effective use of the ballot by Negro voters.

It is recommended that interested agencies select certain local communities for intensive efforts in the field of registration and voting. Past efforts have demonstrated that registration figures can be improved. Working through the churches and other civic and social organizations in a community, the voting problem can become a matter of community pride and door-to-door campaigns can be organized in the Negro communities. Where Negro candidates have offered for public office, there has been an up-surge of Negro participation in voting. Once registered, Negro voters need to be educated through discussion groups and workshops concerning the candidates and issues, and Negro leaders need to work toward the kind of united activity that has been developed in the Negro community of Durham, North Carolina and several other cities. Some South Carolina

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1. Report of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

communities have already made considerable progress in this direction and might be able to provide leadership for other localities.

What is most needed is not a crash registration effort during national election years but continued, steady work at the community level. The Negro vote must be increasingly effective in the choice of local and county officials.

Instances of illegal interference with Negro voting and violation of civil rights in connection with voting should be reported to the Civil Rights Commission and to the Department of Justice. Under the authority of recent civil rights acts, these groups are empowered to take rapid action on such complaints.

B. Economic Opportunities. There has been some planning in this field in the state during recent years. There have been organized efforts to improve the situation in one or two communities. A more intensive state-wide effort is needed if the severe problem of unequal opportunities for Negroes is to be alleviated in the foreseeable future. As of 1950, the median income of white persons in South Carolina was $1,684, of Negro persons, $525. [1]

Among activities needed in this area of employment opportunities are:

(1) Efforts to ensure that qualified Negroes are available for non-traditional jobs and are making application for them. Negro Civil Service employees, for example, might be invited to high school career days and otherwise put into contact with high school students.

(2) Whatever changes in high school and college curricula may be necessary to properly prepare graduates for such jobs as may become increasingly available.

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1. U. S. Census, op. cit.

(3) Strong representations to the Department of Education to broaden the scope and caliber of vocational guidance for Negro high school students. There is at present only one full-time vocational guidance counselor employed at a Negro school,although approximately 40 persons are so employed in the white schools of the state.

(4) Special efforts should be made to test the employment and promotional policies of federal agencies in the state and of private industries with federal contracts. These are particularly vulnerable situations because of federal laws and the activities of the President's Committees on Government Employment Policy and on Government Contracts. Public employment policies at state and local levels are also somewhat vulnerable to possible legal action and to political pressures.

(5) Surveys of the employment picture might be followed up with personal conferences with employers in private businesses. The American Friends Service Committee and the Urban League have had some success with processes of consultation and negotiation. These agencies might be willing to assist local leaders in South Carolina communities.

C. Education. The Clarendon County case was one of the original cases leading to the Supreme Court decision of 1954. Six years later, however, South Carolina remains one of four Southern states with no desegregation at either the university or public school level. There is every reason to suppose that desegregation at the level of higher education could be achieved as smoothly in South Carolina as in Louisiana. Very few suits are pending in the state in the area of public school desegregation, although past experience in other states indicates that the process might be achieved more easily in some of the larger metropolitan areas than in rural counties.

When South Carolina communities do face court desegregation orders, concerned groups and individuals should be alert to work with moderate elements in the community on the issue of preserving public schools and avoiding the tragic effects of closing as they were manifested in Virginia and Little Rock in 1958.

Even within the segregated framework of public education in the state, many changes are needed if the legitimate educational needs of Negro citizens are to be met. The facilities for training Negroes for nursing, medicine, and other professions are critically inadequate.

The educational needs of adults, particularly in the Negro communities, require more attention. Illiteracy is still widespread in the rural areas. Programs of adult education in basic reading, in citizenship and in consumer education could make a significant contribution towards the alleviation of several of the more serious problems facing depressed groups in the state.

D. Public Facilities. It might be possible to achieve the desegregation of libraries, municipal transportation systems or health and welfare services even in communities which are most strongly resistant to public school desegregation. In some Southern communities there is less emotional feeling and less intensive pressure from segregationist elements in connection with health, welfare and recreational facilities than with the school issue.

E. Communications. There is very little genuine communication between the races in the state, even at the local level. Consultation and discussion across racial lines has actually diminished since 1954-56. The momentum of recent developments has created problems of communication within as well as between white and Negro communities. Even among concerned whites there is confusion and misunderstanding between "moderates"

and "liberals." Younger, more militant Negro leadership is increasingly challenging and prodding the older, established leaders of the Negro community. Here too, there are problems of communications.

Concerned groups and agencies can make a significant contribution to improving human relations in South Carolina by helping to open increased channels of communication within and between the racial groups. The following activities in this direction are suggested:

(1) Because of their role in the community it is important that white and Negro ministers should be known to each other and in some sort of regular contact. Where ministerial associations cannot be desegregated, denominational groups can sometimes meet on an inclusive basis. In some communities smaller discussion groups of those who are concerned can be established. South Carolina ministers can be encouraged to attend institutes and training sessions sponsored by church denominations outside the state.

(2) Women's religious groups have provided an important meeting ground for white and Negro women in most Southern states, including some Deep South states. Such groups in South Carolina should be encouraged to undertake more activities on an interracial basis.

(3) Persons sharing common professional concerns need to consult together and plan jointly for progress in their professional areas. Most of the communication which does take place in the state occurs at the professional level. Efforts should be made to strengthen communications within such professional disciplines as medicine, the law, education, as well as the ministry. Even where professional membership cannot be open to all, some discussion and involvement of both races is possible.

(4) It is important that young people in high school and college be given as many opportunities as possible to establish normal contact with their peers of both races. Such opportunities exist to some degree through activities outside the state such as the seminars of the American Friends Service Committee, the Encampment for Citizenship, etc. There have been meetings and work camps open to both races at the Penn Center. These experiences are reaching only a handful of student leaders at the present time. More young people need to be encouraged and assisted to participate in the natural experiences that are available outside the state. Perhaps such activities as A.F.S.C. seminars can be planned within the state.

(5) Opportunities for interracial fellowship outside of South Carolina need to be broadened for adults as well as for young people. Many persons within the state would gain a fresh perspective from meetings in other parts of nation. Such opportunities can be an important morale factor for persons working under difficult pressures in their local situations.

F. Distribution of Materials. In addition to materials that will be prepared under the recommended research and publication project, there are many excellent human relations materials already circulating in the South. These materials are not receiving maximum use and distribution within South Carolina. Agencies within the state should explore ways of reaching increasing numbers of opinion makers and others through direct mailing, distribution through religious and educational groups, etc. A list of sources of available human relations materials is included in the index of this report.

CONCLUSION

The winds of change that are sweeping across the South with varying degrees of intensity are felt today in South Carolina. Sit-in activities in South Carolina communities and elsewhere have demonstrated and have helped create impatience and a new militancy on the part of Negro leadership. The pressure will continue to grow as new advances are achieved in surrounding states. National public opinion, channeled through the communications media and reflected in the actions of the federal government, will have some impact on white reaction to this Negro pressure.

There are promising developments going forward within the state. A great deal has been spent in recent years to "equalize" Negro schools. Schools remain basically unequal but there has been significant improvement in the public education available to the Negro child. Living standards are low, but they are improving. The median income in South Carolina increased from $881 in 1950 to $1218 in 1958.[1] Considerable new industry has been moving into the upper part of the state. This increasing industrialization will mean changes in living standards and in political emphasis.

South Carolina needs to be prepared for the gradual demise of segregation in the public facilities of the state. This demise needs to be hastened and encouraged by legal, political and educational activities. It should be remembered, however, that the end of segregation is yet some years away. Quite probably the great majority of children now in school at every level will have to complete their education in segregated classes. In the short run, much can be done to improve the status and opportunities of Negro citizens within the present system. These things, too, are important. An improvement in the educational and economic status of Negro citizens would be a major contribution to more rapid elimination of

1. "Rankings of States," op. cit.

discriminatory practices.

For the most part, human relations agencies have concentrated few resources in South Carolina. Now is the time. Many other groups and organizations can make important contributions; churches, unions, womens' groups, youth organizations, civic clubs, lodge and fraternal units, concerned citizens. It is hoped that this report will indicate some of the activities that will help South Carolina adjust to the future.

The problems of readjustments in race relations are inextricably linked with other problems of the future. We must solve these human problems if we are to expand economically and culturally. We must learn to live and work together. South Carolina needs the maximum contribution of all of its citizens.

A distinguished South Carolinian, James McBride Dabbs, has written "It is the strength of a conservative society that it carries the past with it; it is its weakness that it carries too much. It is the strength of the South that, though conservative, it has always had a frontier to strain and jar the old pattern. Within the last century that frontier has been overwhelming, and, faced with heart-breaking economic and social demands, we have let the pioneering instinct lie frustrated and festering within us. Happily, those days are either gone or going. Once again the old sense of something hid behind the ranges, of 'gold in them thar hills,' rises within us. Only, this time the mountains to be crossed are the mountains of the mind, and the gold to be found is the essential gold of happy human relations and the happy heart." [1]

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1. Dabbs, James McBride, THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE, Alfred A. Knopf, 1958, p. 207.

PARTICIPANTS IN NATIONAL CONSULTATIONS

May, August, 1960

Leroy Browne, Penn Community Center.

Lee Coleman, Chairman, Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky; Lexington, Kentucky.

Eugene Cox, Rural Life Specialist, National Council of Churches, 933 Chambliss Road; Memphis, Tennessee.

James McBride Dabbs, farmer and author, President of the Southern Regional Council; Mayesville, South Carolina.

Jean Fairfax, Director of Southern Programs, American Friends Service Committee; 160 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania.

Harold Fleming, Director, Southern Regional Council; 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.; Atlanta 3, Georgia.

C. G. Gomillion, Professor of Social Science, Tuskegee Institute, board member of Tuskegee Civic Improvement Association; Tuskegee, Alabama.

Charles Jones, minister, Community Church; Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Ira DeA. Reid, Chairman, Department of Sociology; Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

Paul Rilling, Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council.

Courtney Siceloff, Director, Penn Community Services, Inc.; Frogmore, South Carolina.

Walker Solomon, Executive Secretary, Palmetto Education Association; 1719 Taylor Street, Columbia, South Carolina.

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Director, South Carolina Council on Human Relations; 1330 Laurel Street, Columbia, South Carolina.

Marion A. Wright, lawyer; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Penn Community Services; Linville Falls, North Carolina.

Wilmer Young, teacher of social studies, Pendle Hill; Wallingford, Pennsylvania. (former worker with tenant farmers in Abbeville, S. C.)

SOURCES OF HUMAN RELATIONS MATERIALS

1. American Jewish Committee
   165 E. 56th Street
   New York 22, New York

2. American Jewish Congress
   Stephen Wise Congress House
   15 E. 84th Street
   New York 28, New York

3. American Friends Service Committee
   Southeastern Regional Office
   P. O. Box 1307
   High Point, North Carolina

   National Office
   160 N. 15th Street
   Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

4. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
   Southeastern Regional Office
   41 Exchange Place, S. E.
   Atlanta 3, Georgia

   National Office
   515 Madison Avenue
   New York, New York

5. The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention
   161 Eighth Avenue, North
   Nashville, Tennessee

6. Race Relations Department
   Board of Home Missions
   United Church of Christ
   287 Fourth Avenue
   New York 10, New York

   Southern Office
   Fisk University
   Nashville 8, Tennessee

7. National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church
   Division of Christian Citizenship
   281 Fourth Avenue
   New York 10, New York

   Southern Office
   P. O. Box 853
   Lynchburg, Virginia

8. The Board of Social Missions
   United Lutheran Church in America
   231 Madison Avenue
   New York 16, New York

9. The Board of Social & Economic Relations, The Methodist Church
   740 Rush Street
   Chicago 11, Illinois

10. Women's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church
    475 Riverside Drive
    New York 27, New York

11. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
    20 W. 40th Street
    New York 18, New York

    Southeastern Regional Office
    859½ Hunter Street, N. W.
    Atlanta, Georgia

12. National Conference of Christians and Jews
    43 W. 57th Street
    New York 19, New York

    Southeastern Division
    P. O. Box 8507
    Guilford College, North Carolina

13. National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.
    Division of Christian Life and Work
    Department of Racial & Cultural Relations
    297 Fourth Avenue
    New York 10, New York

    Division of Home Missions
    257 Fourth Avenue
    New York 10, New York

    General Department of United Church Women
    475 Riverside Drive
    New York 27, New York

National Council of Churches - continued

Southern Office
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee

14. National Labor Service
165 E. 56th Street
New York 22, New York

15. National Urban League
14 E. 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Southern Field Division
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

16. The Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

17. South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

18. Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

19. Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Rm. 201
Atlanta, Georgia

20. United Automobile Workers
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department
Solidarity House
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

21. National Board - YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

Southern Regional Office
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

22. National Council of YMCA's
291 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Southern Area Council of YMCA's
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

23. Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

24. President's Committee on Government Contracts
Washington 25, D. C.

25. AFL - CIO, Department of Civil Rights
815 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

26. President's Committee on Government Employment Policy
Room 308, Civil Service Commission Building
Washington 25, D. C.

27. American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

28. American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth Avenue
Washington, D. C.

29. Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

30. Institute for American Democracy
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Penn Community Services

Penn Community Service has expanded its adult educational program to emphasize total community development in rural South Carolina. Penn continues to be a community center for the people of St. Helena and its neighboring islands and a conference site for organizations seeking solutions to the South's many problems.

OUR NEW ROLE IN THE SOUTH

The urban South, with problems accompanying in-migration and a booming industrial society, has captured the attention of groups and individuals interested in the future of the new South. Conversely, it is now imperative that the rural South be re-examined and a program of community education and leadership development be made available to parallel progress in the urban centers of the South. Penn has served this need on St. Helena Island. Its new role is expanding these services to all of Beaufort County and into the state of South Carolina.

BEAUFORT COUNTY PILOT PROJECT . . .

Some techniques employed on St. Helena Island and now being extended include . . .

- Practice sessions on voter registration
- Low cost housing techniques
- Program to reduce illiteracy through the coordination of trained teachers working with special television programs
- Consumer education
- Crop diversification, home gardens, and other agricultural projects

AS A CONFERENCE CENTER WITH . . .

Conference on Social and Economic Problems, Midwife Institutes, Conference on Citizenship, Workshop on Merit Employment, Workshops on Consumer Problems, Workshops on Voter Registration, Interagency Conference: Southwide Group of Human Relations Agencies, Penn Rural Consultants Study, Friends' Work Camp,

Palmetto Teachers' Association, University of North Carolina Student Work Camp, Negro and White Ministers' Workshop, Southern Campus Student Religious Workers.

PENN CONTINUES AS A COMMUNITY CENTER WITH . . .

Day Nursery, Health Center, Library, Co-operative Marketing, Homemaking Classes, Sales House, and in furnishing a meeting and recreational center for St. Helena Island.

Penn Community Services

A TWO-FOLD ACTION-ORIENTED RESEARCH PROGRAM

- Leadership workshops at Penn Center
- Local demonstrations and Consultations throughout lower South Carolina by Penn's expanded and experienced staff

IN AREAS OF . . .

- Health
- Adult Education
- Registration and Voting
- Employment
- Agriculture

Penn Community Services

Marion A. Wright, *Chairman,* Linville Falls, N. C.
William E. Cadbury, *Vice Chairman,* Philadelphia, Pa.
Cornelius A. Wood, Jr., *Secretary,* Washington, D. C.
William A. Clement, *Treasurer,* Durham, N. C.
George H. Aull, Clemson, S. C.
Clyde Barrington, Dillon, S. C.
B. Tartt Bell, New York, N. Y.
Paul W. Brown, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
Will D. Campbell, Nashville, Tenn.
Miss Isabella Curtis, Manchester, Mass.
James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C.
Harold Evans, Philadelphia, Pa.
Willis Gardner, St. Helena Island, S. C.
John W. Hardy, Beaufort, S. C.
Miss Grace B. House, Orient, Long Island, N. Y.
Edward N. Jenks, Paris, France
Mrs. Donald S. McChesney, Syracuse, N. Y.
Mrs. James L. McConaughy, Hartford, Conn.
Robert K. Mooney, Hartford, Conn.
Ira De A. Reid, Haverford, Pa.
Mrs. Edward G. Sanders, St. Helena Island, S. C.
Rev. Mack E. Sharpe, Beaufort, S. C.
Mrs. Eugene Spearman, Columbia, S. C.

Mrs. Y. W. Bailey, St. Helena Island, S. C.
George A. Buchanan, Jr., Columbia, S. C.
Francis R. Cope, Jr., Dimock, Pa.
Mrs. Ruby P. Cornwell, Charleston, S. C.
Miss Wil Lou Grey, Columbia, S. C.
Carey E. Haigler, Charlotte, N. C.
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, Ga.
Miss Leila Johnson, Murrells Inlet, S. C.
Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta, Ga.
O. R. Reubin, Sumter, S. C.
Paul Rilling, Atlanta, Ga.
A. M. Secrest, Cheraw, S. C.
Mrs. William W. Smith, II, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
W. E. Solomon, Columbia, S. C.

"The work of Penn is supported by participants, a small endowment, and contributions enabling this important project to continue. Gifts to Penn are tax deductible."

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

October 6, 1960

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

I understand that two studies have been made on schools in Georgia recently. I don't know if these have been published or even completed, but wanted to ask if you would help us to get copies when they are available.

It is possible that there will be some sort of study made in this state, with a comparison of facilities. At least that was one of the recommendations of our consultants.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

December 14, 1960

To: Participating Agencies
Southern Interagency Conference

From: Courtney Siceloff

Re: HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMMING IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Paul Rilling reported at the last interagency meeting that the South Carolina study undertaken at Penn Center had been completed. A copy of the report, HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMMING IN SOUTH CAROLINA, is enclosed.

From the beginning it has been felt that the usefulness of this study was not limited to the state of South Carolina; that its exploration of problems and possible solutions could have significance for other "Deep South" states. We would be glad to have any comments or reactions.

We are now beginning to move toward implementation of the consultants' recommendations. Negotiations are under way in the attempt to locate a college which would serve as a base for Project A, the research and publication effort. Penn Community Services has undertaken Project B, the Beaufort County Pilot Project. A foundation grant has been secured to finance a three-year program of adult education, vocational guidance and community development. We are now looking for a staff member to head this important program. (See the enclosed job description.) Your suggestions will be greatly appreciated.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Position: Field Worker in Community Development

Job Description: Penn Community Services, Inc. is seeking a Negro man for the new position of Field Worker in community development. The primary job of the Field Worker will be to help local people develop their leadership potential through work on such community project areas as health and sanitation, voter registration, consumer education, and improvement of the economic status of rural families.

Qualifications: It is expected that academic training and several years' field experience in some allied field (extension work, adult or rural education, social group work, community organization) would be necessary to qualify applicants for the position. Other qualifications would include the following:

1. Self-reliance in exploring new areas; the capacity to size up a situation and develop creative approaches to problems at hand.

2. Practical experience in a southern, and preferably rural, situation.

3. Personal qualities adapted to working with people and developing responsible local leadership. Commitment to the Penn philosophy that the ultimate strength and development of a community consists in the growth of individuals to their full potential, rather than the completion of specific projects.

4. Capacity for close teamwork and coordination in the total staff efforts of Penn Community Services.

5. Ability to analyze and report progress in the field work so that the pilot project may suggest techniques to other communities and help to chart Penn's future program.

Background and Location: Penn Community Services, Inc. is a community and conference center located on St. Helena Island, one of a cluster of sea islands on the South Carolina coast. Founded in 1862, Penn School (our predecessor) was one of the earliest of the schools for Negroes. In addition to the local self-help community program, Penn Center offers one of the few facilities for interracial groups in the South.

Penn Center is seven miles from the Beaufort County seat (town of Beaufort, population 6,400), approximately midway between Charleston and Savannah. It is ten miles from the Atlantic Ocean. Beaufort is a rapidly developing low-country county (population 48,000; 60% Negro) in which rural underemployment is partially offset by three large military installations and by seasonal employment in the truck farm and seafood industries.

Salary: Annual salary, $5,000 plus a furnished house, medical insurance. Three-week annual vacation.

Address: Please address inquiries to: Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, S. C.

File

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Rec'd 12-21-60

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

December 20, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you may have heard from Paul Rilling, a group of us met with President Manning at Claflin College last week to discuss with him the possibility of basing the proposed South Carolina research project at Claflin. President Manning was quite interested in the idea.

We have offered to assist President Manning in drawing up a proposal to request financial support for the research project. I wonder if we could get together to talk about this a little when I come to Atlanta to the interagency meeting. Would you have any time on Wednesday afternoon, January 4, after the interagency meeting ends (ostensibly) at three p.m.?

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cc: Paul Rilling
Mrs. Alice Spearman

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

December 20, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a brief summary of developments in the Beaufort self-survey, written by Bob Stowell of our staff, who worked very closely with this project.

We would like to express our appreciation to the Southern Regional Council for its assistance in this effort. The services of Herman Long were invaluable.

Although, as the summary points out, the outcome of the community meeting was negative, we feel that much was gained by getting the group together. There are few occasions when Beaufort people can sit down together in a biracial group and discuss any subject. We are trying to keep the lines of communication open. The morning after that meeting, we received the SRC Special Report L-21 on "Public Schools and Community Development." We sent it at once to the Beaufort person who had been at the meeting and who had felt a survey so unnecessary - a man who spends a great deal of time trying to attract industry to Beaufort. We have ordered extra copies to send to others who were at the meeting, along with Report L-22, which is equally pertinent.

Sunday night we had the "mystery play" which is given at Penn every two years. Father Anderson of the Catholic Church in Beaufort was here, as he always is, and he made this statement: "When I came into the meeting, I said, 'Who are <u>we</u> to get anything done -- Catholics, Jews, and Negroes!'"

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cc: John Hope II
Paul Rilling

Beaufort Self-Survey

In October the Council on Human Relations for Beaufort decided to sponsor a "self-survey" of the city. The Rev. Mack Sharpe was elected temporary chairman to arrange for an "organizing" meeting.

Two meetings were then held which included members of the Council on Human Relations and others in the community who were invited to take part in these preliminary discussions. An information sheet telling the purpose of the survey was prepared and given to all members. It was emphasized that the Council on Human Relations no longer was connected with the survey and that any survey group would be autonomous. Also, that the survey was of the entire community, not of any racial segment of it. It was thought that it would be primarily a FACT FINDING survey rather than one which made recommendations. The first meeting was well attended; the second meeting was poorly attended.

Several additional people were asked to come to a third meeting to discuss the desirability of a "first look at Beaufort." Penn staff members were responsible for asking many of those who were to come to the third meeting. Penn also arranged to have Herman Long come to give advice on self-surveys to the meeting through the courtesy of the Southern Regional Council. We also asked Dr. J. P. Hollis, former Superintendent of Schools in Greenville, to tell about his part in the survey in Greenville where he was chairman of the committee on housing.

At this third meeting, with fourteen present, Courtney Siceloff served as Chairman. Dr. Hollis emphasized the value of the survey to the community and that it was not an academic exercise. He said that the Greenville survey was done in 1950 and this was 1960. Herman Long then told how a survey can be carried out and emphasized the fact that it was a self-survey not by outside experts.

In the discussion period, three members of the group were of the opinion that such a survey would "upset the good relations" between the races in Beaufort. They also asked what was wrong with the city and why there was any need for a survey. The answer FACTS did not impress them. One of the most outspoken of those opposed took the attitude of "Leave it all to the City Fathers" and they will listen to any problems you may have. It was impossible to remove the emphasis on the two races in talking about the survey. The conclusion was that no further meetings were needed. One person said that this had been most valuable, because it provided a rare opportunity for Negro and white citizens to discuss mutual problems. It was clear that we did not have a strongly positive white person present who was convinced of the value of the survey (outside professionals - Penn staff and the consultants). Further action suggested was to secure the information in limited areas of concern to be discussed in small groups. Also that action might be forthcoming concerning the library and concerts. The consultants felt it had been a valuable and interesting meeting.

-Robert Stowell

December 20, 1960

John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Will you please have someone send us 50 copies of the SRC Report L-22, with bill. We plan to send them to participants in our recent abortive effort toward a Beaufort self-survey.

We would also like to request copies (10) of their "outline of approach" which they say can be supplied, on page 7 of the memorandum. If you don't have this, would you please give us the address of the Florida Commission on Race Relations, so that we may write to them to request the outline?

With best wishes from all of us,

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

cc: Harold Fleming

COPY

December 21, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, 50 copies of L-22. These sell for .05 each.

We have only a few copies of the outline which you mentioned, and I am enclosing one of these. We are writing the Commission for additional copies; and if we receive them, we will mail you some extra copies.

With best wishes for a merry Christmas and a happy New Year to you, Lib, John and Mary,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf
Enclosure - 1.

File

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

December 20, 1960

John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Will you please have someone send us 50 copies of the SRC Report L-22, with bill. We plan to send them to participants in our recent abortive effort toward a Beaufort self-survey.

We would also like to request copies (10) of their "outline of approach" which they say can be supplied, on page 7 of the memorandum. If you don't have this, would you please give us the address of the Florida Commission on Race Relations, so that we may write to them to request the outline?

With best wishes from all of us,

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

cc: Harold Fleming

December 22, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Harold is ill and at home. He should be here on January 4, and with any luck will be available in mid-afternoon.

All best wishes of the Season to you and the family.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

NEWS...
from PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

St. Helena Island
Frogmore, S. C.
Spring 1960

Dear Friends:

We are grateful for the many gifts which came to help us repair the damage of last fall's hurricane. That has been our major activity through the winter. With Leroy Browne and his assistants fixing up roofs and chimneys, and Norman Richards and helpers clearing the grounds and replanting, Penn is turning over a new leaf in its history. The campus is much more open, the most diseased of the old oaks having been removed, and in a decade we should surpass the famous Charleston Gardens in landscaping beauty!

But now the activities of civil rights groups in the state begin to involve us very much, and we have to prepare a number of conferences for this spring.

A recent grant enables us to hold two conferences on registration and voting. The first, March 18-20, will concentrate on training workers for the more densely populated areas. On April 1-2 the rural areas of low population and literacy will be our focus. Looking toward the more fundamental reasons for failure in political activity and employment, Penn hopes to play a part in the coming adult basic literacy movement to begin in May. A three-month series of half-hour lessons will be shown over television, as a result of research at Campbell Folk School, Brasstown, North Carolina. Local classes of ten persons will gather around a television set with a volunteer teacher, working to reach high third-grade competency. This should enable students to read the Bible easily, obtain licenses and pass driver's tests, register to vote, and do simple arithmetic.

A grant has been requested for the study of inequalities of opportunity between the races in the rural South, and their causes of resistance to change. The proposed series of conferences this spring would bring together a group of specialists in human relations with practical experience in the rural South. We hope that the results will show Penn and other agencies how we can best direct and co-ordinate our efforts.

Courtney Siceloff has recently been appointed a member of the South Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. The Committee will hear complaints on civil rights to help bring the facts into light.

We are keeping in close touch with Esau Jenkins in Charleston and on Johns Island, attending very stimulating meetings of his Charleston Citizen's Committee. Among other activities, this Committee seeks to end discrimination on the Charleston bus lines. It will be sponsoring a workshop on consumer education at Penn, March 25-27.

The recent wave of Negro student protest demonstrations concerns us. Courthey Siceloff, being also chairman of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, helped issue a statement clarifying the broader meaning of these demonstrations, giving support to students in their creative attempts to break the stalemate of "token desegration". Most of the demonstrations have been non-violent in nature, with the police and city authorities acting impartially in many cases.

We caught some of this new spirit in a work-retreat group of Paine College (Augusta, Georgia) men last weekend. The retreat's theme was "Making Religion Live", led by professors Richard Stenhouse of the philosophy department, Cecil Powell of Sociology, and the college chaplain, M. S. Cherry.

A summer work camp of Young Friends, sponsored by the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, will be with us four or five weeks. This will be an older group (17-22 years old) than previous ones. The camp topic will concern the role of Friends in working for better race relations. The work projects will repair hurricane damage on St. Helena.

An important visitor, Mr. Gobezie Taffete, stayed with us for the Christmas holidays. He is director of basis education in Ethiopia, here as part of a two month tour of the United States under the sponsorship of the American Council on Education.

Before coming to St. Helena, he had visited adult education projects in Chicago, Nebraska, Santa Fe, and Berea, Kentucky. We tried to give him a rest and a good Christmas holiday, as well as meetings with significant local persons. He attended Christmas Sing telling something about the more austere and religious Christmas of his own national Coptic Church. Mr. Taffete left us with a lasting impression of calmness, deep faith and friendliness.

Visiting us also early this spring for a longer period are Bob and Ann Stowell with little Laurie. We welcome Bob's practical knowledge in all sorts of things, especially printing, and his aid to Leroy Browne in the repair work. Ann is a wonderful innovator of co-operative and friendly projects such as refinishing chairs and having pot-luck lunch after the weekly staff meeting. Hugh and Mary Middleton took part in all these activities while visiting us recently, impressing us also with their devotion to and understanding of the work of the American Friends Service Committee.

Norman Richards has begun to make an agricultural survey of St. Helena Island to review the role of the tomato marketing cooperative and to find new methods and techniques for part-time farmers in the changing agricultural scene.

In spite of our busy schedule for this spring, we look forward to visits from our friends and former conference participants, and hope we can use your talents at the same time.

With warm and friendly greetings,

The staff:

Courtney and Elizabeth Siceloff
Leroy and Corinne Browne
Norman and Elsie Richards

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

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FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
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COLUMBIA, S.C.

Thanksgiving 1960

Dear Friend:

These are exciting times here in the South and there is a feeling of change in the air. Here on St. Helena Island the Penn program has been expanded to meet the changing needs of the sea islands and of the wider community of the state and the region. The new brochure which comes with this letter describes our "new role in the South" and explains our need for the support of thoughtful people across the country.

As an outgrowth of Penn's history of concern for the quality of community life in the South, this year we asked the help of a group of specialists in rural life and human relations. Their report, "Human Relations Programming in South Carolina," will serve as a blueprint for our own work and, we hope, for similar efforts throughout the South.

Support is being sought now for launching the suggested county-wide pilot community development project - a sort of "test strip" for the rural South. New fields in adult education are being opened: low-cost housing, voting and citizenship, literacy, farm and forest management. Penn's provision of interracial conference facilities for groups from all over a tense and anxious South is a contribution of growing importance in these times.

Penn Trustee James Dabbs is speaking of Southerners when he says in his book, The Southern Heritage, "We have been too casual, too satisfied; we have been complacent." "But today," he continues, ..."we are moving into a world of widening horizons...a world of great challenges... challenges which demand that we use as never before our simple neighborliness...If we thus perceive them, we shall know that we have come into the kingdom for such a time as this; and we shall begin to move forward with an easy stride...walking as it were between the past and the future, holding the hand of each."

Join us, won't you, in this walk. We need your help.

Sincerely yours,

Marion A. Wright, Chairman

Courtney Siceloff, Director

Contributions to Penn are tax-deductible.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

February 16, 1961

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed letter from Mrs. Eddy. Of course we were delighted to have the operational support. We were disappointed that Taconic would not underwrite the research grant as well.

We had hoped that they would interpret the research project as a request from Claflin College, but it is understandable that they would consider this as an additional proposal from Penn.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, N.Y.

February 13, 1961

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

Our Board has given careful consideration to the two proposals you have put before us, and I am glad to tell you that the grant requested by Penn Community Services, Inc. for its own program has been voted. You will receive an official letter from the Foundation shortly.

However, the Board did not find it possible to make a grant for the research to be carried on at Claflin College. As you may know, it is not our general policy to support research programs, and we did not find it possible to make an exception in this instance.

It was nice to see you and Mr. Wright again. Let us know whenever you find yourselves coming this way.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

(Mrs.) Jane Lee J. Eddy
Executive Secretary

JLE:sel

COPY

January 17, 1961

Mrs. Elizabeth Sigeloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Lib:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, an extra copy of the report on the executive and a copy of a script for "Face of the South." The latter, as you know, is a condensed version of GSM's map talk.

As to additional items as Why South Carolina is so "crazy" historically, I am afraid I am not much help. Perhaps Les might be able to draw something else out of the research files.

Glad you enjoyed the cake. It was one of my pre-Christmas projects. Probably somebody's old family recipe, but I have been using it about three or four years!

With best wishes to Courtney and others at Penn.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

1/16/61

Dear John -

Is it possible to get an extra copy of the report, THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS? Or too hush-hush at present? If so, I'll wait until released for more general publication.

Is there anything written and available on GSM's map talk? I'm working on a project: Why is South Carolina So Crazy? * and think it might help.

We've almost finished your wonderful fruit cake. Each piece fills us with admiration and curiosity.

Greetings to you and Bill.

C.S.

* Anything else you can think of on Why is S. C. so crazy, historically? I mean, why it has always been crazy?

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

March 13, 1961

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Mr. Wright has asked that I advise you that he and Mr. Dabbs will arrive in Savannah on Saturday, the 18th, via Delta Air Lines, Flight #441 at 9:35 p.m. We worked mightily to get them there earlier, or the next morning, but without success. So, apologies, as well as best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

August 7, 1961

Mr Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Center
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Congratulations on the way you have things moving. I think Brewbaker can be used to considerable advantage in your situation, and hope you will continue to develop the possibilities.

To meet your requests for information, enclosed are copies of SRC members and a brief description of the Council. Also enclosed are copies of an editorial about Brewbaker from the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch which should s serve your purpose in introducing him. Separately, we are sending several pamphlets which will serve further to describe the Council and provide information.

Thanks for the feedback on the L-Reports. It's good to know that all those mechanical processes, with which we get mightily involved, have a human factor.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/sm
Enclosures

School Desegr 1st 6 yrs
Racial Viol. & Law Enforcement
Collins

- sent separately

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

August 4, 1961

Dear Paul Anthony,

Do you have any experience record on Dr. Brubaker? I think it would be helpful to have perhaps a half dozen copies, to give Col. Bookerand perhaps others. I intend to invite several county school board members in to meet Brubaker. It should be reassuring to these people to know where he went to college, how long at Norfolk, etc.

Incidentally, people do read the "L" reports. At our Advisory Committee meeting (of Com. Civil Rights) last week, one member quoted from Gen. Clays speech (L-26 report) and the committee chairman pulled his copy out of the brief case, laid it on the table, and offered anyone to look it over. Then, this week at the NAACP regional meeting, a Florida NAACP executive quoted from the same speech. Not bad, friend.

Courtney

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

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COLUMBIA, S.C.

August 3, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Paul:

It was good talking with you on the phone today. I have talked with Dr. Brewbaker who plans to arrive August 21. Many thanks for making the arrangements.

In talking with Lt. Colonel Booker, USMC Air Station, I realized he knew nothing of South Regional Council. In looking in my files I find nothing appropriate to send to him and would appreciate your feeding me some literature. A list of trustees and purposes of Southern Regional Council would be most helpful.

Best regards,

Courtney

CS/bbm

a few extra copies would be good as well. Booker may think he's dealing with some subversive organization, so perhaps not a mere listing of trustees, whose names probably would mean nothing to him, but who they are.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

TRV
LD
file

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

July 31, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

We really are disappointed that the trip to St. Helena didn't work out. Our greatest hope is that it is cooler at Nag's Head than it is here. We returned last night from a week's camping trip high in the N. C. mountains, and are still trying to get re-acclimated, while wading through mountains of mail. Do remember that the guest house is available, and try to plan a fall trip to the Island.

I see that we overlooked thanking you for the information about possible research directors for the South Carolina project. On receipt of the material, we wrote at once to several of these persons, and in the current mail we have replies from some of them. One of them, Henry Clark of New Haven, says he will be in Charleston on August 6, so we are trying to arrange an interview. However, he says he will not be available for twelve months.

Also in today's mail is a letter from Dr. Bruce Melvin of University of Maryland. He says that his retirement is to be postponed, and that "another field of research seems to be opening," and says that he must ask not to be considered. So, we are still without any very definite prospects. If you have any further ideas, we'll be glad to have them. I'm enclosing an excerpt from Dr. Melvin's letter which raises some interesting questions.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

University of Maryland
College Park

C O P Y

July 17, 1961

. . .

In reading over the materials a few ideas struck me. One of these was to make a beginning in a study of Beaufort County. Included in this would be the economic side. Have the peaceful relations, including cooperative efforts, helped the businesses of the county? Are the business men better off on the average than in other counties where wholesome relations have not maintained? In the long run in our economically dominated society the pocketbook can be the dominating force in even the most humanitarian cause. A second aspect of the economic has been the loss to the state, or even the county, in the migration of the better trained Negroes from the state. Here is something that needs elucidation; the facts need to be known.

Then another question, in what areas have the best, or most effective cooperation been promulgated? Surely there are communities where the races have worked together for the benefit of both.

. . .

Very sincerely yours,

/s/

Bruce L. Melvin
Professor of Sociology

July 17, 1961

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Center
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

I blush to say this, but we shall not be coming to Frogmore the week of July 29 as planned. Our friends from Massachusetts decided the drive was too much and we are compromising on Nags Head. Peggy and I do want some time soon to visit Frogmore and we shall, if you will take us in again.

I trust you got the vitae which we sent recently. How are you coming along with your man from Maryland?

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

August 9, 1961

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PR
MB
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file Board

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COLUMBIA, S.C.

FRANCIS R. COPE, JR.
DIMOCK, PA.

MRS. RUBY P. CORNWELL
CHARLESTON, S.C.

MISS WIL LOU GREY
COLUMBIA, S.C.

CAREY E. HAIGLER
CHAROLETTE, N.C.

MRS. GRACE T. HAMILTON
ALANTA, GA.

MISS LEILA JOHNSON
MURRELLS INLET, S.C.

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS
ATLANTA, GA.

DR. O.R. REUBEN
SUMTER, S.C.

PAUL RILLING
ATLANTA, GA.

A.M. SEACREST
CHERAW, S.C.

MRS. WILLIAM W. SMITH II
POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y.

W.E. SOLOMON
COLUMBIA, S.C.

Dear Paul Anthony,

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Rev. DeQuincy Newman, ex.sec. of S. C. NAACP, Walker Solomon and I had a good interview with Col Booker today. He has seven teacher vacancies left out of 27; two of these he will hold for Negro appointments, and Negroes will be considered along with other applicants for the other vacancies. So there will be at least 2, and perhaps more, Negro teachers in the Hamilton School.

Mrs. Hurley, who was very constructive in the interview, suggested that he read several books and brochures--the Louisville Story, and the reports on Washington and Baltimore; I am sending him the first, and would appreciate it if you have copies on Washington and Baltimore available.

Incidentally, the principal is to be L. E. Oldacres, who has been asst. principal in a Washington, D.C. school--which I think is fine. Mrs. Hurley felt that there should be special training for teachers over several days, and that a SRC consultant might be needed ~~lon~~ longer than Brubaker would be available. However, Booker was non-committal, waiting for his principal, who should arrive on the 9th August. So I'll contact him later, and know if there are further needs for consultants--though I won't commit you for anything.

Many thanks,

Courtney

Materials sent 8-16-61

clucy - 1 set copy
L 8, 13, 15, 16, 17,

PR
Action Items
Done 8/25

Board

September 1, 1961

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Incorporated
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

We too are sorry to hear that Brewbaker was not able to be of help at Beaufort; with the irony, of course, that he, of all people, would probably be reassuring to the faintheart-ed. But we can't win them all.

Thanks for the suggestions for new Members. They will be passed on to the Nominating Committee next month.

Incidentally, I am pleased to see that Elizabeth's typing has improved so much. Give her my congratulations.

Sincerely,

PA:mbb

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

S. LWDL
MB
PR
MBB

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

August 23, 1961

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

Dear PaulAnthony,

I thought you might like to be brought up-to-date on the Hamilton School, the one being taken over by the Navy.

Mr. Brewbaker came Monday evening, and left about noon yesterday. I'm not sure if I told you that I first contacted Col. Booker when the announcement of the transfer to Navy was made. While he was not exactly enthusiastic about the offers of help, he did say that he wanted advice from wherever he could get it. Thus I let him know the day that Brewbaker said he could come; I reminded him again that Brewbaker was coming in the interview with Hurley, Solomon, and Newman, and on August 9 I wrote him again that Brewbaker was due the 22nd, and would call on the 21st for the appointment. Then when I called early on the 21st, Booker informed me that there was no need for Brewbaker to come out, that his principal, Oldacres, was from Washington and had enough experience in this area, and besides, they wanted to handle "this thing" locally, without any imports. He was nice about it, andIsuggested that Brewbaker might at least come out, since he had made this trip and had had the interview arranged for such a period of time, but the colonel was firm. Although I was considerably miffed about this refusal, yet I didn't think it would help anything to insist, so let it drop.

I can only speculate concerning the reason for the refusal to see Brewbaker. It might be that the principal is jealous and/or insecure, and doesn't want another around. The colonel and/or principal might be apprehensive over what Brewbaker intended to do. The colonel might have talked to Beaufort folk about me, Penn, or SRC and was advised to take a "hands-off" policy. They might have felt that since they have an integrated school and faculty, that NAACP is "pleased" (to quote Booker) with the situation, that they have followed all federal regulations, that there is no need to accept further "interference ". Or the Colonel may have a lot of confidence in his principal, feel that he can handle the situation, and no need to muddy the water.

Concerning the faculty, he has hired 2 Negro teachers; one has a Masters degree and 14 years teaching experience—the highest qualified on his staff— and the other is well on her way toward a masters. I don't have the name of either yet, but will get in touch with them soon. Col. Booker seems pleased with the choices of Negro teachers, whom Solomon had contacted and sent for interviews.

Also, I am sorry that Brewbaker did not get to meet any of the Beaufort board members or superintendant. Paul, whom Brewbaker wrote from SRC office saying he was coming to B aufort and could talk with him, made no effort to contact Brewbaker. The latter called yesterday morning; Paul, the supt., was "too busy" to see him, but apparently they had a long telephone conversation. Paul indicated his admiration for the Prince Edward Plan, indicating he had spent a week there looking it over. Brewbaker gave his opinion of the plan, but probably had little effect. Several of the Board members are open to discussing this, and probably are disappointed that it didn't happen. The wife of one board member formerly worked with Brewbaker in the Norfolk system; he called her and offered his services any time. So perhaps something may develop yet.

I had dinner with Brewbaker, and enjoyed seeing him again. It is quite a service that SRC is offering in this respect, and appreciate your arranging his visit.

Sincerely,

Typed by Courtney,
not me. Cheers-Eliz.

Board
Suggestions

October 5, 1961

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

The Nominating Committee has selected Mr. McCollom as one of the persons to be nominated for membership. Beforehand, we try to determine (unofficially) if persons who are to be nominated will accept if elected at the Annual Meeting in November. Could you do this for us with McCollom? You may wish to share with him the enclosed list of current members.

Incidentally, Secrest was also selected among a second group of nominees who will be placed before the Council if membership is increased to one hundred. This the Council will likely vote to do. However, we will not check with this group.

Look forward to seeing you in November.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb
Enc.

October 20, 1961

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

Mr. Marion Wright was inquiring about the copies of his speech, saying he had not received them. We told Mr. Wright we had mailed them to him in care of you, on or about the 5th of October.

If you have not already sent them on to Mr. Wright - and we are assuming that your office received them - we would appreciate your forwarding them on to him at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Muriel Berger
Secretary

November 22, 1961

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Center
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

We never did get together at the Annual Meeting. I am sorry. Can you write or phone whatever it was you wished to discuss?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

December 29, 1961

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

I am glad that you are hopeful of moving ahead fairly soon with the statewide research effort that was recommended in the report "Human Relations Programming in South Carolina".

It is, of course, impossible to predict the results such a study may have. On the one hand, most of us feel that we know what the inequalities and problems are in South Carolina. On the other hand, there is proven value in documenting the evident in this area of human relations problems. For example, we were impressed and a bit surprised at the widespread reaction here to the facts presented in the reports "Georgia's Divided Education" and"A Second Look at Atlanta". In rather strange quarters there were responses of shock and surprise, and there has been constructive action. Studies that would emerge from your proposed program should have similarly useful results, and because of the broad, thorough approach your plan should have notable impact.

There has indeed been a remarkable lack of research into human relations problems in Deep Southern states. If a comprehensive effort proved effective in South Carolina, it could be a model for work in Alabama and Mississippi. We shall be ready to cooperate with your work in any ways that you think we could be of service.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

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PR - pls draft
a reply for
my sig.
~~would like it in~~
~~a fairly pls~~ I suppose
we endorse, but without
hurrahs (pls note
~~that this has~~ already
taken a long time to
circulate between you + him)

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

November 20, 1961

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

Dr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Penn, in association with Claflin College, hopes to conduct a significant program of research into subjects of concern to all South Carolinians. For such a program substantial philanthropic support must be secured. To that end we have prepared a proposal to be placed before one or more foundations. Since it outlines in some detail what we have in mind, a copy is enclosed for your examination.

We (Penn and Claflin) feel that the reception accorded the application for grant will be influenced to some extent by expressions of knowledgeable persons of their interest in the program and the value they attach to it. We hope that you may find it of such value as to merit your own approval.

Will you not, therefore, be kind enough to write a letter, addressed to Penn Community Services, for possible use with a foundation, expressing your own appraisal of such a program and the timeliness of its present inauguration?

We would much prefer to talk with you personally about this; only the time and expense of travel precludes this.

In order to make use of your letter, your immediate attention is required and will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Courtney Siceloff, Director

CS/pw
Enclosure

Les — The annual meeting was very good — liked the format, topics, etc

Penn Community Services, Inc.

St. Helena Island

Frogmore, S. C.

Proposal For A Grant For A South Carolina
Research Program

Penn Community Services, Inc., requests a grant to support a three-year comprehensive research program to be conducted in South Carolina. Such a program is the unamimous recommendation of a group of fifteen Southern specialists in the field of human relations. It is, in their opinion, the essential first step toward improvement of the ecomonic, political and cultural life of the state.

What is contemplated is determination of the facts in such areas as education, employment, health, libraries, public recreation, federal aid and participation in government. There will emerge an appraisal of publicly supported institutions and services; the degree to which all citizens have access to them; as well as the cost - ecomonic and social - of deprival of full right of use of such institutions and services.

In the interest of thoroughness and intensiveness, the investigation will be limited to one state, South Carolina. But, since that state is fairly representative of the rural deep South, the disclosures here made will have significance in such other states as Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. The methods followed in the South Carolina study may serve as guides to other states confronted with similar problems. The study may well have regional impact.

ORIGIN OF THE PROPOSAL

In the desire to determine what are, in fact, the South's most pressing needs, and the most important service which Penn might render to the region, this organization convened a group of fifteen persons having knowledge of the region and having, also, competence in the human relations field. In arriving at their recommendations, they were influenced by the following considerations, as stated in their report: "There has been less research into human relations problems in South Carolina than in most of the Southern states. None of the state's public or private colleges and universities have initiated this type of research. There is a need to learn the present facts concerning conditions in South Carolina. There is an even greater need to disseminate these facts in such a way that they begin to have some impact on political and civic leadership and on public opinion in general."

The consultants therefore recommended, as of first importance, a careful and scientific exploration of the facts which establish South Carolina's relative position among the American states.

Obviously, any realistic exploration of the facts will involve consideration of the State's laws and customs as they touch upon relation of the two dominant races. Where discrimination exists, its end result in mortality, health, housing, employment, education and the like must be appraised.

The conclusions of the consultants were submitted to a group of 22 knowledgeable South Carolinians, later convened at Penn. Such group agreed without reservation to the top priority given to the research proposal.

The recommendation concerning the research project is found on page 4, and names of the regional consultants appear at the end, on page IV, of their report entitled, "Human Relations Programming in South Carolina". See Attachment 1. Names of the South Carolina group appears as Attachment 2.

METHOD TO BE EMPLOYED

The consultants recommended that the research be based at a private South Carolina college. (Publicly supported colleges are enmeshed in the State's segregation laws.) Accordingly, Claflin College, a Methodist institution in Orangeburg, South Carolina, has been selected and has agreed to serve. This accredited institution has a bi-racial faculty, with well qualified professors who would co-operate with the research director. The institution is known for its independent and forthright position on human rights issues. See Attachment 3.

Serving as an advisory committee to the project, to whom the director would turn for advice and consultation, are the following South Carolinians:

To: Members of Advisory Committee, South Carolina Research Project

Dr. H. V. Manning, President, Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C.
Rev. I. D. Newman, Executive Sec'y., State Conference NAACP, Columbia, S. C.
Mr. W. E. Solomon, Executive Sec'y., Palmetto Teachers Association, Columbia, S. C.
Mr. Alger Fowler, Business Manager, Plumbers and Steamfitters, Local Union 227
Dr. Samuel M. Derrick, School of Business Administration, University of South Carolina College Columbia, S. C.
Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Executive Sec'y., S. C. Council on Human Relations, Columbia, S. C.
Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director, Penn Community Services, Frogmore, S. C.

THE DIRECTOR

The central figure is, of course, the director. In conjunction with Advisory Committee, he will determine the fields to be explored and the priorities with which they will receive attention; he will coordinate material already available, such as census reports,

isolated studies by universities, public and private agencies; he will devise questionnaires; develop mailing lists; prepare forms of letters; direct personal interviews where information may not be otherwise obtained; check accuracy of answers against experience; tabulate results; and, generally, supervise the activities of staff and volunteer workers.

not N.C. personal practice

He will prepare reports to be released at intervals to the press and given appropriate distribution to members of the public - all with a view to the impact which such reports may have on opinion and policy.

A significant feature of the director's task will be the recruitment and supervision of a corps of volunteers - college professors, advanced students and others of competence in the fact-finding field. The purpose will be to secure extensive involvement of South Carolinians in a study of their own institutions. This is an application and enlargement of the community self-survey idea which has had conspicuous success in many cities.

After receiving the application of a dozen men and women for the position of research director, the Advisory Committee for the Research Program has selected Dr. Theo L. Vaughan. Dr. Vaughan, a native South Carolinian who attended the public schools of the state, including Clemson College, worked 16 years in the state with Clemson College and the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture. With a Doctorate degree in rural sociology, Dr. Vaughan has directed research and community development, programs in the United States, Latin American and the Middle East. The point cannot be overemphasized of the value of a director having his roots, education, experience and invaluable contacts within South Carolina. Biographical data on Dr. Vaughan appears as Attachment 4.

It should be stated that further reflection on the time required for a thorough performance of the contemplated task has led to the conclusion that three years will be required. The proposal is, therefore, fashioned with that period in mind.

CONCLUSION

1. The project herein contemplated is unique in that it will seek to establish:

   (a) the extent to which discrimination based upon race is practiced in a deep South "Hard-core" state, and

   (b) the cause of relationship between such discrimination and standards of living of white and negro people, and

   (c) the cost, economic and otherwise, of such discrimination.

2. The study is further unique in that:

   (a) it will be based at a South Carolina Negro College

   (b) it will give this bi-racial faculty and negro students opportunity to join in an interesting social science

investigation, and

(c) it will involve joint participation by persons of both races in a significant common enterprise.

3. Dissemination of the findings may reasonably be expected to have impact:

(a) on racial practices within South Carolina, through the involvement of individuals and agencies which work for the common good of all peoples, and

(b) on public thinking, with ultimate state and federal effect on state and federal legislation and policy.

In many American states there exist offical agencies - Commissions Against Discrimination or their equivalents - whose task it is to conduct programs of the nature of the one here contemplated. In others state institutions, such as universities, perform a similar function. In South Carolina both are lacking. If the task is not undertaken by a private agency it will not get done.

All preliminary steps for such an agency to function in South Carolina have now been taken. The launching of the program awaits only financial support.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

By M. A. Wright
Chairman

By Dowling Scaloff

November 1961